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in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast

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SETTLEMENTS, TRADE, AND POLITIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GOLD COAST

Ray A. Kea

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TO MY WIFE, INGE

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Settlements, Trade, and Polities
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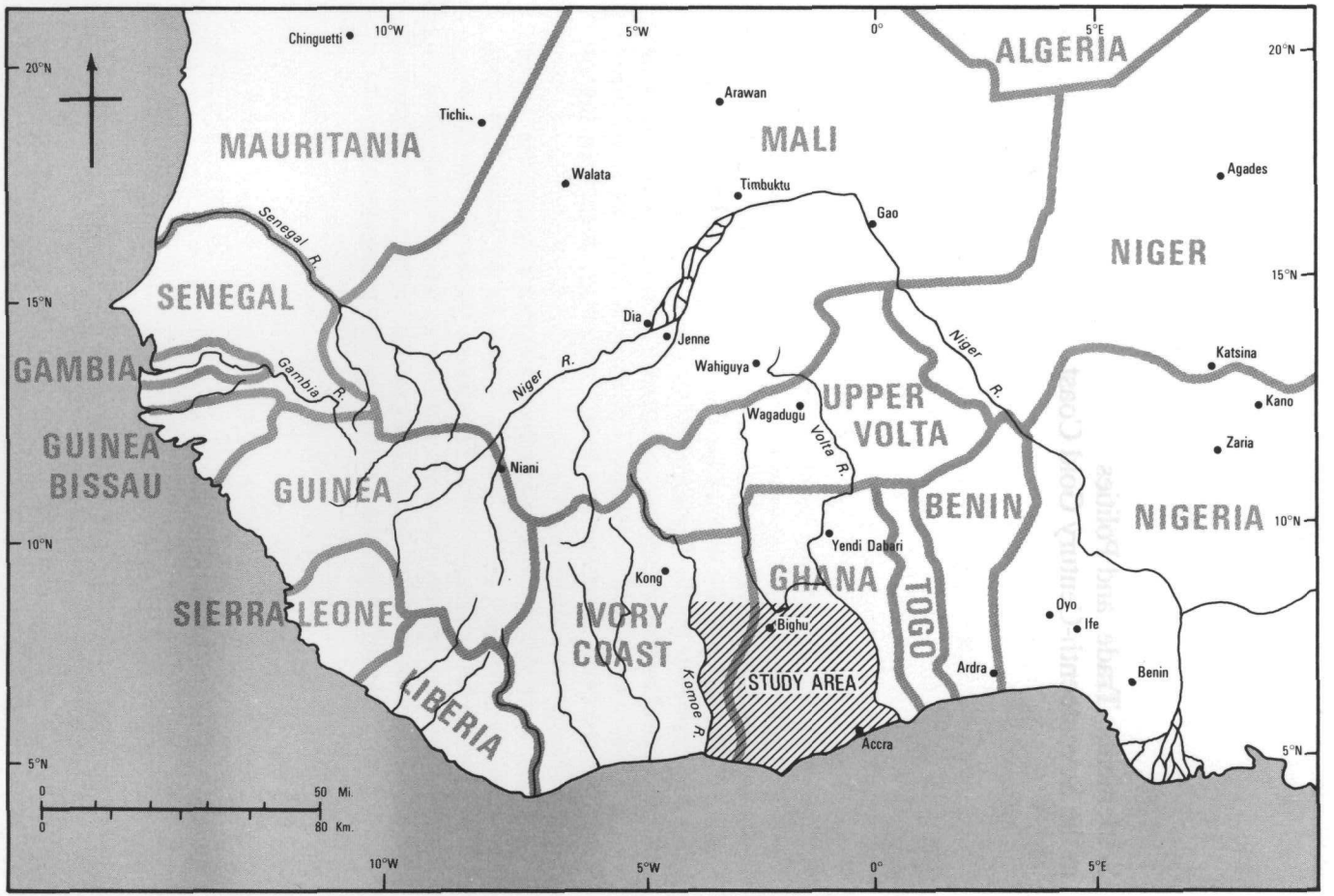


MAP I.1 The Gold Coast Region and West Africa

Introduction

THE GOLD COAST
A Region and a Social Formation

THIS WORK OFFERS a historical study of the Gold Coast between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries.[1] The term *Gold Coast* is used in two senses. It denotes a region that extended from the Komoé River in the west to the Volta River in the east and from the Atlantic seaboard in the south to the inland Volta basins in the north. The region encompassed three major ecological zones: (1) the coastal thicket and grassland, (2) the evergreen rain and semi-deciduous moist forest, and (3) the woodland (or Guinea) savanna north of the forest.[2]

The term is also used to designate a social formation, that is, a historically concrete society whose structure, organization, and historical development were conditioned by specific systems (modes) of material production.[3] The region constituted the socioeconomic or socially organized space within which the society maintained itself and from which it extracted its means of existence.[4]

The study seeks to examine structures, institutions, and organizations and the complex processes of change and interaction—in short, what Fernand Braudel has called the "varying temporal rhythms and combinations of rhythms" which characterize the historical movement of every society.[5] Further, the study attempts to identify and define the nature and structure of the systems of material production (modes of production) and to trace the evolution and interaction of these systems over time. In recent years a growing number of studies has sought to specify, both theoretically and empirically, the structure and historical character of modes of production in precolonial African societies.[6] These studies have stimulated a lively debate among Africanists. The debate is ongoing. The present work offers a contribution to it.

Three analytically distinct but related themes form the organizational framework of this study. They are: (1) the settlement order, (2) the sociopolitical and military order, and (3) the commercial order. The first theme considers the territorial organization of the population, that is, the location, distribution, and development of towns and villages within the context of political-judicial admin-

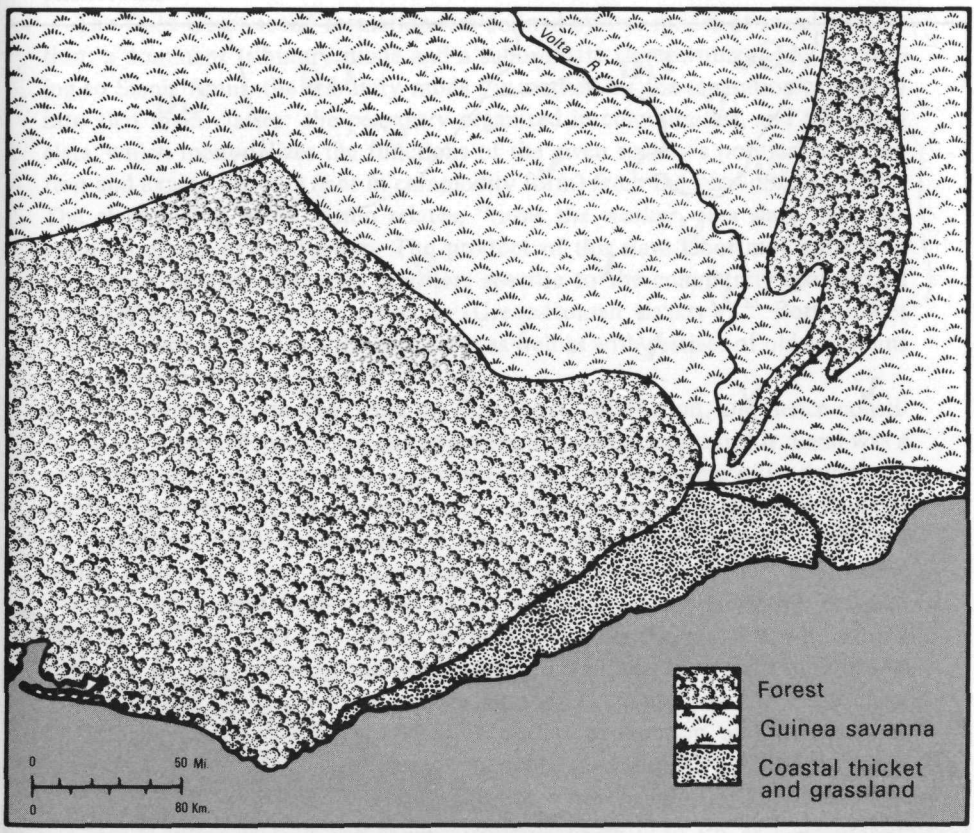
istration and the systems of social production. The second treats the institutionalized forms of dominance and subordination involving the state apparatus, the forms of social (or economic) surplus appropriation, the nature of personal and political dependence, and the nature of authority and power. The third theme examines the trading sector of the economy and its relation to production, the merchant estate and its commercial operations, merchant capital, currencies, trade goods, credit-debt transactions, and other related topics. Finally, it examines the different social strata with reference to their material conditions of life and their relationship to the market. These themes seek to highlight the historical and spatial forms of the social division of labor (the class structure) and the division of social labor (the structure of production) within the region.[7] Hence this study does not concern itself with the history of particular states or "ethnic groups"; nor does it attempt a narrative treatment of trade and politics.[8]

SOCIAL FORMATION AND MODES OF PRODUCTION

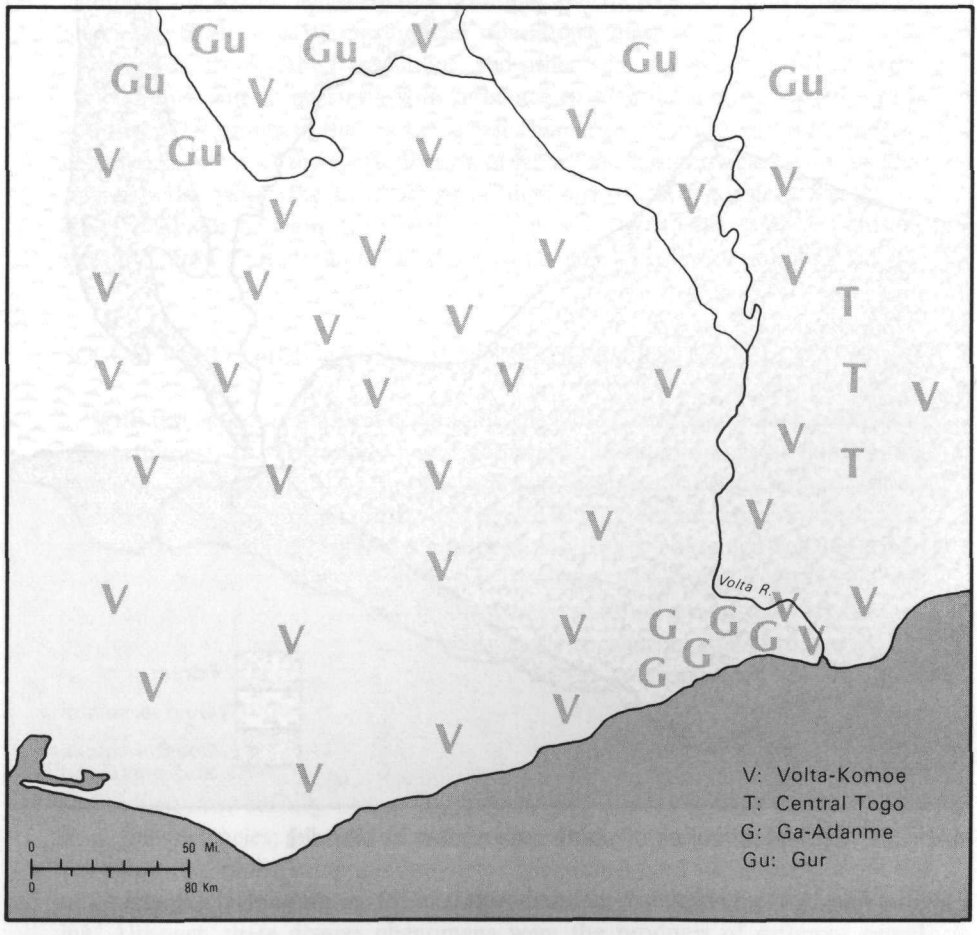
With respect to its political geography, the Gold Coast region was divided into a large number of territorially based political-military groupings or polities. Between the late sixteenth century and the late seventeenth century these polities numbered between forty and fifty and ranged in areal extent from two to around seven hundred square miles. In addition, the region contained four principal linguistic groupings: the Volta-Komoé, the Gur, the Central Togo (Ewe), and the Ga-Danme. In terms of geographical range and numbers of speakers the largest grouping was the Volta-Komoé, particularly speakers of the Akan language.[9]

While the region was characterized by spatial heterogeneity with regard to language distributions and political systems, it exhibited a relative degree of spatial homogeneity with respect to social structure, technology, and systems of social production. Thus, salient features of the regional political economy in the seventeenth century included extensive trade, markets and market production, and currencies; relations of social-political domination; economic and social stratification; wealth accumulation; urban hierarchies; and a common storehouse of productive techniques in, for example, farming, metalworking, and gold mining. Although these diverse phenomena were the products of different causal processes and historical times, they were nevertheless interconnected, forming constituent parts of a social and spatial totality. In addition, ties of kinship and clientage, common corporate organizations, common cosmogonic myths, and a common calendar as well as shared religious values served to link peoples, irrespective of linguistic differences and political boundaries, over a wide area.

Events and developments in the region, the structural features of the political economy, and the complex interaction between internal and external forces and factors cannot be properly understood without reference to the modes of production.[10] A mode of production can be defined as the social and technical means by which production was carried out (forces of production) and the way



MAP I.2 Ecological zones of study area shown in Map I.1



MAP I.3 Cultural-linguistic grouping of study area shown in Map I.1

the social product was produced, exchanged, distributed, and consumed (relations of production).[11] The mode of production concept is used to explain particular episodes of causation and to establish relationships between diverse phenomena.[12]

The Gold Coast social formation was defined by two modes of social production: a dominant tributary mode and a subordinate slaveowning mode. According to Samir Amin, the tributary mode "is marked by the separation of society into two main classes: the peasantry organized in communities, and the ruling class, which monopolizes the functions of the given society's political organization and exacts a tribute (not in commodity form) from the rural communities." The slaveowning mode, Amin relates, "turns the worker, as a slave, into the essential means of production. The product of this slave labor may enter into the circuit of noncommodity transfers specific to the community (patriarchal slavery) or into commodity circuits (Greco-Roman slavery)."[13] Both modes combined and interacted with each other as well as with vestiges of older systems of material production.[14]

The tributary mode was based on agricultural production, and hence constituted the means of producing and appropriating agricultural surplus. Land was a principal means of production, and control over and ownership of land was central to this mode. Control and ownership were legally institutionalized, at the level of territorially based polities, in the form of state landed property, and thus within each polity land constituted the collective property of the urban-based political ruling class. State landed property established a relationship between persons, between those who owned the land and those, the peasants, who merely possessed it. Peasants had conditional access to the land. Their right to farm was contingent on the payment of rent or land tax ("tribute") to the ruling class. Rent represented a permanent charge on peasant production, and thus peasants were obliged to produce not only for themselves but also for a politically dominant group. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rent was appropriated in the form of labor and money (gold). The appropriation of the agricultural surplus was realized through the fiscal administration of the state, and not through exchange. However, in order to meet their monetary rent obligations the peasantry was compelled to sell a portion of its produce on the market. One of the primary forms of the domination/subordination relationship in the society was that between the state (as represented by the political ruling class) and the peasantry, and one of the primary contradictions was the conflict between the peasantry and the ruling class over the appropriation of the agricultural surplus.

The slaveowning mode was not based on the control and ownership of land but on the juridical ownership of persons. Throughout the period under study the ownership of slaves was legally restricted to the privileged classes. Slaves were involved in both commodity and noncommodity "circuits." Some, for example, were employed in the production of gold and salt, while others served their owners as household servants and attendants. The relationship between slaveowners and their slaves represented another form of domination/subordination

in the society. The differentiation between free status and slave status constituted a second pervasive contradiction.

The tributary and slaveowning modes of production were not confined to particular linguistic groups, nor were they restricted to the territorial limits of particular states. They encompassed virtually the whole of the region. The area was characterized therefore by a socioeconomic system based on tributary and slaveowning relations of production.

PERIODIZATION AND THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

The social formation was not static, but, at different institutional and organizational "levels," experienced adaptations, shifts, reversals, and "movement." Whatever their specific form, change and development were not adventitious; they were not mechanical "responses" to the "impact" of external forces. They were rooted in the tributary and slaveowning systems of material production. While open to external "influences," these systems possessed their own internal dynamic and structural logic. Thus they displayed a capacity to change and evolve (or regress).[15]

This capacity was clearly manifested in the process of social reproduction. Apropos this process Mandel wrote:

> While the pre-capitalist modes of production passed through long periods of simple reproduction, they mostly ended by attaining at a certain moment in their evolution a stage of *expanded reproduction,* that is, a certain development of the instruments of labour, a certain accumulation of social wealth in the form of stocks of products and above all of stocks of additional tools. The mere accumulation of food reserves was already a primitive form of expanded reproduction.[16]

In Gold Coast society social reproduction may be said to have taken two distinct forms: simple reproduction and expanded reproduction.

Simple reproduction is defined as "a succession of production cycles which makes possible the maintenance of social wealth but not its increase," and expanded reproduction as "a succession of production cycles which makes possible an increase in social wealth," that is, accumulation in and expansion of the means of production over a sequential time span of long or short duration.[17] A third form, contracted reproduction, can also be identified. This is a "succession of production cycles which no longer allows social wealth to maintain itself but instead causes it to shrink."[18]

Irrespective of its form the process of social reproduction had not only a temporal dimension (movement through time) but also a geographical one (movement in space).[19] Thus expanded reproduction could occur at roughly the same rate and the same time in most parts of the region or it could occur in some parts but not in others which might have been distinguished by simple or con-

tracted forms of reproduction. In the first case social reproduction on a regional level would have been characterized by a high degree of spatial uniformity; in the second, by spatial differentiation, hierarchization, and peripheralization. Wars of conquest and imperial forms of political administration provided the conditions which led to the emergence of the latter. Thus the geopolitical centers of expansionist states would have been characterized by a combination of simple and expanded reproduction processes, while conquered and tributary territories would have been characterized by both simple and contracted forms of reproduction.[20]

It is my view, based partly on early-eighteenth-century oral histories and partly on archaeological evidence and contemporary documents, that between circa 1400 and 1750 the Gold Coast formation experienced, broadly speaking, three main periods in the process of social reproduction: period I (date unspecified to late fifteenth century); period II (late fifteenth to late seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries); and period III (late seventeenth to late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries). Each period represented a different combination of production cycles in both time and space (see tables I.1 and I.2).[21] The dominance of expanded reproduction during the second period resulted from major changes and developments in the social and territorial organization of production and distribution and in productive techniques. At the level of the territorially defined political systems, expanded reproduction was accompanied by rising rates of surplus appropriation and the increased accumulation and expenditure of social wealth by the privileged classes. Social stratification was reinforced.

The transition from period I to period II seems to have occurred without any major convulsions or dislocations. However, the transition from period II to period III was marked by social and political upheavals of serious proportions. Although each period had its particular set of characteristics, none is to be understood as a self-contained, mutually exclusive unit. Each was "open-ended." Period I was a product of earlier "epochs" and, at the same time, was the historical basis for developments in period II. Period III derived from period II and merged into the nineteenth century, which had its own distinctive features. This periodization attempts to establish that continuity and discontinuity (uneven, contradictory development, and not linear progression) characterized the historical "movement" of the society. Further, it posits particular "stages" or phases in the historical process of social production within the region.[22]

THE SOURCES

A study of this kind, with its focus on institutions, structure, and process, required the marshaling of a considerable body of data and the presentation of these data in a detailed "descriptive," rather than a synthesized "analytical," form. In consequence, the study has a rather "dense" quality. However, I have attempted to present the data in such a way that, taken in combination, they

Table I.1 Periodization of Social Reproduction in the Gold Coast

Period	*Production Cycles*			*Spatial Distribution*
	Simple	*Expanded*	*Contracted*	
I	Dominant	Subordinate		Uniform (even)
II	Subordinate	Dominant		Uniform (even)
III	Dominant	Subordinate	Dominant/subordinate	Differentiated (uneven)

Table I.2 Production Cycles and Modes of Production

Period	*Tributary Mode*	*Slaveowning Mode*
I	Simple (expanded)	Simple
II	Expanded (simple)	Expanded
III	Simple and contracted	Simple (expanded and contracted)
III	Simple (expanded)	Expanded (simple)

reveal not only the "composition" of the social formation but also the way in which its diverse components were causally related over time.

Extensive use has been made of European archival and published source materials. Indeed, it can be rightly said that these materials form the basis of this study. In addition to English, these source materials are in several different languages: Danish, Dutch, French, German, and Portuguese.

The archival documents include the records of the Danish, Dutch, English, and Swedish trading companies.[23] They are quite diverse in content, comprising letters (some of which are more than fifty pages long), journals of various kinds, accounts books, debt books, reports, court cases (and "palaver" books), treaties and contracts, inventories, ships' invoices, and maps.[24] The published sources include accounts written by Europeans who traveled to the region, mainly as traders, and stayed there for varying lengths of time, and accounts written by persons domiciled in Europe who collected information from individuals who had visited the Gold Coast.

These source materials provide a wealth of information on such matters as social structure, political and military organization, production, trade and markets, and settlement patterns. The greater part of this information was obtained from local informants, principally brokers, merchants, and office-holders. It is not farfetched therefore to consider many of the documentary sources African "texts" which were transmitted through the letters, reports, accounts, etc. of Europeans.

This study has not relied solely on European source materials. Use has been made of other types of evidence derived from archaeology, historical linguistics, geography, and published oral histories.[25] Together with the written source materials they provide the empirical base of this study.

Part One

THE SETTLEMENT ORDER

1

SETTLEMENT SYSTEMS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GOLD COAST

VARIOUS ORALLY TRANSMITTED HISTORIES refer to the importance of towns, or urban centers, in many parts of the Gold Coast region prior to 1700.[1] Indeed, they indicate explicitly that certain districts were more urbanized and populous in the seventeenth century than they were in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Both archaeological evidence and contemporary written accounts support this view.[2] There occurred, then, a significant change in the "settlement order" of parts of the region, a movement away from urbanization and town growth and toward relatively widespread deurbanization.

This shift constituted a major economic and demographic upheaval, amounting in effect to a fundamental transformation in the territorial organization of the productive forces. It corresponded to the transition from one form of social reproduction to another and, significantly, was accompanied by a sharp rise in the exportation of slaves from Gold Coast ports and by the importation of Brazilian gold.[3] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the external trade of the region was characterized by the importation of slaves and the exportation of gold. One important factor behind these developments was the emergence in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of militarized, expansionist states, specifically Akwamu, Denkyira, Asante, and Fante. Another factor may be suggested: the social and political ascendancy of the "countryside" occurred at the expense of the towns; it was a "movement" that negated the earlier paramountcy of the towns.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine the relationship between town and country and the nature of pre-eighteenth-century urban centers. Gold Coast towns were not haphazard agglomerations of people, nor were they agrarian villages. They were the foci of particular "sets" of precapitalist social and economic relations which emerged and changed under specific historical conditions.[4]

TOWNS, HINTERLANDS, AND HIERARCHIES

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries trade and production expanded at a fairly continuous rate throughout much of the region. Trade (*aguadi*), entailing the circulation and distribution of commodities, constituted an important sector of the regional economy. Four distinct commercial patterns can be discerned. Three of these patterns were international in character: the overseas trade, the coasting or cabotage trade, and the Muslim-dominated Sudanic trade. The expansion of the maritime overseas and coasting trades is indicated by the growth of old ports and the establishment of new ones during the course of the seventeenth century and by the increasing tonnage which the ports handled each year. In the early sixteenth century tonnage handled at the ports probably amounted to less than 3,000 tons a year; by the mid-seventeenth century it exceeded 10,000 tons. The growth of the Sudanic trade during the period was linked to the expanding commercial activities of Dyula mercantile groups in the Western and Central Sudan and to these merchants' increasing trade and capital investment in the urban settlements north of the forest zone.[5] The fourth trading pattern, that of the internal distributive networks, linked towns as well as towns and villages.

Several phenomena were associated with the expansion of the region's trade. They included: the growth of old markets and the establishment of new ones, the monetization of the regional economy, the emergence of specialist merchant corporations, the increasing importance of merchant capital, the development of caravan organization, and the growth of caravan traffic.

The growth of the commercial sector of the economy was necessarily contingent upon the expansion and development of the different branches of production: farming, fishing, salt making, crafts, livestock rearing, gold mining, and hunting. Developments in agricultural production were linked to large-scale forest clearance—and hence the creation of arable—in various districts of the Pra-Ofin basin and to the introduction of American crops, particularly maize, into the agricultural regime. Maize was already an established crop in the coastal zone by 1572, and was grown in the Bono state by 1640.[6] The adoption of this crop was of signal demographic import. Maize raised per capita caloric intake by several hundred percent, and doubtless was one factor that accelerated population growth.[7] Other technical developments in food crop production are also likely to have occurred during this period. Unfortunately, concrete evidence is lacking; however, it can be suggested that forest agriculture experienced the consolidation and spatial extension of two types of farms, the "mixed forest farm" (*die gemischte Waldfarm*) and the "mixed bush farm" (*die gemischte Buschfarm*), and two methods of land clearing, *apam* and *proka*.[8]

Portuguese sources indicated that the rearing of livestock increased considerably from about the mid-sixteenth century on.[9] Gold production also expanded at a relatively rapid rate throughout the period. Craft industries were increasingly

concentrated in and around towns after the late fifteenth century. At an earlier period artisanal activities were an integral part of the agrarian village economy, which was characterized by the unity of agricultural and craft labor.[10] With the urbanization of crafts—and the subsequent separation of craft and agricultural labor—there occurred the spatial concentration of the means of labor (the artisans' instruments of production) and the objects of labor (the artisans' raw materials), as well as craft labor itself. The scale of artisanal production necessarily expanded.[11] If simple reproduction is defined as "the preservation of the previous stage of production by a subsequent one,"[12] the different branches of production were not limited to this cycle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were able to realize "bursts" of reproduction on an extended scale.

Changes and developments in commerce and in the structure and process of production determined in large measure the territorial organization of the population. In many parts of the region new settlements were founded, ranging from the hamlets of fishermen and peasants to large trading and political centers. In the 1630s and early 1640s, for example, the wealthy *ohene* Takyi established a large number of farming villages (presumably inhabited by slaves) in the Eguafo state, and between 1550 and 1670 wealthy and prominent persons, the *abirempon,* founded many new settlements in various districts in the Pra-Ofin basin.[13] And, in the coastal Accra plains, "the pattern of settlement changes, from one of small and medium-sized villages, usually, as far as is known, with an irregular layout, to one of towns, from ½ mile to 7 miles long, very orderly in the placing of compounds and middens."[14] The replacement of villages by towns amounted to a reorganization of space: one type of settlement was succeeded by another that was qualitatively different.

Population growth was clearly an important variable in the process of town formation. Both archaeological evidence and oral histories indicate that in many districts the population grew and expanded territorially during this period.[15] However, the changing social composition and qualitative characteristics of the population (for example, increasing social stratification and occupational differentiation) were more crucial and fundamental in the process of urbanization. The emergence and growth of towns was one manifestation of the historical development of the division of labor in the region.[16]

The towns, varying in areal extent and population size, were essentially places where social wealth, power, and authority were focused. Multifunctionality and socioeconomic heterogeneity were two defining features of the urban settlements. The towns were characterized by the concentration of craft industries and trade and of market production and commodity circulation. They were centers of political power and of judicial-administrative and military organization, and they were assembly points for military forces in times of war. They served then as organizational centers of political dominance and of *Policey-Ordnung.*[17] Hence, they were an important base of support of the ruling classes, which were generally concentrated in them. Further, the towns were centers of religious and civic ceremonies and pageantry. And they were also a dominant linguistic "force":

people in the rural settlements tended to speak the language of their particular town (*nkuro kasa/man ywiemo:* "town language").[18]

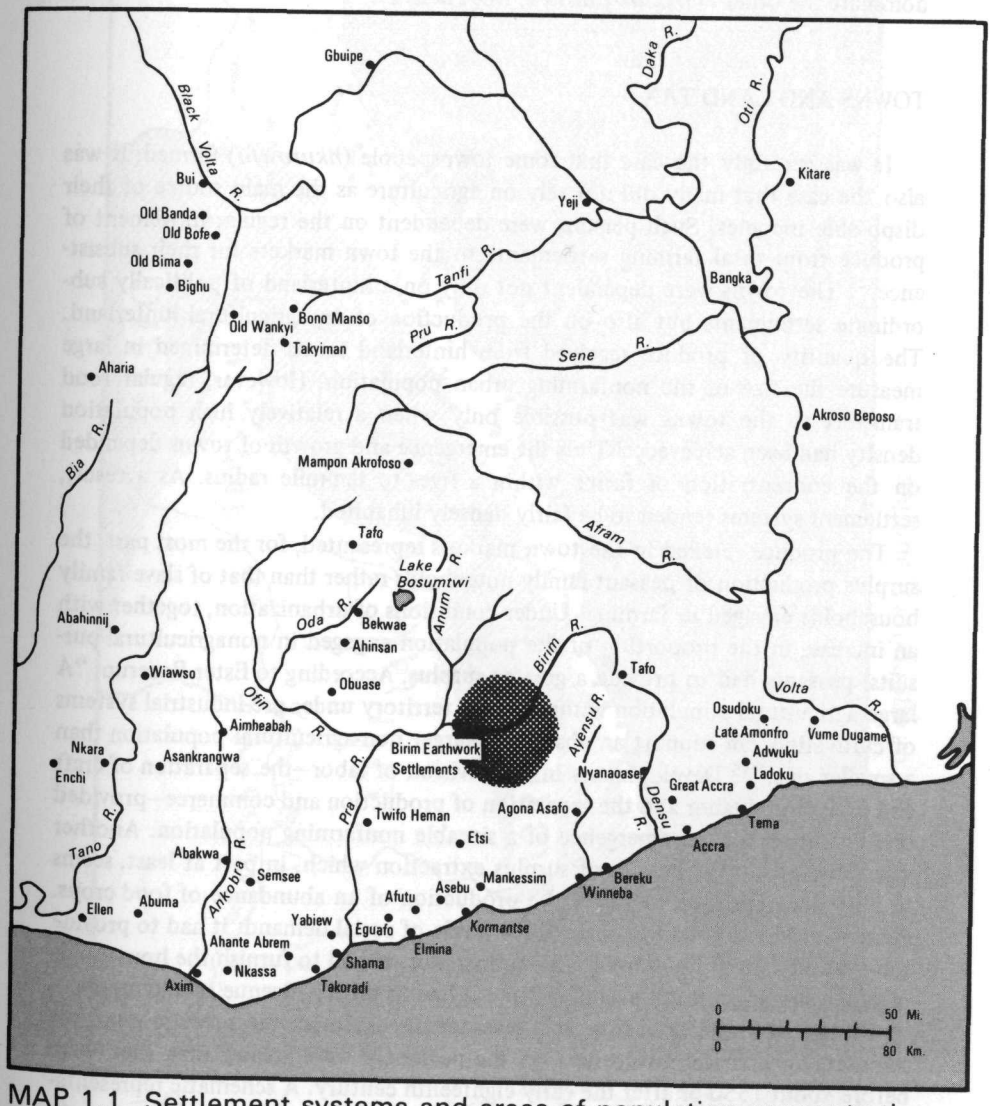
Hamlets and villages lacked the social and occupational heterogeneity and the specialized functions found in the urban centers. They were the residences of slaves and other personal dependents of the ruling classes and of revenue-paying peasants, craftsmen, goldminers, salt makers, fishermen, and other free producers. The functions associated with rural settlements were socially and spatially generalized, for they were largely limited to basic production activities. Each town had in its environs a number of dependent hamlets and villages inhabited by free and unfree families. The collectivity of dependent settlements constituted the hinterland of the town. The hinterland can be defined as a composite settlement system (or settlement zone) of hamlets, villages, and a paramount urban center. The hinterland of a large, important town also included a number of small towns.[19]

There were many settlement systems in the region. Each had a definite structure which, in spatial terms, was characterized by centrality, networks, and a hierarchy. Centrality was based on a single town that served as the center of diverse activities for all of the other settlements. The networks of a settlement system comprised the commercial, cultural, political, and military relations which linked the hamlets and villages to the central town, and the hierarchy was based on the ordered ranking of settlements according to their sizes and functions.[20]

The different settlement systems did not exist in isolation from one another. They fell into large territorial population groupings within which the central towns formed interacting hierarchies of multifunctionality, wealth, and power. Two distinct but interrelated hierarchies can be identified: the political hierarchy and the commercial hierarchy. The political hierarchy was defined by a territorially based administrative system. Spatially it corresponded to the border of a polity. Within this structure existed a hierarchy of political centers ranging from district capitals, which dominated a few villages and hamlets, to state capitals, which dominated many hamlets, villages, and district capitals. In the early seventeenth century territorial population groupings based on political hierarchies numbered over forty.

The commercial hierarchy was defined by the geography of trade, that is, by the location of markets and arterial routes. Within this structure existed a hierarchy of marketing centers ranging from periodic local markets, which traded in produce and craft goods, to the great commercial towns and fairs, which engaged in intraregional and international commerce. Territorial population groupings based on commercial hierarchies encompassed extensive areas that were not confined to particular linguistic groups or the political boundaries of states. In the early seventeenth century there were no more than five such groupings. The political and commercial hierarchies, therefore, were not spatially coterminous; functionally, every urban center belonged to both.

In many respects the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political and military



MAP 1.1 Settlement systems and areas of population concentration, 1550-1650

history of the region can be viewed in terms of conflict among towns as they competed for commercial and political paramountcy. The view held in the nineteenth century is applicable to this early period: "Of several towns one must dominate the other" ([*Akuro*] *doso a, woyi bi aye*).[21]

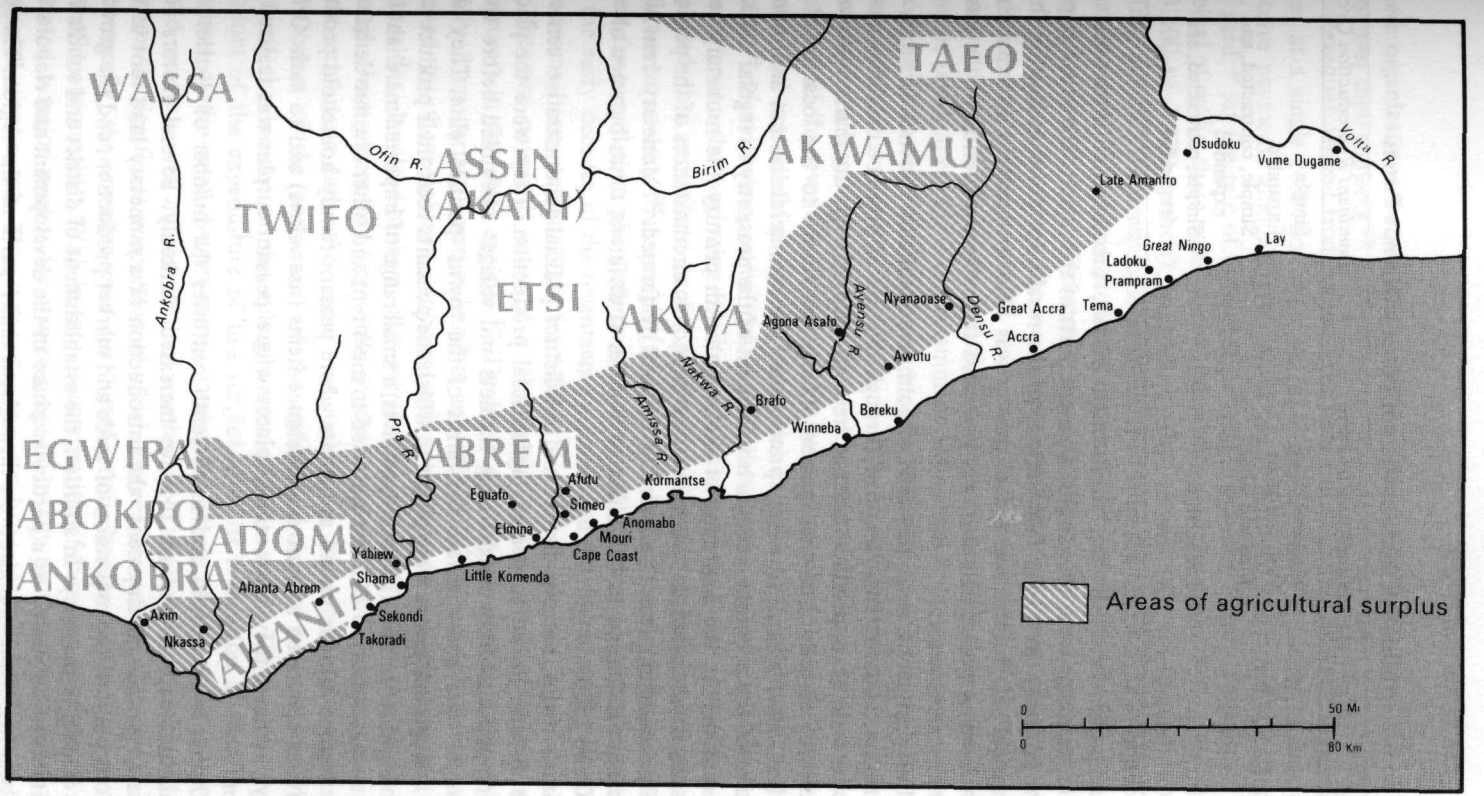
TOWNS AND LAND TAX

It was certainly the case that some townspeople (*nkurowfo*) farmed; it was also the case that many did not rely on agriculture as the main source of their disposable incomes. Such persons were dependent on the regular movement of produce from rural farming settlements to the town markets for their subsistence.[22] The towns were dependent not only on a hinterland of politically subordinate settlements but also on the production of an agricultural hinterland. The quantity of produce received from hinterland farms determined in large measure the size of the nonfarming urban population. However, regular food transport to the towns was possible only when a relatively high population density had been achieved.[23] Thus the emergence and growth of towns depended on the concentration of farms within a five- to ten-mile radius. As a result, settlement systems tended to be fairly densely inhabited.

The produce retailed in the town markets represented, for the most part, the surplus production of peasant family households rather than that of slave family households engaged in farming. Under conditions of urbanization, together with an increase in the proportion of the population engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, peasants had to provide a greater surplus. According to Ester Boserup, "A large agricultural population within a given territory under pre-industrial systems of cultivation can support an absolutely larger non-agricultural population than a smaller one."[24] Developments in the division of labor—the separation of craft and agricultural labor and the separation of production and commerce—provided one condition for the emergence of a sizeable nonfarming population. Another was provided by the system of surplus extraction which, in part at least, seems to have been designed to foster the production of an abundance of food crops. Peasant production had to meet three levels of social demand: it had to provide the peasant family household with subsistence, it had to furnish the households of other, nonagricultural producers, and it had to satisfy revenue requirements.

During the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the revenue demands imposed by political authorities on the peasantry were greater than they were before about 1550 or after the early eighteenth century. A schematic representation of the forms of peasant revenue (rent or land tax) payments is given in table 1.1.

During period I, when peasant surplus was realized as produce and corvée labor, town formation occurred at a comparatively slow pace and towns were generally dispersed and few in number. The agricultural surplus extracted from agrarian hamlets and villages could only support a relatively small nonfarming



MAP 1.2 The coastal zone and areas of agricultural surplus

Table 1.1 Periodization of Peasant Revenue Forms

Period	*Agricultural Surplus Form*	*Dominant Reproduction Cycle*
I	Kind and labor	Simple
II	Cash and labor	Expanded
III	Kind and labor	Simple, contracted, and expanded
III	Labor only	Simple, contracted, and expanded

urban population.[25] During the second period, urbanization intensified as numerous towns were founded in different parts of the region. The urban population probably grew at a faster rate than the rural population, indicating that the agricultural surplus realized as money was able to maintain an expanding town-dwelling population that was separated from the production of the basic means of subsistence.

Money payments took the form of gold, the dominant currency in much of the region, and gold was acquired through the sale of produce on the market. Surplus realized as produce did not have to pass through the market but was transferred directly from the peasant family household to the local political overlord. Money rent, however, presupposes the commercialization and monetization of the economy and the involvement of the peasantry in regular market transactions. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the monetary rent assessment was based on two factors, the economic circumstances of the peasant family household and the quantity of land it farmed.[26] Monetary rent was probably established in the different polities at different times between about 1480 and 1580.

Small towns, namely district and subdistrict judicial-administrative centers, were directly linked to peasant agricultural production. They were the places where peasants from neighboring hamlets and villages assembled before they began to clear and cultivate the farms of the towns' political elite. They also had markets and hence were places to which the peasants took their produce and exchanged it for salt, fish, craft products, a small range of imported merchandise, and money (gold).[27] The last was used to meet rent and other revenue demands. The district capitals served as centers where peasant family household production was converted to various subsistence items (use-values) and to cash. Originally, perhaps, they were mainly places where peasant surplus was realized as labor.[28]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the number of district and subdistrict capitals appears to have increased markedly. Several factors contributed to this development: the introduction of a monetary land rent in the various polities, the expansion of trade and market production, and the growing use of gold as currency. In addition, the establishment of district and subdistrict capitals can be viewed as a particular phase in the development and elaboration of local municipal organizations throughout many parts of the region. Through

these organizations the political authorities (*ooverheede*) strengthened their control over their subjects.[29]

Revenues derived from money rent were not negligible. In 1601 it was noted that at a single collection the ruler (*ohene* or *brafo*) of a district capital could receive payments amounting to ten or twelve ounces (3,840 or 4,608 dambas) of gold.[30] At the rate of 6 dambas per chest (equaling 5 bushels equaling 1,000 stalks) of *millie*, these sums would have represented the sale of 640 or 768 chests (3,200 or 3,820 bushels), an amount which would have maintained between 3,000 and 5,000 townspeople at subsistence level for a year.[31] If it is assumed that one acre of farmland produced an average of 40 bushels of *millie*, the rent payments would have represented the production of eighty to ninety-three acres.[32] Although precise data are lacking, it is likely that the revenue systems of the different polities extracted from one-fourth to one-half of the value of a peasant family household's annual agricultural output.[33] Under the circumstances few households could accumulate substantial holdings in gold. However, most, under the prevailing techniques of cultivation, would have produced relatively substantial quantities of food crops. The fairly high level of taxation must have forced a large agricultural surplus on the market. For in order to satisfy the demands of the revenue collectors each household was very likely obliged to cultivate land that would provide at least twice as much as its subsistence requirements.[34] Nevertheless, some peasant families were not free from economic hardship. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, for example, it was reported that rent (*land pacht*) payments had made many peasants (*boeren*) debtors to wealthy townspeople (*steelieden*).[35] Peasant indebtedness provided a basis for two distinct phenomena: the rise of rural banditry in particular districts in the early decades of the seventeenth century and the migration of peasants to the towns, hence peasant flight from the land.

The rent payments received at the district capitals were sent to the state treasurers in the state capitals.[36] The state capitals also received revenues directly from certain agrarian hamlets and villages. These capitals were characterized by the combined activities and operations of the principal political authorities, landlord-brokers and merchants, and priests and priestesses. Although these places had large daily produce markets where peasants converted their surplus to cash, they were not, unlike the district capitals, the urban by-product of the conversion of the agricultural surplus into money (which became the income of the ruling classes and the state). They were the by-product of the expenditure of this surplus after its realization as cash in the markets of the small district towns. During the course of a year a state capital could receive several million dambas' worth of gold in revenues, an unknown but apparently significant proportion of which was represented by monetary rent.[37] Customarily, the revenues were distributed among leading political, mercantile, and religious notables. With its large concentration of money, a state capital represented a major market for a wide range of locally produced craft goods and imported merchandise. Thus it functioned not only as a central political-adminis-

trative town but also as a commercial center engaged in intraregional and international trade. Monetary rent gave the privileged classes easier access to the market. In contrast, the trade of many district and subdistrict capitals was highly localized. However, this trade provided the basis for the flourishing mercantile activities of the larger urban settlements.

The emergence and growth of major trading towns during the period was linked to the conversion of peasant agricultural surplus, realized as gold, to merchant capital.[38] The process of urbanization was partly rooted in the transfer of social wealth from the settlements of free cultivators to the towns.

The towns also received a substantial agricultural surplus from agrarian settlements inhabited by slaves. Generally speaking, the large households of the urbanized upper classes did not depend on peasant farms for their provisions. They relied on the labor of agricultural slaves who were employed in clearing virgin and fallow lands and in farming.[39] It is likely that between 40 and 60 percent of the slave cultivators' production was appropriated by their owners.[40] Slaveowning relations provided another means for the transfer of social wealth produced in the rural areas to the urban settlements. The regular importation of slaves into the region from the fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries attests to the importance of slave labor in social production.

The urban settlement was the locus of articulation between two forms of social wealth distribution, revenues ("political wealth") and merchant capital ("mercantile wealth"). The distribution (and circulation) of revenues was based on tributary and slaveowning relations, which were institutionalized in the judicial, administrative, and military organizations of the different polities. These relations were characterized by relations of authority and hierarchy and of dominance and subservience. The distribution of revenues was not governed by commercial or market transactions but by the political-legal apparatus of surplus extraction. In the case of free producers, for example, peasants, revenues were appropriated as rent, taxes, fines, and corvée labor; in the case of slaves, as products (for example, produce, gold, craft goods, fish, and salt) and labor. The spatial movement and social distribution of revenues were largely confined to the boundaries of territorially defined state systems.

The distribution of merchant capital (that is, exchange values) was based on commercial determinants, namely the activities and transactions of traders and the system of marketing networks. Merchant capital circulated in the form of commodities and money and was geared to the realization of profit. Its spatial movement was not confined to the boundaries of a single polity; merchant capital circulated within large trading or marketing systems that embraced many polities. Its territorial scale of operation was considerably greater than that of revenues.

The spatial and social distribution of revenues and merchant capital occurred within the framework of two empirically distinct but connected territorial structures: one based on a hierarchy of political-administrative centers, the other on a hierarchy of commercial ones. Both forms of social wealth were functional-

ly related. Revenues were converted to merchant capital and merchant capital was converted to taxes, tolls, and fines. In addition, both were converted to means of production (for example, land, tools, and slaves) and articles of consumption (for example, textiles, personal ornaments, and household utensils); they were also utilized as ceremonial funds on such occasions as funerals, weddings, and various civic and religious pageants.

THE LOCATION OF TOWNS

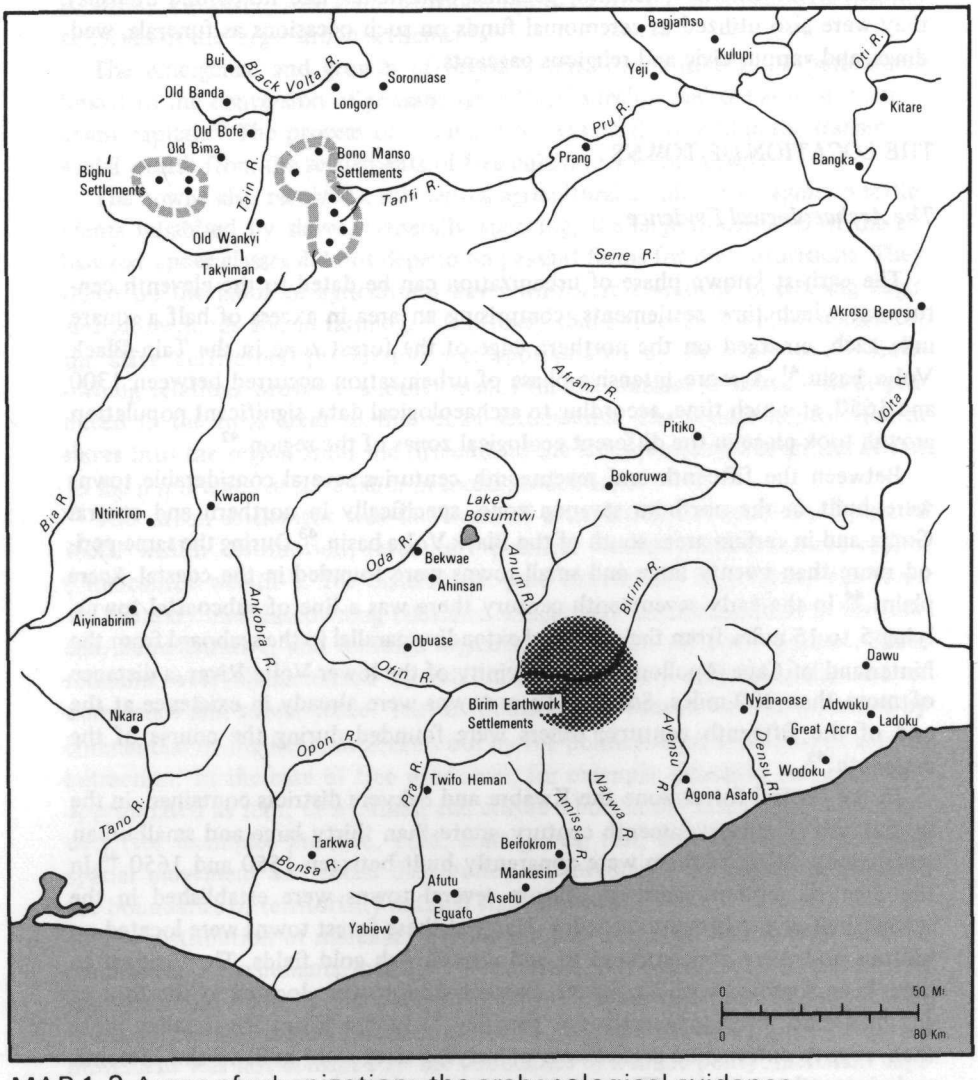
The Archaeological Evidence

The earliest known phase of urbanization can be dated to the eleventh century, at which time settlements, comprising an area in excess of half a square mile each, emerged on the northern edge of the forest zone in the Tain–Black Volta basin.[41] A more intensive phase of urbanization occurred between 1300 and 1650, at which time, according to archaeological data, significant population growth took place in the different ecological zones of the region.[42]

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries several considerable towns were built in the northern savanna zone, specifically in northern and central Gonja and in certain areas south of the Black Volta basin.[43] During the same period more than twenty large and small towns were founded in the coastal Accra plains.[44] In the early seventeenth century there was a line of subcoastal towns, lying 5 to 15 miles from the coast and extending parallel to the seaboard from the hinterland of Cape Apollonia to the vicinity of the lower Volta River, a distance of more than 200 miles. Some of these towns were already in existence at the end of the fifteenth century; others were founded during the course of the sixteenth.[45]

In the central forest zone the Kwabre and Sekyere districts contained, in the second half of the seventeenth century, more than thirty large and small urban settlements. Most of them were apparently built between 1550 and 1650.[46] In the area of modern southern Asante several towns were established in the second half of the fifteenth century. Many of these forest towns were located on hilltops and were concentrated in and around rich gold fields. They appear to have been fortified with stockades. Peasant villages were located at the foot of the hills, and were apparently not fortified.[47] In the Birim River valley more than twenty entrenched settlements of varying sizes were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They were concentrated in an area of less than forty square miles.[48] Further east, on the Akuapem scarp, several towns were built during the sixteenth century, some of which were fortified with stone walls.[49]

In the early 1570s there were several important urban settlements situated along the banks of the Ankobra River, and by the 1650s there were many trading posts and political centers located in the lower and middle Tano River valley.[50] Between the two rivers archaeological surveys have revealed the presence



MAP 1.3 Areas of urbanization: the archaeological evidence

of ruined town sites on hilltops. The towns were located in the vicinity of exploitable auriferous deposits and, originally, were fortified with earthworks or stockades. Around the hills were extensive clearings of several square miles; these were very likely associated with agricultural production.[51]

The archaeological evidence indicates that a regional network of towns was consolidated between about 1450 and 1650. The emergence and establishment of this network was linked to the expansion of trade, on the one hand, and to the expansion of the social surplus and a further development of the productive forces, on the other. The expansion of trade can be attributed to two factors. The first involved socioeconomic changes and developments internal to the region, for example, the transformation of the agricultural surplus into commodities and money and the emergence of social groups, such as merchants, urban craftsmen, servile gold producers, and free day laborers, which were separated from the direct production of their means of subsistence. The second involved the growth and regularization of external commercial relations: the overseas trade (from 1471 onwards), the coasting trade (extending from the Malagueta coast to Benin and beyond), and the Sudanic trade (which flourished from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards). Regional socioeconomic development, therefore, occurred within a wider international context.

Certainly, European accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries refer to the numerous ports on the littoral and to the "great towns" in the interior of the country. The Dutchman Pieter de Marees provides a useful comparison between the coastal and inland urban centers:

> The towns which lie towards the interior of the country [that is, five to fifteen miles from the coast] are richer in goods and gold than the border [that is, coastal] towns, and have more houses and are more populous than the sea side towns; they also have wealthier merchants who conduct more trade than those in the coastal towns whose inhabitants are the interpreters, boatmen, pilots, officials, fishermen, and slaves of the inhabitants of the interior towns. . . . The inland towns are extremely large compared to the coastal towns, . . . but I have learned from the Blacks that further inland still are larger towns containing multitudes of people.[52]

De Marees's account points to the existence of both urban networks and urban hierarchies.

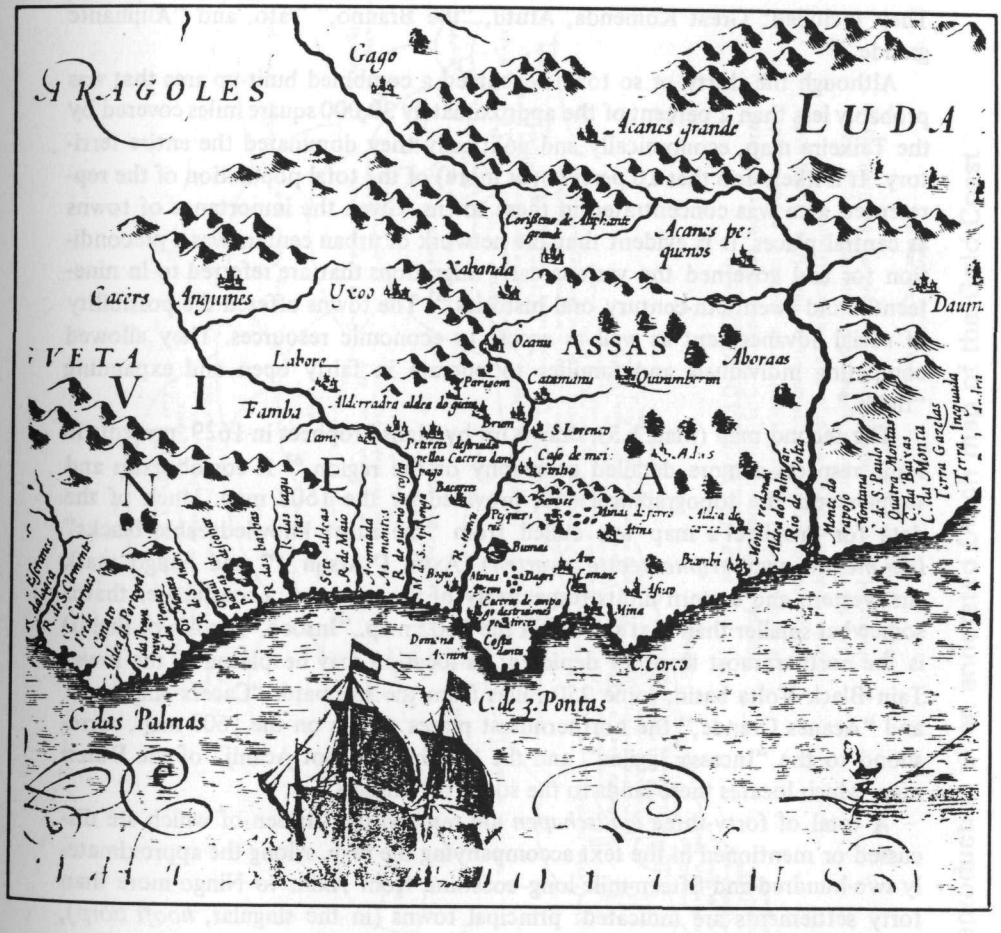
The Cartographical Evidence

Cartographical sources provide additional information on the towns of the region. Three maps, two of early-seventeenth-century date, the third an eighteenth-century work, provide a broad geographical framework for an examination of the regional urban network and local settlement systems between 1550 and 1720. In spite of inaccuracies of scale, the validity of their topographical content is not impaired. Comparisons with contemporary written documentation establish, for the most part, the reliability of the maps' topographical de-

tail. The earliest map, a product of the Portuguese cartographer Luis Teixeira, was published in 1602.[53] The detail of the map is almost entirely confined to the West African coast; however, a fairly substantial amount of information is provided for both the coast and the interior of the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast can be defined as the territory bordered by the Komoé River ("R. de Sueiro da Costa") in the west, the Volta River ("R. de Volta") in the east, and, in the north, by "Cacers Anguines" and "Acanes Grande." Most, if not all, of the topographical data relating to the lands between the Komoé and Ankobra ("R. Mansu") rivers were based upon a report and a map drawn up by a certain Menda Motta, who in 1573 journeyed up the Ankobra to the gold mines of the "Big Elephant" (*Elephante Grande*).[54] These mines were located some ninety leagues north of the mouth of the river. The information on the inland places east of the Ankobra basin and west of the Volta was derived from the oral or written accounts of different Portuguese factors who at various times during the sixteenth century traveled into the interior.[55] Teixeira's representation of the Gold Coast towns, polities, and districts was founded on the personal knowledge of Portuguese travelers. The primary purpose of these inland journeys was to obtain information on gold production and the gold trade. Significantly, all of the places depicted on the map are known to have been involved either directly or indirectly in gold extraction and the traffic in gold. The topographical data would seem generally applicable to the second half of the sixteenth century.

On the Teixeira map towns are depicted as groups of buildings, some with a circle incorporated in them. Until nearly the end of the eighteenth century this was the standard symbol employed by European cartographers to denote urban settlements. The arrangements of the buildings' symbols indicated the size and importance of the towns represented.[56] The distribution of the symbols shows that the largest towns were to be found in the interior, and not on the coast. De Marees noted this in his description of the area, and archaeological evidence and historical traditions confirm it.

The presence of towns implies the existence of local settlement systems attached to them. Each urban center can be assumed, therefore, to have been a central place, an apical center dominating a number of hamlets, villages, and small towns. Since about thirty inland towns are depicted, they may be said to have represented an equal number of settlement systems (see map 1.4). Late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Portuguese documents refer to several of these towns. Those located in or near the Ankobra valley were said to have been important gold-producing and gold-marketing centers and political capitals.[57] Great Accra was described as a populous city (*cidade de muita gente*), most of whose inhabitants were engaged in commerce. It was located in rich agricultural land and had numerous satellite settlements; it also, according to one account, had gold mines under its jurisdiction.[58] North of Accra was the town of "Aboraas" (Abura), which was described as a major gold-producing and gold-trading center.[59] A document of 1530 refers to the area east of Great Accra, where the dominant urban center was Ladoku. This town as well as its



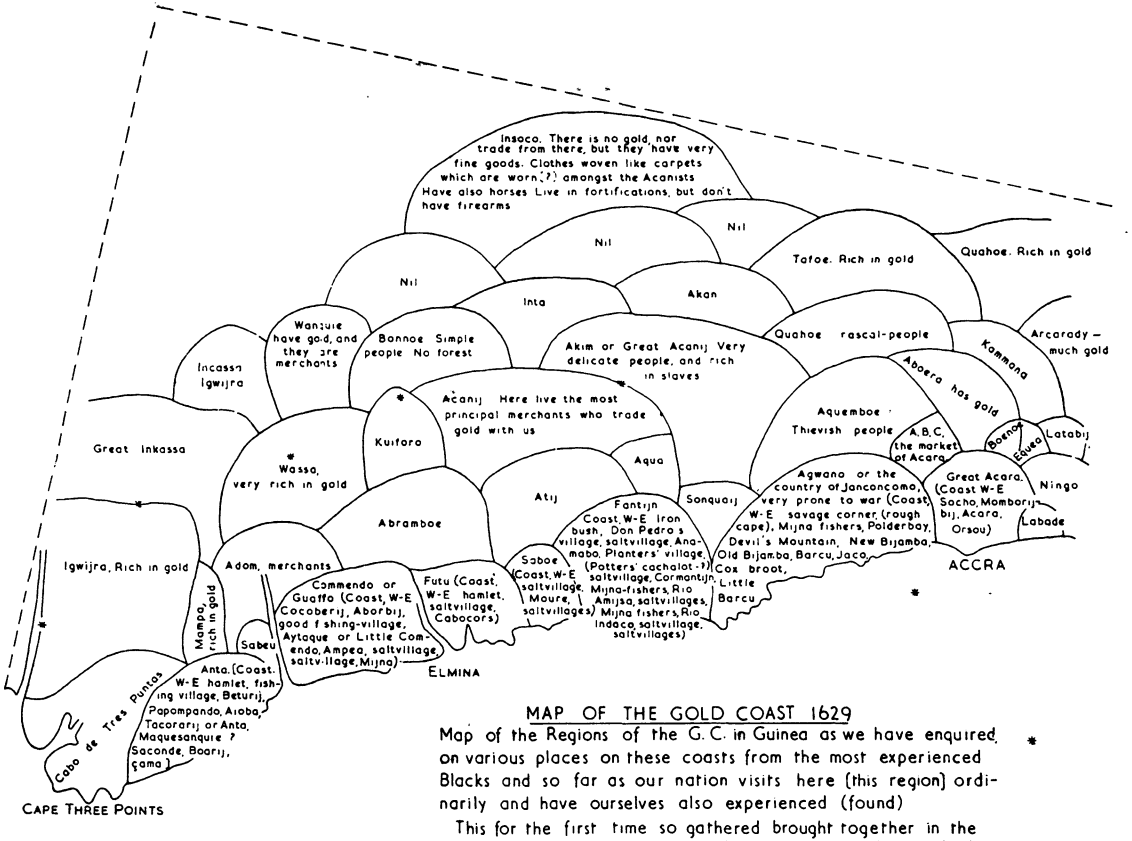
MAP I.4 Detail of Luis Teixeira's 1602 map of West Africa

dependent settlements were engaged in the lower Volta gold trade and, apparently, had commercial relations with communities east of the Volta in the territory of the later Great Popo, as well.[60] A number of other inland towns were also noted as important trading and gold-producing places and as political centers. They included: Great Komenda, Afutu, "the Branno," Tafo, and "Aliphante grande."[61]

Although the thirty or so towns occupied a combined built-up area that was probably less than 2 percent of the approximately 30,000 square miles covered by the Teixeira map, economically and politically they dominated the entire territory. It is likely too that 10 percent (or more) of the total population of the represented area was concentrated in these towns. Given the importance of towns as central places, it is evident that the network of urban centers was a precondition for and governed the various early migrations that are referred to in nineteenth- and twentieth-century oral histories.[62] The towns offered the possibility of social advancement as well as access to economic resources. They allowed competing individuals and families to operate in fairly open and expanding "fields."

The second map (map 1.5), drawn up by Hans Propheet in 1629, presents in some respects a more detailed geography of the region.[63] It corroborates and supplements the topographical data provided by the 1602 map. Much of the data for Propheet's map was culled from "the most knowledgeable blacks" (*de meeste geexperijmenteeste swarten*). Axim ("Atsijn")[64] and Ningo mark the western and eastern limits respectively of the seaboard, a coastal area that is somewhat smaller than that shown on the 1602 map. "Insoco" (Nsoko or Bighu) is the northernmost territory depicted; its location may be placed in the lower Tain-Black Volta basin, some 250 miles from the seaboard. "Cacers Anguines" and "Acanes Grande," the northernmost places shown on the 1602 map, correspond to the "Incassa Iggijna" and the "Akim or Groot Acanij" of the Dutch map, which locates these lands to the south of "Insoco."

A total of forty-three *landschapen* are represented, fifteen of which are discussed or mentioned in the text accompanying the map. Along the approximately two-hundred-and-fifteen-mile-long coastline from Axim to Ningo more than forty settlements are indicated: principal towns (in the singular, *hooft dorp*), villages (in the singular, *durp*), and hamlets (in the singular, *durpie*). In addition, five state capitals are specified—Great Komenda, Afutu, Asebu, Mankessim, and Great Accra—and one, probably district, capital, Mamprobi ("Momberijbij"), which was under Great Accra. According to de Marees, the main seaboard towns were, on average, twelve to sixteen miles apart.[65] The distances between the principal subcoastal towns ranged between about ten and twenty-five miles. Unlike the Teixeira map, the Dutch map does not depict any towns beyond the coastal *landschapen*; however, it does specify some of the places where gold production was carried out and where merchants (*kooplieden*) engaged in the gold trade were located. Various post-1629 Dutch trading-company records, many of


Insaco. There is no gold, nor trade from there, but they have very fine goods. Clothes woven like carpets which are worn (?) amongst the Acanists Have also horses Live in fortifications, but don't have firearms
Nil
Nil
Nil
Tafoe. Rich in gold
Quahoe. Rich in gold
Inta
Akan
Wanjure have gold, and they are merchants
Bannoe Simple people No forest
Akim or Great Acanij Very delicate people, and rich in slaves
Quahoe rascal-people
Kammana
Arcarady – much gold
Aboera has gold
Incassa Igwijra
Acanij Here live the most principal merchants who trade gold with us
Aquemboe
Thievish people
A.B.C. the market of Acara
Boenoy
Eduea
Latabij
Great Inkassa
Kuiforo
Aqua
Wassa, very rich in gold
Atij
Agwana or the country of Janconcoma, very prone to war (Coast)
Great Acara. (Coast W-E Sacho, Mamboriji bij, Acara, Orsou)
Ningo
Labade
Sonquaij
Fantijn Coast W-E Iron bush, Don Pedro's village, saltvillage, Anamabo, Planters' village, (Potters' cachalot-?) saltvillage, Cormantijn, Mijna-fishers, Rio Amijsa, saltvillages, Mijna fishers, Rio Indaco, saltvillage, saltvillages)
W-E savage corner, (rough cape), Mijna fishers, Polderbay, Devil's Mountain, New Bijamba, Old Bijamba, Barcu, Jaco
Abramboe
Igwijra, Rich in gold
Adom, merchants
Saboe (Coast, W-E saltvillage, Moure, saltvillages)
Cox broot, Little Barcu
ACCRA
Commendo or Guaffo (Coast, W-E Cocoberij, Aborbij, good fishing-village, Aytaque or Little Commendo, Ampea, saltvillage, saltvillage, Mijna)
Futu (Coast, W-E hamlet, saltvillage, Cabocors)
Mamma rich in gold
Sabeu
ELMINA
Anta. (Coast, W-E hamlet, fishing village, Beturij, Papompando, Aioba, Tacorarij or Anta, Maquesanquie ? Saconde, Boarij, çama)
Cabo de Tres Puntas
CAPE THREE POINTS

MAP OF THE GOLD COAST 1629

Map of the Regions of the G. C. in Guinea as we have enquired on various places on these coasts from the most experienced Blacks and so far as our nation visits here (this region) ordinarily and have ourselves also experienced (found)

This for the first time so gathered brought together in the interest of those who take speculation in her, till by somebody else a better one will be made.

Done this 25th December 1629 in Guinea at Moure

MAP 1.5 Reproduction of an annotated Dutch map of the Gold Coast

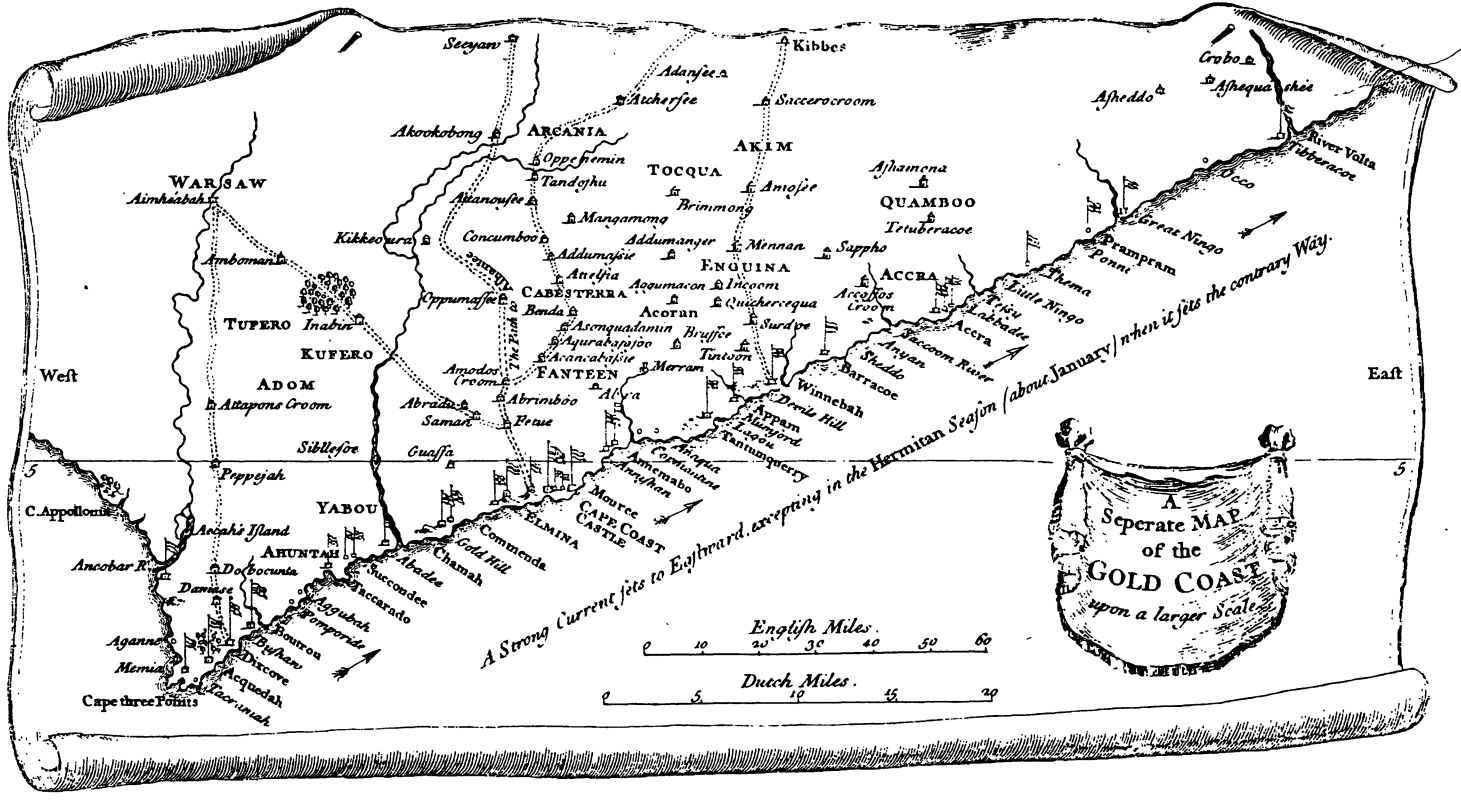
which contain references to the interior, indicate that the political geography of 1629 remained largely unchanged until about 1670.[66]

Propheet divided the region into territorial units that were designated *landschapen*. This word conveyed two distinct meanings. On the one hand, it referred to a political-administrative system, or polity, and, on the other, it referred to a geographical or territorial unit. It may be considered a Dutch rendering of two Akan terms: *oman* (in the plural, *aman*), which refers to political units, and *afamu*, which refers to geographical ones.

In his nineteenth-century dictionary of the Akan language, Christaller gives five separate definitions of *oman*, two of which are apposite here: "the inhabitants of a town as a political body" and "the body of inhabitants of a country united under the same government."[67] Rattray suggests that in its original sense the word probably meant "a town and the people of that town."[68] By extension it came to include the lands and settlements surrounding a town, that is, a town's administrative and economic hinterland. The word was clearly used in the last sense in the seventeenth century. The capital of the Eguafo polity was popularly known as Great Komenda, but it was also known as Eguafoman ("Aguaffoman").[69] The name of the capital was also the name of the state. Similarly, Aboraman ("Abraman") denoted the name of a town and the name of the political division that the town dominated.[70] Aboraman formed part of the larger Fante state. Between 1660 and 1662 a town was built around the Danish fort Fredriksborg in the Afutu polity. The town, together with its political-administrative division, which consisted of farming, fishing and craft villages, was called Amanfro ("Manfro," "Amamfro"), "new town," or, as glossed by Muller, *ein neues Land.*[71] In all three cases the suffix *man* (equals *oman*) denoted a town and the territory that it dominated politically. Thus the word refers not only to an urban political center but also to a polity or state system.[72]

Afamu can be defined as a "district," "region," "subregion," or "territory."[73] It has no political (or "ethnic") connotations. Within the seventeenth-century context it may be said to have connoted cognitive geographical areas, that is, the conscious views of locational relationships which, for example, merchants, who traveled extensively, had of their spatial and social-cultural environment exclusive of political affiliations and political groupings under sovereign authorities.[74] An *afamu,* therefore, was a geographical area that could contain several constituent *aman* as well as different linguistic groupings. Of the forty-three *landschapen,* at least seven were *afamu*: Ahanta ("Anta"), Great Enkassa, "Incassa Iggijna," Wassa, Etsi ("Atij"), Akan, and "Insoco."

The third map (map 1.6) appears as an inset of a 1746 navigational chart of the western African coast from Cape Blanco to Angola.[75] The area of the map is defined by the Ankobra and Volta rivers in the west and east respectively, and in the north by the Denkyira (?) town of Esian ("Seeyan") north of the River Pra and the Akwamu ("Quamboo") town of Kibi or Kyebi ("Kibbes") near the source of the Birim River.[76] The map provides important data on the dis-



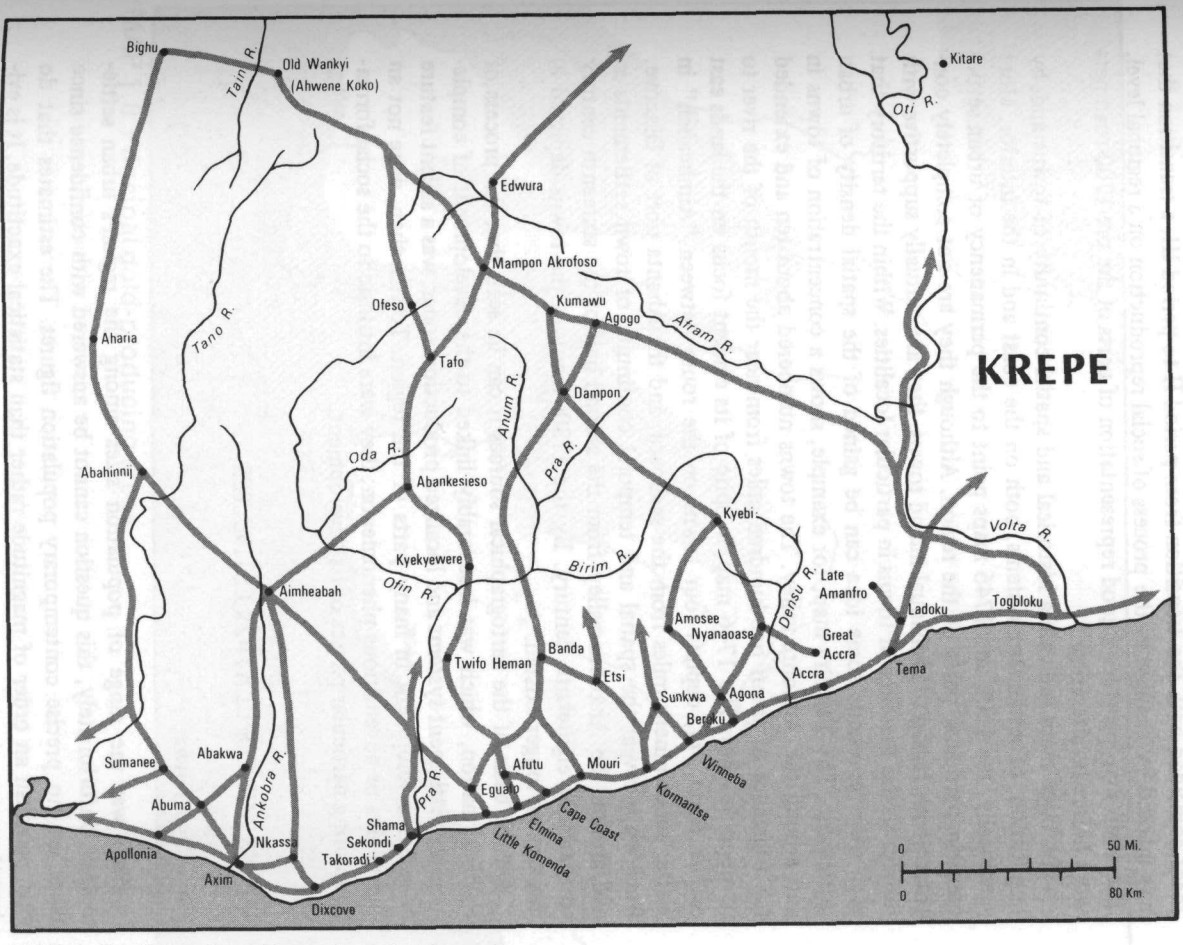
MAP 1.6 Inset of the Southern Gold Coast from a 1746 navigational chart

tribution and location of the principal towns in the southern part of the region. It also depicts the main trade routes that traversed the territory, each route being indicated by a double dotted line.

The topographical content of the map was, no doubt, based upon information furnished by the factors of the Royal African Company. The factor's knowledge of the routes, towns, and political geography of the interior is well reflected in trading-company records of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[77] Notwithstanding its 1746 date, the content of the map, specifically with regard to the interior, is relevant to the period between 1695 and 1720. The terminus ad quem is based on the fact that none of the major geopolitical transformations that occurred between 1724 and 1734 is indicated. The terminus a quo is fixed by the presence of Abora ("Abra") on the map. This town replaced Mankessim as the capital of Fante ("Fantee") between 1696 and 1698.[78] In addition, the line of towns between the Akron ("Acoran") port of Tantumkweri ("Tantumquerry") and the inland town of Esikuma-Breman ("Brimmong"), located in the "Tocqua" polity, indicates the existence of a trade route joining the two places. Although the route is not represented, it is known that commercial traffic between these towns was formally regularized in 1693.[79] Finally, merchants from "Tocqua" (or "Aqua" as it was also called) began to trade extensively at Cape Coast and Soko (or "English" Accra) in the 1680s and 1690s.[80] The map provides evidence of routes linking "Tocqua" with these ports.

With the exceptions of the states of Akron and Kabes Terra ("Cabesterra"), both of which emerged between about 1660 and 1680,[81] all of the other *aman* and *afamu* represented on the 1746 map appear on the 1629 Dutch map, and many can also be found on Teixeira's map. The spatial and historical continuity of political and geographical units over a period of 170 years (1550 to 1720) is clearly affirmed by the three maps, and these, in turn, are substantiated by other documentary sources.

A similar spatial and historical continuity can be shown for the arterial routes. Those represented on the 1746 map predate the eighteenth century. Most of the main routes were in existence by the mid-seventeenth century, and Portuguese documents indicate, either directly or by implication, that certain of these routes were in existence in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[82] The formation of a network of major routes, serving as channels of communication and distribution, occurred over an extended period of time. It was linked to the expansion of internal trade and to the consolidation of a regional network of central places. The earliest phase of arterial route development in the region probably dates back to the fourteenth century or the early fifteenth century. By the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century the major routes had been established. Throughout the period of route formation local feeder paths were continually coming into and going out of use, but the main roads, once established, remained functional for decades. It was only during the course of the eighteenth century that the structure and orientation of this pre-1700 network



MAP 1.7 Seventeenth-century trade routes

of primary routes was radically altered, a transformation that resulted from the Asante government's establishment of its system of great roads.[83] This development coincided with the transition from period II to period III, a transition that was marked by changes in the process of social reproduction on a regional level. The 1746 map provides a good representation of parts of the pre-1700 road network before its alteration.

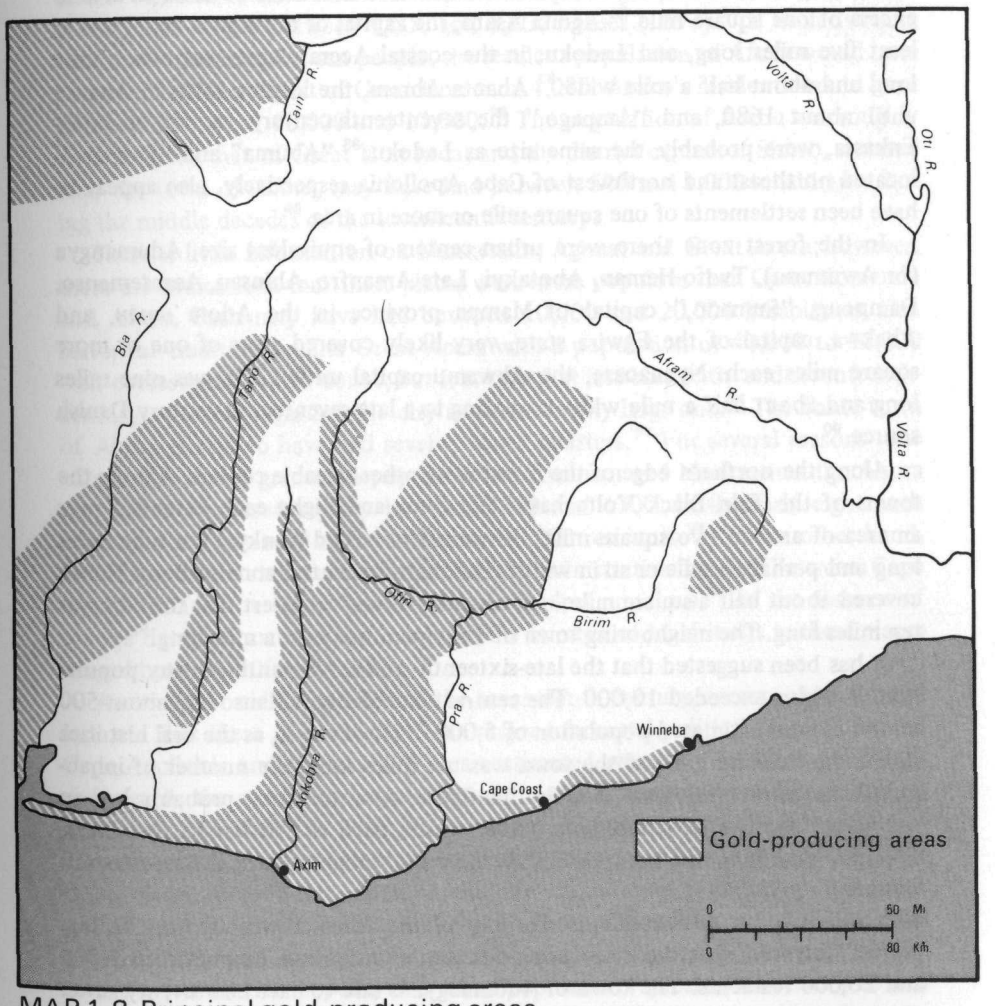
The three maps indicate a historical and spatial continuity of towns and, by implication, of settlement systems, both on the coast and in the interior. More specifically, the 1602 and 1746 maps point to the permanency of urban settlement in particular parts of the region. Although they are not completely congruent with regard to individual inland towns, they are mutually supportive with respect to the presence of towns in particular localities. Within the territory that each map represents some idea can be gained of the spatial density of urban settlement. The Teixeira map, for example, shows a concentration of towns in and around the Ankobra valley. The towns numbered about ten and extended for a distance of about one hundred miles from near the mouth of the river to its upper reaches. The 1746 map, in spite of its evident focus on the lands east of the River Pra, depicts four towns on the route between "Aimheabah" in Wassa, about ninety miles from the seaboard, and the Ahanta port of Dixcove. Both maps reveal the spatial and temporal continuity of town settlements in and around the Ankobra valley from the second half of the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century. By the 1730s many of the towns depicted in this area no longer existed.

On the basis of the cartographical sources it can be seen that the process of town formation, which was inseparably linked to the development of complementary settlement systems and localized production zones, was a salient feature of social development in many parts of the region. Towns, then, were not an extraneous or adventitious phenomenon; they were intrinsic to the social formation during particular phases of its development.

TOWNS AND POPULATION ESTIMATES

The Inland Towns

What was the range of population sizes among the region's urban settlements? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered with confidence since there are no precise contemporary population figures. The estimates that do exist establish an order of magnitude rather than statistical exactitude. It is evident, however, that towns varied considerably in spatial extent. The number of quarters or wards per town, for example, ranged from 2 to 77, and a few places had as many as 177 wards.[84] Again, in some towns the houses were built close together (for example, in Adwuku, Ladoku, Afutu, Asebu, and Elmina), but in others they were widely dispersed (as they were in Mouri and Egya).



MAP 1.8 Principal gold-producing areas

With few exceptions none of the seventeenth- (or sixteenth-) century ports covered more than one square mile of ground.[85] The principal subcoastal towns, on the other hand, were larger. The built-up area of such places as Yabiew, Great Komenda, Afutu, Asebu, Mankessim, and Great Accra covered an area in excess of one square mile.[86] Agona Asafo, the capital of the Agona state, was at least five miles long, and Ladoku, in the coastal Accra plains, was over a mile long and about half a mile wide.[87] Ahanta Abrem, the leading town in Ahanta until about 1680, and "Ampago," the seventeenth-century capital of Little Enkassa, were probably the same size as Ladoku.[88] "Abuma" and "Sumane," located northeast and northwest of Cape Apollonia respectively, also appear to have been settlements of one square mile or more in area.[89]

In the forest zone there were urban centers of equivalent size. Adumangya (or Awumasu), Twifo-Heman, Abotakyi, Late Amanfro, Ahinsan, Asantemanso, Dampong, "Sumado," capital of Mampa province in the Adom *oman,* and Abakwa, capital of the Egwira state, very likely covered areas of one or more square miles each. Nyanaoase, the Akwamu capital until 1730, was nine miles long and about half a mile wide, according to a late-seventeenth-century Danish source.[90]

Along the northern edge of the forest were other sizeable centers. Among the towns of the Tain-Black Volta basin Old Bima and Bighu each extended over an area of around two square miles. Ahwene Koko (Old Wankyi) was nine miles long and perhaps a mile or so in width. The built-up central zone of Bono Manso covered about half a square mile; oral histories, however, assert that the city was ten miles long. The neighboring town of Takyiman was over a mile long.[91]

It has been suggested that the late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century population of Bighu exceeded 10,000. The central zone of Bono Manso had about 500 houses and an estimated population of 5,000.[92] However, if, as the oral histories claim, the built-up area of the town was ten miles long, the number of inhabitants was, at the very least, double this figure. Ahwene Koko probably had an equivalent number of inhabitants. Other towns, such as Old Banda, Old Bima, and Biu, may have had between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants in the seventeenth century.

No population estimates exist for any of the forest towns. It may be suggested, however, that the more populous centers may have had between 5,000 and 20,000 residents. The town of Adumangya is said to have had seventy-seven *abron* (wards) and to have been "thickly populated"; and, according to one historical tradition, the city of Abotakyi had seventy streets and 75,000 men fit to bear arms.[93] This last figure unquestionably is exaggerated; nevertheless, it establishes the point that forest towns could contain heavy concentrations of people.

Rather more data are available for the coastal and subcoastal towns. Occasionally, contemporary accounts make reference to the number of houses, household heads, fishermen, fishing canoes, or militiamen in particular towns. Sometimes they refer to the number of people attached to the household of a

notable or the size of a prominent person's armed guard. In most cases the figures offered can be taken simply as approximations.

Among the subcoastal towns mentioned in seventeenth-century sources, Afutu was said to have had over 600 houses (1660s), Great Komenda over 400 (1680), and Asoko between 1,000 and 1,200 houses (1692).[94] If each dwelling contained an average of ten people, the resident population of Afutu would have exceeded 6,000 and that of Great Komenda 4,000. Asoko's residents would have numbered between 10,000 and 12,000.[95] The population of Asebu was roughly equivalent to that of Great Komenda, and the district capital of Simeo, situated near the town of Afutu, may have had between 500 and 1,000 inhabitants during the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

There is little information on Mankessim, Agona, and Great Accra; however, there are indications that these places were more populous than Great Komenda and Afutu. Each may have had between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants. One historical tradition credits Great Accra with a population of 40,000 to 50,000 —an overestimation, no doubt, but it is true that late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts regarded the city as a particularly large one.[96] The Fante town of Abora is said to have had seventy-seven quarters.[97] For several reasons—one of which was the gradual depopulation of Kwaman and Mankessim—the Abora population increased rapidly between 1680 and 1700. In the early eighteenth century the town may have had nearly 10,000 residents.[98] On the other hand, Ladoku and the ten to fifteen political-administrative centers between Cape Apollonia and the River Pra were probably less populous.[99] In the absence of precise data one can only surmise that the number of inhabitants in these places ranged between 300 and 5,000.

Around the middle decades of the seventeenth century documentary sources indicate that there were about fifteen major subcoastal political centers between Cape Apollonia and the Volta. With an estimated average of 4,000 to 5,000 residents each, the combined population of these places would have fallen between 60,000 and 75,000. The 1602 Teixeira map depicts about thirty inland towns. The same average would give a total urban population of 120,000 to 150,000 for these places. Regrettably, data on the size of the rural population during this period are lacking; hence the numerical relationship of the urban to the rural population cannot be made with confidence. However, it will be suggested that in any given district or polity the urban population represented between 10 and 30 percent of the total population. This comparatively large estimate rests on the assumption that the surplus extracted from peasants and other rural producers was at least equivalent to the subsistence they retained.

Oral historical accounts and contemporary documentary sources provide some information on the approximate number of "principal" or "big" towns as well as small ones that were to be found in particular polities (see table 1.2). The smallest towns probably had around 300 to 400 inhabitants each; the largest more than 10,000. The data suggest that in relation to estimated population totals a comparatively large number of people were concentrated in

Table 1.2 Estimated Number of Towns, Seventeenth- and Early-Eighteenth-Century Polities and Districts

Inland Polities and Districts	*Number of Towns*	*Coastal Polities and Districts*	*Number of Towns*
Amanse	12	Ahanta	5 to 10
Adanse	32	Asebu	8
Tafo	100	Agona	7
Akyem	17	Accra	14
Kabes Terra	8	Ladoku-Shai	22
Abrem	6	Nungwa (Wo)	10
Akwamu	21 or 22	Tema (Kpeshi)	8
Kamana	8	"Abripiquem"	5
Late	30		
Kyerepon	50		
Osudoku-Krobo	18 (?)		

SOURCES: The town figures are taken from: Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), p. 359; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffendhed langs ved sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 106; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basel, 1895) pp. 8, 10, 12, 47, 51, 60, 62, 73, 91; S.M. Quartey, "Development of the Human Geography of Ahantaland before 1600," *GSSJ* 4, no. 1 (1977): 119, 120, 121. For Agona and Kabes Terra see map 1.6. For "Abripiquem" towns see Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 7: J. Valkenburgh to Johan Philip van Crusenstern, dd. Elmina, Sept. 5, 1656; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief der Nederlandsche Bezittingen ter Kust van Guinea 222: Acte van vassalagie door den fiscaal Johan Valkenburgh uit naem en van wegens den Heer Directeur Jacob Ruyghaver verleend aen't Landschap Abripiquem, dd. the town Janfontia, Sept. 26, 1652; and Renovatie der Acte van vassalagie door den Heer Directeur General Johan Valkenburgh verleend aan de inwoonders van't Landschap Abriquem, dd. the town Maboue, Aug. 6, 1658.

the urban centers. The Akwamu *oman* may be taken as one example. The "heartland" of this state extended from Nyanaoase to Kibi and comprised an area of about 285 square miles. The population probably numbered 100,000 or more, of which about 25 percent was concentrated in towns.[100]

Another example is provided by the Accra state. Before its conquest and eventual depopulation between 1677 and 1681, Accra is believed to have had a population in excess of 120,000.[101] If the fourteen "big towns" of this polity had an average of 5,000 inhabitants each, they would have accounted for more than half of the state's estimated total population during the greater part of the seventeenth century. However, even if each town had an average 2,500 permanent residents, the fourteen towns together would have represented somewhat more than one-fourth of the Accra polity's population.

The available evidence indicates that between 1550 and 1650 there was a significant increase in the urban-based nonfarming population. In the 1560s and 1570s, for example, the agricultural resources of the state were sufficient to support its town dwellers. However, by the 1640s the urban population was

dependent on the importation of produce from neighboring as well as distant agricultural districts.[102] The agricultural base could no longer support a burgeoning urban population, and hence, the state became a net importer of foodstuffs. At the same time it emerged as a leading gold and livestock exporter. In contrast to the Accra Kingdom the urbanized heartland of the Akwamu *oman* was agriculturally self-sufficient. In the latter part of the century the main towns were dependent largely on the production of slave cultivators.[103]

Seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Akyem was also a highly urbanized polity until a series of population disasters, beginning in the 1740s, led to a serious reduction in the number of its inhabitants. The Akyem population has been estimated at more than 120,000; indeed, it may have been as much as 200,000.[104] If each of its traditional urban settlements—reputedly seventeen in number—contained an average of 4,000 residents, the combined population of these places would have accounted for more than 25 percent of the state's estimated total population. Even a lower average of 1,000 persons per town would give the seventeen urban settlements 10 to 15 percent of the *oman's* population. The scale of urbanization in other coastal and inland polities and districts was comparable to that which existed in Akwamu, Accra, and Akyem.[105]

The Coastal Towns

Elmina excepted, the ports along the littoral were less populous than the main inland towns. Most had fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. The port of Shama, located near the mouth of the Pra, had an estimated 500 family or household heads (*vizinhos*) in the first decade of the sixteenth century. In 1631 the port reportedly had 200 heads of families or households (*vicini*).[106] Later accounts relate that Shama had 200 dwellings (*wooningen*) and was fairly populous.[107] Unfortunately, none of the sources give estimates of the town's entire population or of the number of persons per household or dwelling.

There are, however, reasons to believe that the average number of persons per household was lower in the sixteenth century than it was in the seventeenth. Thus, if the 500 households of the early sixteenth century had an average of three to five persons and the 200 households of 1631 an average of five to ten, the town's population would have fallen between 1,500 and 2,500 in the earlier period and 1,000 and 2,000 in the later. The apparent population decline is, perhaps, misleading. The households referred to were very likely the households of wealthy notables and prosperous commoners—in short, tax-paying households. Poor and indigent households would not have been counted, since many of them lacked the means to pay taxes, at least on a regular basis. One can postulate that between the early sixteenth century and 1631 the number of tax-paying households declined and the number of nontax-paying households rose. Poor and impoverished families came to outnumber families that enjoyed varying degrees of prosperity and material comfort. One late-seventeenth-

century observer noted that although Shama was quite populous, most of its inhabitants were "miserably poor."[108] The poor may very well have accounted for 70 to 80 percent of the port's population.

Other ports, for example, Mouri, present a different picture. In the 1550s this town was a marketing and fishing settlement containing perhaps no more than 200 people. In 1612 the Dutch constructed a fort there, a factor that contributed to the population growth of the port. In 1618 the Mouri population included 300 militiamen and 500 slaves (men, women, and children).[109] Fishermen, canoemen, craftsmen, brokers, and traders were also to be found in the town; however, their exact numbers are not known. The total resident population of Mouri probably did not exceed 1,500 at this time. In 1667 the town had an estimated 100 to 200 houses, and in the 1690s 300 to 400 fishing canoes, but only 100 militiamen.[110] The late-seventeenth-century population of the port may be estimated at 5,000 to 6,000.

In 1555 Cape Coast ("Don John's town") had only 20 houses. By 1667 it had over 200 houses, and around 1680, 500 or more. In the 1690s the town's militiamen numbered over 400; the fishermen and their families numbered perhaps between 1,000 and 2,000.[111] Between 1555 and the early eighteenth century the Cape Coast population rose from an estimated 100 to around 3,000 or 4,000.

Axim, located about one mile east of the Ankobra River, had 500 inhabitants in 1631; in 1638 the town was said to have 150 family or household heads (*moradores*).[112] The latter figure presumably included only tax-paying *moradores*. By the 1690s the port may have had between 2,000 and 3,000 residents, of which 300 were members of the militia.[113]

In 1667 Little Komenda had an estimated 100 houses, but by 1680 it had more than 350, and perhaps a population of 3,000 to 4,000.[114] Also around 1680 the towns of Anomabo and Kormantse each had an estimated 6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants.[115] Population data on most other coastal towns are scanty. However, the number of residents in these places would seem to have ranged from about 300 (as, for example, in Egya, Winneba, and Ikon) to 1,000 (as in Amanfro, Sekondi, and Assini) or 3,000 (as in Small Accra and Takoradi).

Information pertaining to Elmina indicates that between 1621 and 1682 the port's population increased from around 3,000 or 4,000 to perhaps 15,000 or 20,000. Between 1682 and 1702 the population declined sharply, partly as a result of a smallpox epidemic and partly as a result of military conflicts with other towns and polities. However, after 1702 the population increased substantially, and by 1709 it was once again the most populous port on the coast (see table 1.3).

Until the last two or three decades of the seventeenth century no coastal town, Elmina excepted, had more than 4,000 inhabitants. The main urban settlements were, on the whole, larger.[116] Many would seem to have had populations in excess of 5,000, and some of more than 10,000.

Table 1.3 Elmina Population, 1621–1709

Year	*Fishing Canoes*	*Household: Family Heads/Houses*	*Militiamen*
1621	...	300 (*visinhos*)	200
1625	...	...	900
1631	...	800 (*habitatori*)	...
c. 1640	300–400	...	...
c. 1650	400–500	...	2,000
1670	...	...	8,000
c. 1680	700–800	1,200 (houses)	over 6,000
c. 1680	...	...	12,000
1688	300	...	4,000
1695	...	...	5,000–6,000
1700	...	...	50 (?)
1702	...	...	1,000
1709	...	"Many thousands of houses"	over 3,000

SOURCES: Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d. ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 75; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), pp. 68–69; Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, "Da Mina ao Cabo Negro, 1574–1620," in *Viagens exploracaões e conquistas dos Portuguezes,* 6 vols., ed. Luciano Cordeiro (Lisbon, 1881), 1:26; Jean Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 156; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilen, 1639–1642,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 60; António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon 1952–), 7:389, 8:44–45; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 39, 45; "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, Elmina, 26th June 1702," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at the Hague,* trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 81; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 et 1688," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), pp. 10, 24, 40; "Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1698 par le Chevalier Damon," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 81; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 43; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *History in Africa* 2 (1975): 205.

URBAN POPULATIONS AND THEIR SOCIAL COMPOSITION

In contrast to agrarian hamlets and villages, the towns, whether large or small, were characterized by multifunctionality and socioeconomic heterogeneity. The urban inhabitants, comprising different classes and social groups, were involved in a variety of activities: administration, trade, crafts; religion, and so on. These employments, rather than involvement in agricultural production, formed the basis for economic and social differentiation in the towns. Thus the coastal and subcoastal urban centers, for example, had their political and military officials,

merchants and landlord-brokers, priests and priestesses, artisans, and militiamen. The seaboard towns also had canoemen, fishermen, salt producers, and free day laborers. In addition, a significant number of urban residents were in the personal service of upper-class families. Customarily, the households of these families included clients, slaves, and bonded commoners, all of whom were employed in various tasks. An upper-class household could have consisted of over 150 people. That of Jantie Snees (who died circa 1675), a wealthy merchant and the chief revenue-collector of Cape Coast, included forty wives, fourteen sons, twelve daughters, and, at least 100 slaves. Among his slaves were cooks, cultivators, drummers, sword bearers, arms bearers, shield bearers, horn blowers, and guards.[117]

The urban settlements were also characterized by particular institutions and organizations which, generally speaking, were not associated with rural communities. Rural communities lacked the economic and technical means to support such differentiation. Every town had a daily and/or periodic market. The sources indicate that there were several different types of urban markets:[118]

1. small daily produce market
2. large periodic produce/goods market (twice a week)
3. large periodic goods market (thrice a week)
4. large periodic produce/goods market (once a week)
5. large daily produce/goods market
6. large periodic produce market (once a week)
7. large periodic goods market (once a week).

The coastal and subcoastal towns had "inns" (in the singular, *herbergerie*), which were located in the residences of landlord-brokers (in the singular, *herberger* or *huisvester*), and "dancing houses."[119] They also had occupational corporations or guilds—artisan guilds, military guilds, and merchant-broker guilds.[120] Further, there were places where prostitutes, "common whores" (*publyke hoer*), could be found and where the "brotherhood" (*confrater/broederschap*) of nobles (*edellieden*) was based.[121] The large expenditures in money, trade goods, and provisions which were associated with membership in the "brotherhood" were made in the towns.

Quantitative data on the sizes of the different urban occupational groups are scanty. Nevertheless, the limited evidence allows for provisional estimates to be made for those of the seaboard, though not of the inland towns. Rough estimates are given in table 1.4.[122] With respect to the first three groups in table 1.4, the estimated percentages vis-à-vis the entire urban population were relatively small and fluctuated within fairly narrow limits: the single occasional exception is the mercantile estate, which at times grew fairly rapidly in size. The remaining groups, on the other hand, could fluctuate considerably in size. Canoemen, fishermen, and, to a lesser extent, day laborers (the *leeghgangers* or "vaggabones" of the European factors) were quite mobile, and, with their families, frequently moved from one port to another.[123]

Table 1.4 Seaboard Occupational Groups, 1600s

Occupational Group	*Estimated Percentage of Port Population*
Political-military authorities	less than 1 to 3
Priests and priestesses	less than 1
Traders and brokers	2 to 7
Militiamen	1 to 25
Fishermen	30 to 60
Artisans	5 to 25
Canoemen	5 to 10
Day laborers	5 to 15
Fishmongers, hawkers, salt producers, *kenkey* makers, etc.	30 to 50

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 11, 13, 81, passim; Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, ført paa Guineakysten af det octr. dansk-africanske kompagnis directørs, Kommandant paa Fredriksborg, Bartholomeus von Groenestein, 1667–74, passim; "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle: A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972), passim; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), passim; Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het gout koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), passim; Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), passim; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1670; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), passim; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), passim.

Source materials dating from the 1660s and 1670s provide some evidence of the occupational structure of Amanfro and in some cases offer numerical data on the sizes of particular occupational groups (see table 1.5). The port, located less than half a mile from Cape Coast, dates from the construction of the Danish African Company's fort of Fredriksborg in 1660. By the late 1660s it had a population of perhaps 1,500.

Amanfro had no salt producers; these were located in Nkyenefo and "Wimba," which were respectively four miles to the north and around two or three miles to the west of the port. However, there were an unspecified number of craftsmen in Amanfro, the most numerous being blacksmiths and goldsmiths. Other craftsmen included hat and cap makers, mat makers, carpenters, bark cloth-makers, and ivorycarvers and woodcarvers.[124] In addition, the port had priests and priestesses, wage-earning day laborers (*manouvriers*), prostitutes (*les filles de joye*) and persons of both free and unfree status attached to the households of the officials, brokers, and traders.[125] The available evidence provides no information on the numerical sizes of these groups.

While the sources throw some light on the relative sizes of particular occupational groups in certain coastal towns, they provide virtually none on those of the different social classes—the governing class, free and bonded commoners, and slaves. Again, only tentative estimates can be offered. Upper-class family

Table 1.5 Amanfro Occupational Groups, 1660–1675

Occupational Group	*Estimated Numerical Size*
Political-military officials	5 to 10
Traders and brokers	20 to 30
Militiamen	over 100
Fishermen	40 to 60
Canoemen	10 to 20
Horn blowers	20
Servile laborers (men, women and children) employed at the Danish fort	120
Total	305 to 430

SOURCES: Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, ført paa Guineakysten af det octr. dansk-africanske kompagnis directørs, Kommandant paa Fredriksborg, Bartholomeus von Groenestein 1667–74, passim; Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterner og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Herr van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Forteignelse paa de slags ware som udi Guinea blifver trocken, n.d. but after May 5, 1679; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), passim; Gabriel Debien et al., eds., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," *Bulletin d'institut fondamental de l'afrique noire* 40, no. 2 (1978): 305; Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 324–25.

households together with their bonded and servile dependents probably formed a maximum of 30 percent of a port's total population. Poor and indigent free commoner families very likely constituted between 10 and 40 percent of the population, an estimate suggested by the rather extensive system of public relief which was used to maintain indigent individuals and families. The European factors called the economically disadvantaged the "poorer sort of people" or *die Blut-Armen*. The remainder of a port's population comprised comparatively prosperous free commoner family households.

The state capitals situated from five to twenty miles from the seaboard had social and occupational structures that differed in important ways from those of the ports. If the raison d'être of the ports was trade, that of the capitals was administration. Hence, upper-class families with their large retinues of dependents very likely accounted for 60 percent of a major political center's population.[126] The rest of the inhabitants would have included free commoners such as craftsmen organized in guilds, day laborers, market hawkers, and the like. The social composition of political administrative centers located in the forest zone would have been similar to those of the subcoastal capitals.[127]

TOWNS AND THE AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS

Mouri, Amanfro, and Cape Coast

Most townspeople were not engaged in food crop production as a full-time pursuit, hence they were necessarily dependent on the agricultural surplus provided by agrarian hamlets and villages for their subsistence. Upper-class (*edel*) families extracted a surplus through tributary and slaveowning relations that were enforced by the ideological, military, and political resources of the *oman* regimes. Slaves worked the farms (patrimonial domains) that belonged to these families, and peasants cleared, cultivated, and harvested the farms (prebendal domains) attached to political offices.[128] For the governing class the rural sector of an *oman*'s economy yielded a surplus in the form of produce, labor services, and money (gold). Individuals and families without direct access to or control over peasant and/or slave labor were dependent on the town markets for their provisions.

The formation and growth of towns and the development and expansion of urban economies were directly linked to peasant food crop production. Thus under conditions where part of the peasant surplus was realized as money, a significant section of the nonagricultural population could be employed in personal service and craft industries. This population would tend to concentrate in urban settlements, that is to say, in places where produce was converted to money and where the money was expended or consumed. However, where part of the peasant surplus was realized as produce, most of the nonagricultural population, whether employed in crafts or personal service, would be spatially dispersed and ruralized. Generally speaking, the first situation, which, under the prevailing technical conditions of production, could give rise to comparatively high levels of urbanization, applied to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the second, which was characterized by relatively low levels of urbanization, applied to much of the eighteenth.[129] Further, it may be suggested that in the first situation only a relatively small portion of slave-produced food crops would have been sold on the market, and in the second, a much larger portion, comparatively speaking. In the second case slave production would have played a greater role in the material support of towns than peasant production.[130]

The size of the nonagricultural urban population was directly related to the size of the agricultural surplus drawn from the countryside. The establishment and growth of towns throughout many parts of the region and the achievement of comparatively high levels of urbanization in particular districts and *aman* indicate that agricultural production was able to keep pace with these developments. On the whole, peasant communities and slave farming settlements kept the towns well supplied with provisions. The towns were not confronted with famine and starvation except during periods of prolonged warfare or following a succession of bad harvests. On the other hand, townspeople were frequently

faced with the prospect of epidemics; if food crop production protected them from death by starvation, it did not protect them from rising mortality rates due to disease.[131]

The availability of uninterrupted supplies of foodstuffs in the markets presupposes peasant access to the towns. In order to have easy access to the urban markets peasant families had to live within a reasonable walking distance of them. In the coastal polities the maximum distance appears to have been around six miles. Various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts indicate that many towns, both along the coast and in the interior, had extensive stretches of farmland (*matten* or *wijnmatten*) in their immediate environs. Here were to be found peasant farming villages as well as villages of slave cultivators.[132] Many urban centers were surrounded, then, by cultivated farms and a fairly large number of small agrarian settlements. The spatial extent of farmland could be extensive. The "gardens" around Cape Coast, for example, measured four miles in circumference in 1709; by the 1720s they were estimated to be eight miles in circumference. The cultivated lands in the vicinity of many other towns also appear to have been considerable.[133] The seventeenth-century landscape was characterized by extensive stretches of farmland and nuclei of relatively high population concentrations. The spatial distribution of the population was highly uneven, for there were large areas that were uninhabited or sparsely inhabited.[134]

There is no contemporary information on the size and productivity of a seventeenth-century peasant- or slave-worked farm or on the amount of food crops farms had to produce in order to feed a given urban population that included few full-time cultivators. Further research is required before these matters can be fully elucidated. However, on the basis of the available, but admittedly incomplete, data, some estimates and generalizations can be made.

The early-seventeenth-century port of Mouri can be cited as one illustrative example. In 1620 Mouri had a resident population of perhaps 1,500; when caravans from the interior arrived in the port the population rose by several hundred.[135] Peasants, who lived within a distance of up to six miles from the town, supplied the market with *millie*, yams, and other produce as well as palm wine and fowl.[136] Given the social and occupational structure of the Mouri population it is likely that 70 to 80 percent of the townspeople, say 1,200, relied on the market for their subsistence. The remaining 20 to 30 percent, on the other hand, were not solely dependent on the market for their food staples (see Table 1.6).

If, for illustrative purposes, it is assumed that each of the 1,200 residents consumed fifteen to twenty *millie* stalks a day, the residents' total daily consumption would have been 90 to 120 bushels, and their yearly consumption 38,500 to 43,000 bushels. If it is further assumed that an acre of land produced an average of 40 bushels (during the course of an eight-month growing season), a total of 971 to 1,950 acres would have been needed to meet the 1,200 residents' annual *millie* consumption requirements.[137] This works out to roughly 4/5 and 1 3/5 acre per resident. According to Samuel Brun, the Mouri market was sup-

Table 1.6 Mouri Population and Probable Sources of Its Food Staples

Occupational/Social Group	*Main Source of Staples*
The captain (or ruler of the port) and his family, attendants, servants, etc.	Farms worked by slaves; peasant corvée labor
The caboceers and their families, attendants, servants, etc.	Farms worked by slaves; peasant corvée labor
Resident brokers and traders	Farms worked by slaves; the town market
Nonresident caravan traders (including porters, guards, etc.)	The town market
Militiamen	The town market
Canoemen	The town market
Fishermen	The town market
Craftsmen	The town market
Day laborers	The town market
Dutch factors, soldiers, etc. of Fort Nassau	The town market
Town-dwelling free cultivators	Their own farms; the town market

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Algemeen Rijsarchief, First West Indies Company 1, passim; Algemeen Rijsarchief, First West Indies Company 11, passim; Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het gout koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), passim; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 69, 76, 77, 82, 85; James Lange, "An Account of a Voyage Made to Cape Verd and the Coast of Guinea (1622–25)," in *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca: Or, a Compleate Collection of Voyages and Travels,* 2 vols., ed. John Harris (London, 1765), 1: p. 389; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), passim.

plied with produce by more than 200 peasants. If a peasant family of 5 could maintain itself on 2 to 3 acres, 200 family households would need a total of 400 to 600 acres for their own subsistence.[138] In order to meet the townspeople's demand for *millie* they would have been obliged to cultivate an additional total of, say, 1,200 acres, or roughly 6 acres per household. The inference is that each household worked 8 to 9 acres.

Regrettably, Brun says nothing about the size or yield of a peasant farm. He does imply, however, that such a farm was large, and he further indicates that in the territory between Mouri and Asebu, a distance of about seven miles, cultivation was both intensive and spatially extensive.[139] Although precise data are lacking and the estimates are crude, it is not unlikely that the average amount of land farmed by a peasant family household in the Asebu *oman* was around eight acres in the early seventeenth century. It can be assumed that one of the consequences of population concentration in the towns was (under precapitalist conditions of production) harder and longer working hours spent on cultivation.[140]

Certainly, the need to pay the land tax in gold compelled peasant families to produce far more than they required for immediate and future consumption and "seed." Presumably they had to produce at least twice as much as they needed for their own subsistence. The monetary land tax served two purposes; it provided the governing class with a source of income and it ensured that peasants marketed a portion of their harvest and thus kept the towns supplied with a regular and abundant supply of foodstuffs.

There is no information on the price structure of the early-seventeenth-century Mouri produce market, thus it is not possible to determine what a peasant could expect to earn from the sale of *millie*. From the 1640s onwards there are many references to the prices that European factors paid for a chest (equaling 1,000 stalks) of *millie*. Generally, the price fluctuated between 24 and 72 dambas' worth of gold, though at times it could rise to over 100 dambas. The lowest cited price was 6 dambas.[141] To estimate the possible range of peasant earnings from *millie* sales in the Mouri market, let us assume that the price per chest of 1,000 stalks (or 5 bushels) was between 12 and 36 dambas. Further, if it is assumed that 200 peasants sold between 38,000 and 44,000 bushels annually, the lower rate of 12 dambas would give a gross total earning of between 91,200 and 105,600 dambas, or 406 to 528 dambas per household. The higher rate would yield an earning of between 273,600 and 316,800 dambas, or 1,365 to 1,584 dambas per household. These earnings can be compared to the estimated value of a coastal broker's annual trade turnover. According to one early-seventeenth-century account the commercial transactions of a wealthy broker who served as an intermediary between inland merchants and Dutch factors were worth 600,000 to 1,200,000 dambas in gold.[142] Clearly, the broker and the peasant were not in the same economic category.

A significant portion of the gold that peasants earned from their market sales went to the revenue collectors. The amount must have been considerable, for apart from the land tax, other monetary taxes were levied on rural cultivators. Farming settlements were not noted for their wealth in gold and trade goods. On the whole, the peasants who furnished the Mouri market with provisions had a lower material standard of existence than many of the port's residents.[143] However, it should be pointed out that economic differentiation was well established in early-seventeenth-century agrarian communities. Some peasant families, for example, were able to accumulate enough gold so that they could settle in the ports as traders or brokers. Other families, however, were in debt to towns people because they had to borrow money in order to pay their land taxes; still others abandoned farming and became bandits.[144] For many of the rural cultivators the social cost of maintaining the urban populations and the governing classes was high.

The Amanfro–Cape Coast port complex of 1670 may serve as another example of the relationship between urban food consumption and peasant food crop production. The population of the complex can be estimated at between

3,000 and 5,000. The social and occupational structure of the two towns was similar to that of early-seventeenth-century Mouri; therefore, it can be assumed that around 80 percent of the ports' population—say, between 2,400 and 4,000 persons—was dependent on the market for the bulk of its food staples. These persons would have consumed between 225 and 300 bushels of *millie* daily, or between 82,000 and 110,000 bushels yearly. Growing this amount of *millie* would have required between 1,640 and 3,650 acres.[145]

Unfortunately, it is not known how many peasants traded at the daily Amanfro and Cape Coast markets, but it is unlikely that there were fewer than 500, given the size of the Cape Coast market. If each peasant represented a family household of 5, 500 peasants would have needed a total of 1,000 to 1,500 acres of arable in order to produce their own subsistence. Added together with this acreage was the estimated acreage under *millie* cultivation, meaning the peasants would have farmed a total of 2,640 to 5,150 acres, or roughly between 5 and 10 acres per household. Again, precise quantitative data are lacking. However, if it is again assumed that 500 peasants retailed annually 105,600 to 206,000 bushels (21,120 to 41,200 chests) of *millie* in the Amanfro and Cape Coast markets at an average rate of 36 dambas per chest, they would have realized a gross earning of between 760,320 and 1,483,200 dambas in gold, or approximately 1,320 to 2,966 dambas each year per household. The estimated household earning can be compared to the annual subsistence allowances received by workers (*arbeidslieden*) and craftsmen (*ambagtslieden*) employed at the Dutch forts and factories in 1659. A woodcutter and a charcoal burner were each paid 144 dambas in gold a year; a laborer and a chalk maker received 288 dambas each. A stonecutter got 576 dambas and a carpenter 1,152 dambas.

It is highly probable that from one-half to three-fourths of the gold that peasants acquired from their market sales was paid out in taxes to meet state revenue demands. Few peasant households were places of gold accumulation. The implication is that peasant food crop production was an important source of income to the state and the upper classes and their retinues.[146] The fact that the elite maintained on a permanent basis large bodies of armed men implies that the appropriation of the rural surplus had to be backed by the military resources of the state. Certainly, *agyesem*—insurrections, revolts, and riots—was one social and political problem with which Afutu authorities had to deal in the 1660s.[147] Disgruntled peasant communities were one source of public violence and social conflict in the state.

In terms of their net annual money earnings many peasant families could probably be ranked with the urban poor. In 1667 it was observed that the main food staple of the poor and peasantry (*pauvres et paysans*) was yams, not *millie*.[148] The latter was largely consumed by the wealthy elite and prosperous commoner families. For the peasants who traded at the Amanfro and Cape Coast markets, *millie* was essentially a cash crop that provided them with a source of gold. *Millie* maintained the town dwellers, and gold supported the

upper classes. In order to produce *millie* and thus acquire gold, the Afutu peasantry had to cultivate at least twice as much land as its subsistence needs required.

Coastal and Subcoastal Towns

Mouri, Amanfro, and Cape Coast were not exceptional. Many of the inhabitants of the other coastal towns obtained the bulk of their provisions, probably anywhere between 40 and 70 percent, in the markets. In the case of Elmina perhaps 95 percent of its population had to buy its produce in the town's markets.[149] The monetary value of annual food imports into the ports must have been considerable; it was probably comparable to or exceeded annual gold exports. In 1661 and 1662, for example, eight towns sold a total of between 5 and 7 million dambas' worth of gold to the Dutch chartered company.[150] If the combined populations of the towns are assumed to have numbered around 26,000 (10,000 or so in Elmina and an average of about 2,300 in each of the others), annual *millie* imports would have amounted to nearly 190,000 chests. At 24 dambas per chest the value of the *millie* trade in one year would have been between 4 and 5 million dambas in gold.[151] The scale of this trade points to the economic importance of both agricultural and gold production, and, further, provides some indication of the size of the towns' "purchasing power." The rural and urban economies were interdependent.

Within close proximity to the urban centers there were usually varying numbers of settlements whose inhabitants were also dependent on the town markets for their provisions. Certain of these settlements were specialized craft villages inhabited by potters, smiths, leather workers, workers in ivory and wood, canoe builders, and so on. Others included communities engaged in salt production and the rearing and marketing of livestock. Settlements such as these were appurtenances of the urban rather than the rural sector of the economy. All of them were characterized by production for the market, and their existence was necessarily predicated on widespread peasant market production.

A major salt-making center, such as Nkyenefo, which was located about four miles north of Cape Coast, might produce 5,000 or more chests of salt during the course of a year. At 36 dambas in gold per chest, the producers could expect a gross earning of 180,000 dambas.[152] Possibly one-half of this amount would have been used to purchase produce (and perhaps at least one-fourth was paid out in taxes). For local peasants Nkyenefo would have represented a place where not only salt, but also gold, could be obtained. "Wimba," situated to the immediate west of Cape Coast, was a fishing, salt-making, and cattle-marketing settlement.[153] As far as is known its inhabitants were not devoted to food crop production. Produce had to be acquired from neighboring farming communities and local markets, or it had to be imported from such places as Mouri, Little Komenda, or Anomabo. "Wimba" salt production was less than that of Nkyenefo. One may suggest an annual production of 1,000 chests, which, at 36 dambas a

chest, would have been worth 36,000 dambas. A great number of cattle, imported mainly from the Accra Kingdom, were sold in "Wimba." According to Müller, a cow or bull was never sold for less than one benda (or 768 dambas) in gold.[154] Unfortunately, there are no contemporary estimates of annual cattle imports. If 500 cattle a year were imported, their retail value at the "Wimba" market would have been 384,000 dambas.[155] Salt and cattle sales together would have brought an estimated 420,000 dambas' worth of gold into the town a year.[156] Perhaps one-fourth to one-half of this amount was used to acquire means of subsistence from peasant cultivators.[157]

If the ports and other economically specialized settlements had large numbers of residents who relied on the marketed produce of agrarian farming communities, the subcoastal political capitals did not. One-half or more of the residents of a state capital derived their subsistence from farms worked by slaves and peasant corvée labor. Precise data are lacking; however, estimates can be suggested. Between 1660 and 1680 the combined populations of Afutu, Asebu, Great Komenda, and Mankessim may be said to have approximated 30,000. Of this number possibly 20,000 to 24,000 persons. or 60 to 80 percent of the estimated total, were directly dependent on the appropriation of the products of slave and peasant labor. These persons, comprising the upper classes and their retinues, did not have to rely on peasant market production for their food. The remaining 20 to 40 percent of the population did.[158] Generally speaking, the produce that entered the state or provincial capitals entered primarily as revenues (use-values) and not as marketed commodities (exchange-values).

Revenues were received in the form of gold, produce, merchandise, livestock, and slaves. Between February and May, 1681, for example, the ruler and state treasurer of the Afutu *oman* fined the Danish factors at Fort Fredriksborg the following amounts: 4,608 dambas' worth of gold, seven and a half says (a woolen textile), three anchors of spirits, two and a half barrels of gunpowder, two cows, and one slave.[159] About 1667 the Afutu ruler fined the Akani merchant-broker Jan Clasen Cutterique a total of 522,240 dambas in gold.[160] The judicial system was evidently an important source of income. Several times a year the Afutu ruler distributed on festive ceremonial occasions a few million dambas' worth of gold among the principal upper-class families.[161] The gold represented a portion of the state's income. From contemporary accounts it is evident that the revenues that entered the state capitals were considerable.[162]

Of the seventeenth-century subcoastal capitals only Great Accra was a consistent importer of produce as a commodity from distant places.[163] Food crop production within the state was not able to support the relatively large urban population throughout the year. Precise quantitative data on produce imports are lacking. Nevertheless, estimates can be suggested to provide some idea of the scale of this trade. If, for example, 25,000 urban inhabitants were dependent on regular *millie* imports, the annual value of the imported *millie* would have amounted to between 3 million and 5 million dambas. The estimated value of produce imports would have exceeded the yearly value of the gold sold to the

European factors. Annual gold sales do not appear to have surpassed 1 million dambas in value between the 1640s and the 1670s.[164] Another comparison can be made. Weekly trade, probably in gold, between Great Accra and Akyem was valued at 24,000 dambas (1,000 *rigsdaler*) or, annually, 1,248,000 dambas.[165] Comparisons between Accra's gold trade and *millie* trade indicate that the economic importance of the agricultural sector of the regional economy was considerable and that food crop production represented a major "industry."

The towns of the Accra polity paid for their food imports with gold, livestock, slaves, aggrey and other expensive beads, and various specialized products.[166] These items did not come into the hands of peasant cultivators. They were acquired by wholesale produce dealers who dominated the coasting and overland trade between towns. These persons bought *millie* and other foodstuffs from the peasants at fairly low rates or from slaveowners who possessed slave cultivators.[167] While peasants were largely responsible for the movement of foodstuffs from village to town, urban-based merchants controlled the movement of foodstuffs from one town to another. A peasant could realize 6 to 36 dambas per 1,000 stalks of *millie* sold in a local market; an Anomabo trader, for example, retailing *millie* in the Accra ports, could realize more than 96 dambas per 1,000 stalks.[168] Peasant farms produced for both local and distant urban markets; however, the economic benefits of this production did not accrue to the peasant family households but to the officials and merchants resident in the towns.

The marketing of produce in urban settlements presupposes a monetized rural economy and a certain degree of commercialized food crop production in peasant communities. The rapid increase in the circulation of *krakraa* gold pieces in the coastal markets in the 1640s indicates that both processes were well advanced. At the same time it suggests increased rural demand for gold as a result of rising revenue demands on the one hand and rising living standards on the other.

The seventeenth-century "order" of urban settlements was based on the regular transfer of social wealth from the countryside to the towns. Neither the size nor the value of this wealth can, at the present state of knowledge, be measured with confidence. However, the suggested scale of urbanization and the estimated sizes of urban populations imply that the wealth drained away from the rural areas was substantial. The economy and long-distance commercial linkages of the urban centers were rooted in local systems of surplus extraction, and hence in contradictory and antagonistic social relations.

2

URBAN NETWORKS AND CENTRAL PLACES

URBAN NETWORKS and central-place hierarchies were primary features of the regional political economy during the seventeenth century. A useful definition of an urban network is offered by Gilbert Rozman: "An urban network is a hierarchy of settlements differentiated according to population or commercial and administrative functions. Those settlements included in the urban network are called central places and can be distinguished from ordinary villages by the presence of an administrative seat or a periodic market."[1] An urban network, then, comprised a hierarchy of settlements with central administrative and/or commercial functions. These settlements can be designated *central places;* each of them occupied a particular level or rank within a given hierarchy. Central places functioned as nodes or foci for the collection, concentration, and distribution of trade goods and revenues.[2]

Two hierarchies can be distinguished: a commercial or marketing hierarchy and a political or administrative hierarchy. The central places of these hierarchies can be viewed "as nodes in the economic landscape arising from centripetal forces in spatial organization."[3] They served to integrate economic and other activities over areas of varying extent.[4] The degree and extent of integration were conditioned by the prevailing forces and relations of production. This chapter defines the settlement hierarchies and examines their functions and spatial distribution.

CENTRAL PLACE HIERARCHIES: A REGIONAL OVERVIEW

Central-place levels in the administrative and commercial hierarchies can be defined according to function. Table 2.1 provides a (tentative) classification of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century settlements on the basis of their functions. The definitions offered in the table are by no means final—further research may

very well find them inadequate—however, they do provide a framework for a historical analysis of change and development within the regional economy.

The commercial hierarchy implies the existence of trading towns, marketing activities, and the collection and distribution of commodities, money, merchant capital, and the like. Trading towns did not necessarily have administrative functions. The raison d'être of administrative settlements was rooted in formal political control over land and people. Most, if not all, of these places combined administrative and marketing functions. They were places where the rural agricultural surplus was converted to money (gold), imported merchandise, and locally produced craft goods, and they were also the places where the upper classes expended their incomes. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it would appear that the peasant village with a periodic market was essentially a late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century phenomenon.[5] During the sixteenth century, and for most of the seventeenth, the peasant population conducted its trade at administrative settlements.

Table 2.1 defines five settlement or central-place levels in the commercial hierarchy and an equal number in the administrative hierarchy. The commercial hierarchy was already "complete" in the pre-sixteenth-century period; that is, all the specified levels were in existence at that time. The administrative hierarchy, however, was not "completed" until the late seventeenth century. Thus the imperial administrative center only emerged around 1680. It owed its existence to military expansion and territorial conquests. Abankesieso, the Denkyira capital, and Nyanaoase, the Akwamu capital, were the earliest imperial seats of power in the region.[6] Before about 1680 the imperial and expansionist urban center did not exist. The administrative seat on the highest level was the state capital of an *oman*. There was a difference between an imperial capital and a state capital: the latter governed three different subordinate administrative centers (levels 3 through 5); the former governed four (levels 2 through 5).[7]

While imperial capitals were a late-seventeenth-century development, state capitals were a much older urban phenomenon. Some, for example, Bono Manso and Ahwene Koko (or Old Wankyi), predated the fifteenth century; the subcoastal town of Ladoku was founded during the first half of that century.[8] The available evidence indicates that between the early fifteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century the number of political-administrative centers increased at a fairly rapid rate. New state capitals as well as subordinate administrative settlements were established in different parts of the region. Unfortunately, precise figures are lacking. However, in the first half of the seventeenth century there were more than thirty state capitals. The number of lower-level administrative seats was considerably greater, amounting perhaps to over 200.[9] The establishment of administrative central places can be attributed to the expansion of trade and agricultural production, on the one hand, and the ruling class's extraction of greater surpluses from commerce and the land, on the other. This development constituted one component in the process of expanded reproduction, a process that gained momentum after the late fifteenth century. The

Table 2.1 Central-Place Levels, Commercial and Administrative Hierarchies

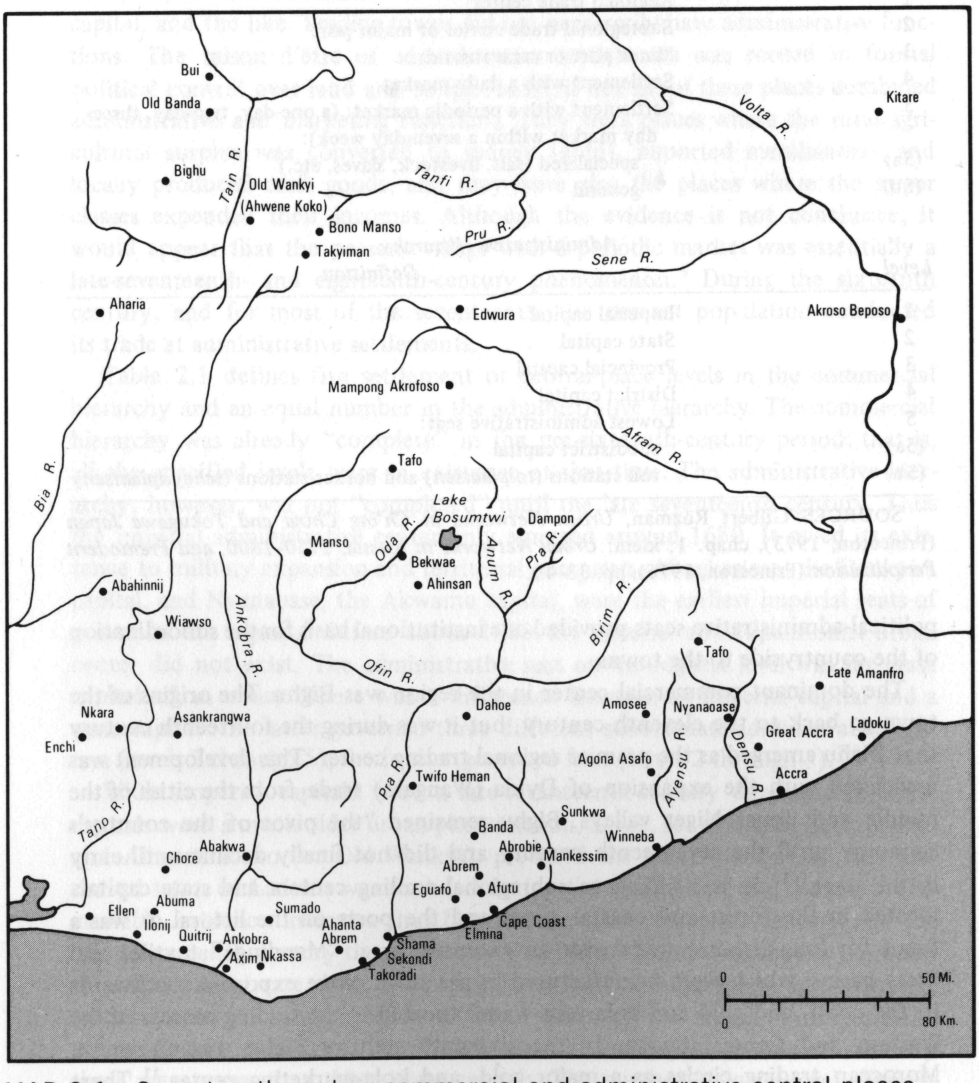
Level	*Definition*
	Commercial Hierarchy
1	Regional trade center
2	Subregional trade center or major port
3	Minor port or caravanserai
4	Settlement with a daily market
5	Settlement with a periodic market: (a one-day, two-day, three-day market within a seven-day week):
(5a)	specialized (salt, livestock, slaves, etc.)
(5b)	general
	Administrative Hierarchy
Level	*Definition*
1	Imperial capital
2	State capital
3	Provincial capital
4	District capital
5	Lowest administrative seat:
(5a)	subdistrict capital
(5b)	toll stations (*tolplaatsen*) and border stations (*scheydplaatsen*)

SOURCES: Gilbert Rozman, *Urban Networks in Ch'ing China and Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, 1973), chap. 1; idem, *Urban Networks in Russia, 1750–1800, and Premodern Periodization* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 33–40.

political-administrative seats provided one institutional basis for the subordination of the countryside to the towns.

The dominant commercial center in the region was Bighu. The origins of the town go back to the eleventh century, but it was during the fourteenth century that Bighu emerged as the premier regional trading center. This development was associated with the expansion of Dyula (Wangara) trade from the cities of the middle and upper Niger valleys. Bighu remained "the pivot of the country's economy until the seventeenth century and did not finally decline until early in the next."[10] It was linked to subregional trading centers and state capitals located in the forest and coastal zones and the ports on the littoral. It was a focus for long-distance trade over an extensive area. "Mandinga" textiles and brass basins, which were manufactured in the town, were exported southwards to the coast, and gold and kola nuts were exported to the trading centers of the Western and Central Sudan. In the sixteenth century Bighu was known in Moroccan trading circles as a major gold- and kola-marketing center.[11] There is no information on the monetary value of Bighu's import-export trade. During the seventeenth century it probably amounted to 10 to 15 million dambas in gold. Certainly no other single urban settlement in the region conducted trade on this scale prior to 1700.

Bighu was also a major crafts center. Textiles, pottery, ivory jewelry and artifacts, glass beads, and metalware were among the items produced in and around



MAP 2.1 Seventeenth-century commercial and administrative central places

the town. Some of these products were traded over considerable distances.[12] The gold and kola trade provided the basis for the growth and development of the Bighu artisanal-commercial economic complex. It also supported the mosques and schools which Muslim clerics established there.

Lower-level commercial settlements were well established in the pre-fifteenth-century period. In the Tain–Black Volta basin, for example, there were a number of subregional trading centers: Old Bima, Old Banda, Old Bofe, Ahwene Koko, Bono Manso, Gbuipe, Bui, and others.[13] The rise of these places is associated with increased Dyula mercantile activity and large-scale merchant capital investment in the area. To the west and north the Dyula were responsible for founding other subregional trading centers, caravanserai, and settlements with daily and/or specialized periodic markets.[14] East of the Black Volta basin along the banks of the Oti River, Kitare, a subregional trading center or a caravanserai, was founded in the fifteenth century. This place doubtless conducted trade with Bighu and other urban centers north of the forest as well as with the entrepots of the Central Sudan. Kitare's trade also extended down the Volta to the riverine market towns of Akroso Beposo and Duffor Adidome and across the Accra plains to Ladoku.[15]

In the forest and coastal zones there were a number of subregional centers: Abonse, which served as the market of Great Accra, Late Amanfro, "Abrobie," "Benda," Tafo, Abakwa, "Dahoe," "Alderradra," and "Elephante Grande." In addition, fairs were held in particular towns.[16] These, too, served as subregional trading centers. The Abonse market was a typical subregional central place. It attracted merchants from Akwamu, Akyem, Akradi, Kamana, Kwawu, Tafo, "Aboeroe," and other places. The market was held thrice a week during the seventeenth century, but possibly four times a week in the 1550s.[17]

Early seventeenth-century Abonse was under the "complete authority" (*volkomen gemaghtight*) of a "captain or overseer [*opziender*] of the merchants." He was appointed to the position by the ruler of the Accra state. He set the prices of all goods bought and sold in the market, resolved all disputes that occurred there, and punished all lawbreakers. He also had the authority to close the trade routes to Abonse whenever conflicts and disagreements arose.[18] In the late 1670s it was noted that "this general overseer is assisted by several officers to act for him where he cannot be present himself. Those employments are much sought after there, as being both honorable and advantageous; because both the king's and their perquisites are very considerable."[19] The "overseer" was known to Danish factors as the *pay marcador,* "father of the merchants."[20] This office was probably created in the mid- or late sixteenth century. For a period of about a century, from the 1560s to around 1680, Abonse was the most important subregional trading center in the coastal zone.

Late Amanfro ("Latabij") was another important market town. It was located on the Akuapem scarp to the northeast of Abonse. It was also a subregional trading center: "Here is a great market where all kinds of goods (*allerhande waren*) are brought; but it is not as large as that at Abonse."[21] Another

subregional trading center was situated in southern Etsi territory to the east of the Accra polity. This settlement was described as "a very great market" (*een zeer grote merkt*) that was regularly visited by "great throngs of people from distant places" (*groten toeloop van volk wit verregelege plaatsen*).[22] In the early and mid-seventeenth century this market was probably located in the town of "Abrobie." By the end of the century it was located in the town of "Benda." According to a 1698 report "Benda" was "the center of trade for the Arcanys, Dancras, Akims or any of the up-country people. . . ."[23]

In the 1670s (or the 1660s) new markets were founded in the Adom, Twifo, and Wassa *'aman*. Markets were held once a week, on Friday; merchandise obtained from European factors on the coast was brought to the markets for redistribution to various inland marketing and administrative central places.[24] These were specialized periodic markets. They were not involved in the collection and distribution of agricultural produce as were general periodic markets. The Assin (or Little Akani) state also had its specialized periodic markets. These were held perhaps twice a week and were visited by traders from neighboring polities who came to purchase trade goods brought from the coast by Akani merchant caravans.[25] The Assin markets can probably be dated to the fifteenth century.

In the sixteenth century there were two important gold-marketing centers in the forest zone: Tafo, situated in the Pra-Ofin basin, and "Elephante Grande," situated in the upper Ankobra Valley. They were either subregional trading settlements or settlements with specialized periodic markets. Whatever their actual commercial status, they were clearly towns with concentrated resources, and they were important exporters of gold to the coast.

The relationship of commercial central places to trade was dialectical: market towns were the products of growing trade and the formation and accumulation of merchant capital; at the same time they promoted the further expansion of trade and merchant capital. They provided the basis for the development of a regional mercantilist organization, namely that of the Akani (Assin), and an *obirempon* ideology—that is, the identification of aristocratic status with the possession and accumulation of social wealth derived from trade. In association with commerce, market centers, and merchant capital, slavery developed as a system of social production.[26] Commerce was a precondition for the emergence of an aristocratic tradition based on the ownership of merchant capital and the employment of unfree laborers in productive activities. The accumulation of wealth in the form of trading profits was matched by the accumulation of labor-power in the form of slaves.

The administrative central places were associated with the management of public authority and were based on the appropriation of revenues. The institutionalization of state landed property and the imposition of rent (or land tax) payments on the peasant population can be partly ascribed to the establishment of level-2 administrative seats, which were commercially linked to marketing centers.

The historical growth and development of ranked administrative and commer-

cial places over a period of several centuries represented the emergence of successively more complex systems of settlement. The nature of the data precludes any attempt to specify the ratio of central places to the total population at any period, yet the sources suggest that in the seventeenth century at least an appreciable number of persons resided in the urban settlements. Until the early eighteenth century urbanization was a major feature in the process of settlement formation.

THE COASTAL ZONE

The ports were the dominant commercial and administrative settlements on the seaboard. Throughout the period many of them experienced substantial economic, political, social, and demographic changes. Between 1480 and 1660, for example, the ports' marketing organization changed considerably. In 1480 the gold-trading ports of Shama and the "Village of Two Parts" (*laldee duos partz/aldea de duas partes*) appear to have had only periodic markets.[27] By the later decades of the sixteenth century the principal ports each had a small daily produce market and a large periodic produce-goods market that was held two to four times a week.[28] The only sixteenth-century port that maintained a large daily produce and goods market was Elmina. By 1660 each principal port had a big daily market where a wide range of commodities were bought and sold.[29] The growth of trade played an important role in this development. Between the late fifteenth century and the late seventeenth century European trading stations (*aban* or *ntontofro*) were constructed in many ports. During the same period landlord-brokers (*asanfo*) established themselves in different coastal towns.[30] Trade between coastal towns and inland commercial settlements expanded considerably. Between the 1640s and the 1680s, for example, the number of Akani caravans that annually visited the ports between Little Komenda and Kormantse more than doubled.

As ports the coastal towns served as places of transshipment; they were organized points of contact between land and marine space. They offered a variety of services to both hinterland and maritime commercial organizations by transferring goods and people from seagoing vessels to land and vice versa. The maritime organization was based on the overseas commerce of the European chartered companies and their trading stations and the coasting trade that linked the Gold Coast ports to various ports along the western African coast. During the second half of the century the annual monetary value of the combined import-export trade of the Gold Coast ports can be estimated at several million dambas in gold.

The commercial hinterland of the ports constituted an organized and developed land space of market towns and caravanserai which was connected to one or more ports by arterial routes and merchant caravans. It received and shipped commodities through the coastal towns. During the seventeenth century

the Akani mercantile organization dominated the commercial hinterland of the ports between Shama and Winneba.

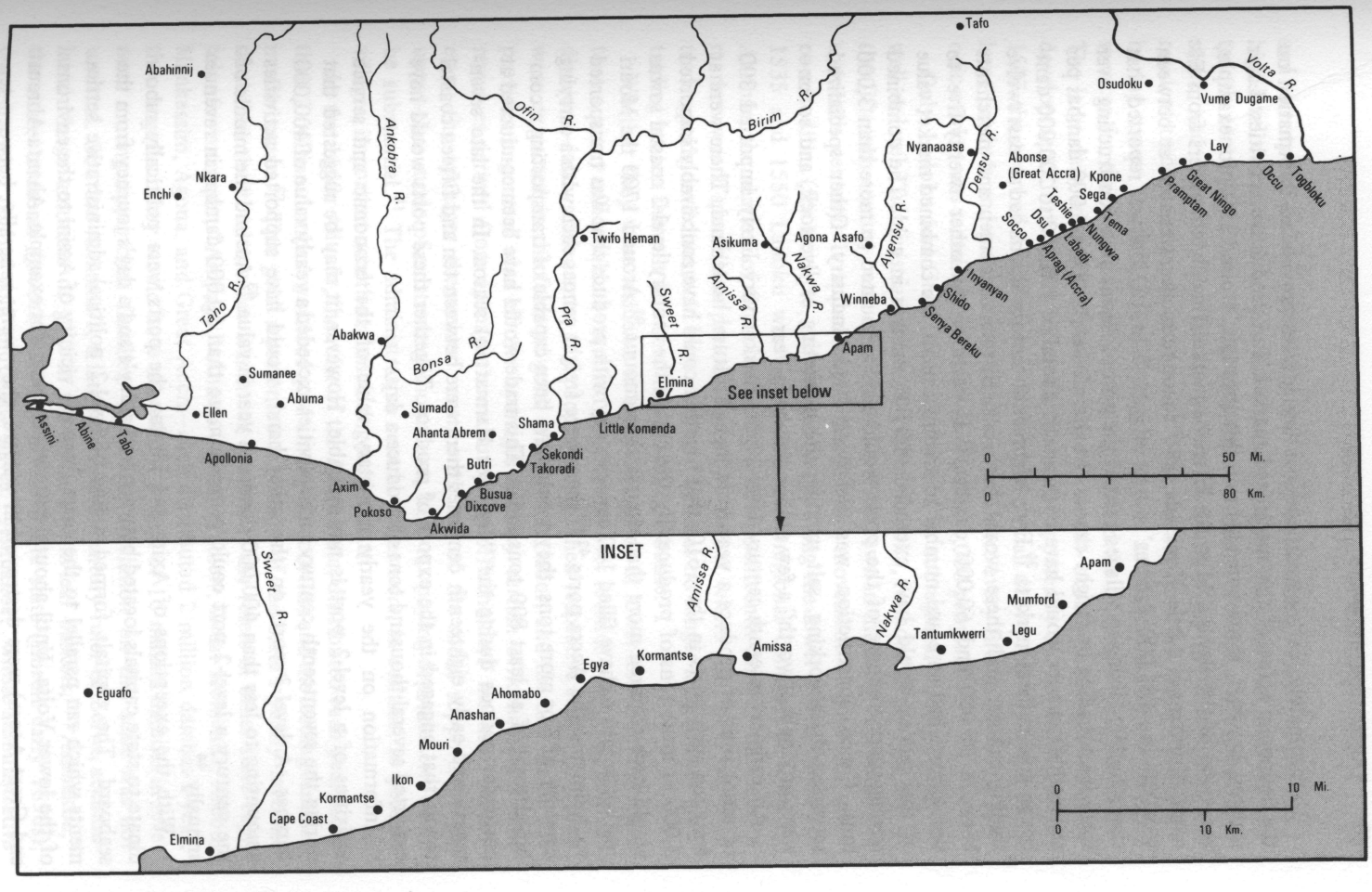
The ports were fairly evenly distributed along the littoral. At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were, generally speaking, between twelve and sixteen miles apart; at the end of the century they were, on average, eight miles apart.[31] Spatial distribution was governed by several factors: the growth of trade, the boundaries of local marketing areas, and demographic density.

In the 1470s there were only two ports—Shama and the "Village of Two Parts"—where gold could be purchased in large quantities. Both places were evidently dependent on commercial hinterlands that extended many miles into the interior, apparently as far as Bighu.[32] The remaining coastal communities were not heavily involved in the gold trade but were probably local markets where produce, fish, salt, and craft goods were exchanged. Their commercial hinterlands probably extended no more than twenty miles into the interior. By the mid-sixteenth century there were at least eleven coastal settlements where gold could be bought on a more or less regular basis.[33] The growth of the overseas trade promoted the emergence of new ports and the organized development of new hinterlands geared to the overseas trade. In the 1680s there were between twenty-five and thirty gold-exporting ports, each of which was linked to inland commercial central places.[34] Between the 1470s and the 1680s there was a dramatic increase in the number of organized points of contact between land and marine space.

The ports had important judicial and political functions, hence the emergence of new coastal trading towns also meant the emergence of new administrative centers. An early-seventeenth-century account relates that the main ports (*hoofddorpen*) each had one or more revenue collectors (*morinnen* or *tollenaer*) who were responsible for collecting taxes, tolls, customs duties, and court fines within the area or areas of their jurisdiction (*quartier* or *gebiet*). Each area had its villages and hamlets, which were under the authority of the port's ruler ("captain").[35] For these communities the port was a central place: a market, a religious-cultural center, and a revenue-collecting and judicial-administrative center. The growth in the number of ports was apparently matched by a growth in the number of villages and hamlets.[36]

By the early seventeenth century certain ports had acquired particular specialized activities as a result of the development of the division of labor and the expansion of the coastal urban economy. The sources of the period[37] noted the following activities and the ports where they were located:

1. metalworking: Bereku, Little Komenda, and Takoradi;
2. bead making: Elmina;
3. canoe building: Cape Three Points, Little Komenda, and Takoradi;
4. salt making: Sega ("Chinka") and Takoradi;
5. produce export market: Little Komenda, Shama, and Takoradi;
6. livestock/fowl market: Bereku, Labadi, and Winneba;
7. slave market: Winneba.



MAP 2.2 Seventeenth-century ports

Unfortunately, early-seventeenth-century sources provide no information on the economic value of the specialized markets and productive activities. Later sources, however, throw some light on this question. Around 1660, for example, the value of the slaves sold at the Winneba market (mainly to traders from Elmina, Kormantse, Little Komenda, and so on) can be estimated at between 138,000 and 185,000 dambas' worth of gold.[38] In 1692 it was reported that canoe builders living in villages behind the port of Assini were constructing over forty large trading or freight canoes. At the rate of 3,000 to 5,000 dambas per canoe these canoes would have been worth a total of 120,000 to 200,000 dambas in gold in local markets.[39] Early-eighteenth-century Shama had at least twelve trading canoes, and these would have cost Shama canoemen and merchants between 36,000 and 60,000 dambas.[40] If each of the other twenty-five to thirty ports had an equal number of trading canoes, the combined market value of the canoes would have exceeded 900,000 dambas in gold. The combined trading-canoe tonnage of the ports would have amounted to more than 3,000 tons. Canoe construction was clearly a major industry. Other specialized activities—metalworking, salt making, the marketing of livestock, and so on—were, no doubt, "worth" a few million dambas a year.

An early-seventeenth-century level-2 port market very likely imported 300 or more tons of produce a year from its agricultural hinterland. There were at least ten such ports in the 1610s that together could have conceivably imported 3,000 or more tons of produce. By the end of the century level-2 coastal towns would have required more than double this amount.[41] Around 1700 the Mouri market is said to have filled 100 canoes a day with produce that was transported to Axim and the Accra ports.[42] If these were freight canoes each with a carrying capacity of 8 or more tons, they would have been capable of transporting a combined total of at least 800 tons a day. This trade would have been conducted at particular periods during the "dry" (or Harmattan) season. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there were between ten and fifteen coastal towns that engaged in the export of produce. Together these ports would have exported several thousand tons of produce a day.

Information on the yearly monetary value of the economic and service activities of a level-2 port is not available. However, it may be suggested that during the seventeenth century such activities exceeded a yearly value of 400,000 dambas. A level-3 port, on the other hand, would have supported activities amounting to less than 400,000 dambas a year in value.[43] Around the middle of the century a level-2 port could generate more than 50,000 dambas in revenue annually.[44]

With the exceptions of Axim and Elmina the ports were politically subordinate to state capitals located between half a day's and a day's journey from the seaboard. The capitals formed a line of level-2 political-administrative settlements which ran parallel to the coast from the vicinity of Assini to the environs of the lower Volta. Until about 1680, when some (for example, Ahanta-Abrem and Great Accra) were destroyed in warfare, they were, generally, between ten

and twenty-five miles apart. With two exceptions none of these towns was a high-level commercial center. The extant evidence indicates that in the seventeenth century each had a large daily market where produce, craft goods, livestock, and imported merchandise were traded, and many of these towns had resident traders and landlord-brokers.[45] The market provided services for neighboring towns, hamlets, and villages; the traders and landlord-brokers provided services for the leading families in the capitals and the transit merchant caravans. The large daily market was possibly a late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century development. In the early sixteenth century it apparently did not exist. Thus in 1503 the town of Afutu appears to have had a small daily produce market and a large produce and goods market that was held once every fifteen days. The periodic market was seemingly visited by more than 1,000 people.[46]

Only Ladoku and Great Accra functioned as subregional trading centers as well as level-2 administrative central places. Ladoku, founded in the first half of the fifteenth century, was a major gold-trading town in the early decades of the sixteenth century. It apparently controlled the movement of gold and other commodities (for example, cotton and ivory) along the lower Volta.[47] Between 1535 and 1550 Ladoku was replaced as a subregional commercial town by Abonse, the market of Great Accra.[48] By the seventeenth century the Ladoku market was a specialized periodic (weekly) market where fish, salt, imported trade goods, and livestock were retailed.[49] It was no longer a significant gold-trading center; this role had been taken over by Abonse.

Whether they were residents in state capitals or in lower-level administrative towns, many officeholders exercised jurisdiction over revenue-producing political divisions—land, settlements, and people—within their respective states. Revenues were extracted in the form of gold, trade goods, labor, and the like. Table 2.2 provides a general idea of the apanages held by certain officeholders.[50] The revenues derived from apanages constituted the officeholders' means of subsistence; the apanages themselves constituted one of the social supports of the upper-class mode of existence. Emoluments from tax-paying dependencies could be substantial.[51] The administrative central places were, in contrast to peasant villages, important wealth-accumulating settlements.

In the 1660s Aduafo, the ruler of the Afutu state, distributed each year more than 2 million dambas' worth of gold among his courtiers and the leading families in the *oman*.[52] This gold represented a portion of the state's yearly income; doubtless the total income was much greater. If the rulers in other state capitals—for example, "Ampago," Ahanta-Abrem, Yabiew, Great Komenda, Asebu, Mankessim, Agona, and Great Accra—each distributed 2 million dambas a year, then together they would have shared out a total of 16 million dambas in revenues among upper-class families. Wealth accumulation on this scale was not unusual. Oburum Ankama I, a late-seventeenth-century ruler of Sefwi, accumulated "large amounts of gold in barrels and palm-leaf baskets." "Asimakoe," the state treasurer (*groote marijnje*) of the Fante state (floruit early 1650s), owned a great deal of gold and many slaves. "Asimakoe," whose administrative

Table 2.2 Officeholders and Their Political Dependencies

Officeholder	*Administrative Seat*	*Dependency*	*Date*
"Bessen Biree"	Axim, lower quarter	"Aquaffo," a toll station near Busua	Early seventeenth century
The "Entamma" brothers	Axim, upper quarter	Toll station at the mouth of the Ankobra; "masters and occupiers" of the east bank of the river	Early seventeenth century
"Ambo," captain of Kormantse	Kormantse	Ten to fifteen rural/urban settlements	c. 1632–1646
Takyi, *ohene*	Great Komenda	"Many villages"	1630s–1645
Jan Ahenekwa, *brafo* of Afutu	Simeo and Afutu	Cape Coast, a border station, and villages	1650
"Adonie," captain of the *mansebos*	Mankessim	"Adjangh" (or "Aniang")	Early 1650s
"Annomanie," *brafo* of Nkusukum quarter	Mankessim	Anashan	Early 1650s
"Correchary," *brafo* of Egwira	Abakwa	Abakwa, "Asaba," and villages of peasants and gold producers	1650s
"São Jago," merchant and caboceer	Great Accra	Small Accra	1659–1660
Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay	"Jan Claessen's crom" and Afutu	Cape Coast, Amanfro, Nkyenefo, "Wimba," toll stations, and villages	1660
Pieter, captain	Cape Apollonia	Four villages	1678
The *marini* (or revenue collector) of Little Komenda	Little Komenda	"Marini's crom"	1681
"Caspar" (and his son), *caboceer*	Axim, lower quarter	Coastal settlements between Axim and Busua	1681
"Asham," *caboceer*	Egya	"Asham's crom"	1681
Jan Swager (or Alexander), priest and *caboceer*	Afutu	Amanfro, Nkyenefo, and villages	Early 1680s
The "Curranteer" of Anashan and the Nkusukum quarter of Mankessim	Anashan	One or more villages and land	1680s

Officeholder	*Administrative Seat*	*Dependency*	*Date*
"Yankrey," *caboceer*	"Yankrey's crom"	Sekondi (one quarter), Butri, and villages	1680s–1690s
John Kabes	Little Komenda	Seven to ten villages	1680s–1690s
"Domine," *caboceer*	Anomabo	Egya and "Domine's crom"	1680's–1690s

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; Algemeen Rijsarchief, First West Indies Company 7. Copie missive by den Sweedische Directeur Hend. Caarloff geschreeven aan Heer Directeur-Generael Jacob Ruychaver, dd. Cape Coast, July 23, 1651; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Second West Indies Company 124. Extract uyt het register der resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generael en Raaden: entry dd. Nov. 17, 1682; Algemeen Rijiksarchief, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652, passim; Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 20, 1659; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Legatie Archief. Bewys van der landen Axieme, of Axems jurisdictie, A. Hogenboeck et al., n.d.; Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagnie. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 February 1681 biss den 13 May (1681) auff Friedrichberg; Rigsarkivet, Tyske Kanceili Udenrigske Afdeling. Akter og dokumenter vedr. d. Afrikanske Komp. i Glückstadt og Kolonier paa Guineakysten. Letter from G. van Tetz to Johan Claessen, dd. Amsterdam, Tuesday or the King's day in the month after the rainy season, 1660; India Office Library and Records, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659; India Office Library and Records, E/3/26. Letter from (Roger Chapel), dd. Kormantse Castle, Jan. 14, 1660; "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972), passim; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1642,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), pp. 34, 69; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), passim; Gabriel Debien et al., eds., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," *Bulletin d'institut fondamental de l'afrique noire* 40, no. 2 (1978): 278; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische-Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), p. 87.

seat was Mankessim, was, understandably, regarded as a man of considerable means.[53]

The regular concentration of revenues in the different state capitals was dependent on the consolidation of formal administrative hierarchies. Lower-level administrative centers integrated nonadministrative trading settlements, villages, hamlets, and arterial routes into a centralized system of public management.

Part of the redistributed revenues was converted to merchant capital, for example, when it was used to finance trading expeditions or when it was exchanged directly for merchandise sold by traders, brokers, and European factors. Because of upper-class consumption needs, level-2 administrative centers were in regular commercial contact with trading towns (levels 1 through 3) and special-

ized periodic markets (level 5a).[54] The incomes of the upper classes supported the economic operations of these towns and markets.

Part of the revenues was used to support the craft industries that flourished in and around the state capitals as well as other specialist activities. Great Komenda, for example, was surrounded by a number of settlements ("upper crooms"), including a village of priests ("Summamfoecrom": Asumanfokrom) and one or more villages inhabited by 200 bricklayers and their families.[55] In and around the towns of Yabiew and Mankessim there were potters and metalworkers, and around the town of Afutu there were mines and pits worked by goldminers who lived in neighboring villages.[56] The clients, attendants, servants, and armed guards of the upper-class families were also located in and around the state capitals. They provided specialized services for these families and, like them, were partly dependent on the state revenues distributed by rulers.

The wealth and services concentrated in and around the state capitals attracted persons from far and wide. Level-2 administrative seats formed spatially discrete nuclei of densely populated settlement zones.[57] Regrettably, precise population figures are lacking; however, there seems little doubt that a zone could support several thousand inhabitants. The settlement zone of a large urban center like Great Accra could very well contain 10,000 to 20,000 people. On a smaller scale, lower-level administrative settlements were also nodes of population aggregation.[58] The urban character of many seventeenth-century *aman* was therefore strongly pronounced.

Tables 2.3 through 2.9 present the central places that were to be found in certain coastal polities between 1660 and 1710. The listings are not comprehensive but include only those places mentioned in the sources. At the present stage of knowledge it is not possible to fix the chronological order in which the different levels appeared. However, the evidence indicates that in the early sixteenth century all of the levels specified in the tables were present in the coastal zone. The emergence and consolidation of ranked central places in the coastal *aman* were manifestly linked to the concomitant development of apanages attached to officeholders and upper-class families.

THE SOUTHERN FOREST

The central-place systems of the states lying along the northern borders of the coastal zone were broadly similar to those of the coastal *aman.* Associated with these inland states was a line of central places which stretched from the district of "Sumane" on the east bank of the Tano to the district of Kyerepon ("Occrepon"/"Accrippoone"), situated in the eastern section of the Akuapem scarp.[59] These urban centers lay from half a day's to a day's journey north of the subcoastal capitals, to which they were linked by trade routes. Between the Pra and Volta rivers several important centers can be identified.

One of these centers was the capital of "Jumoo," a province in the Adom

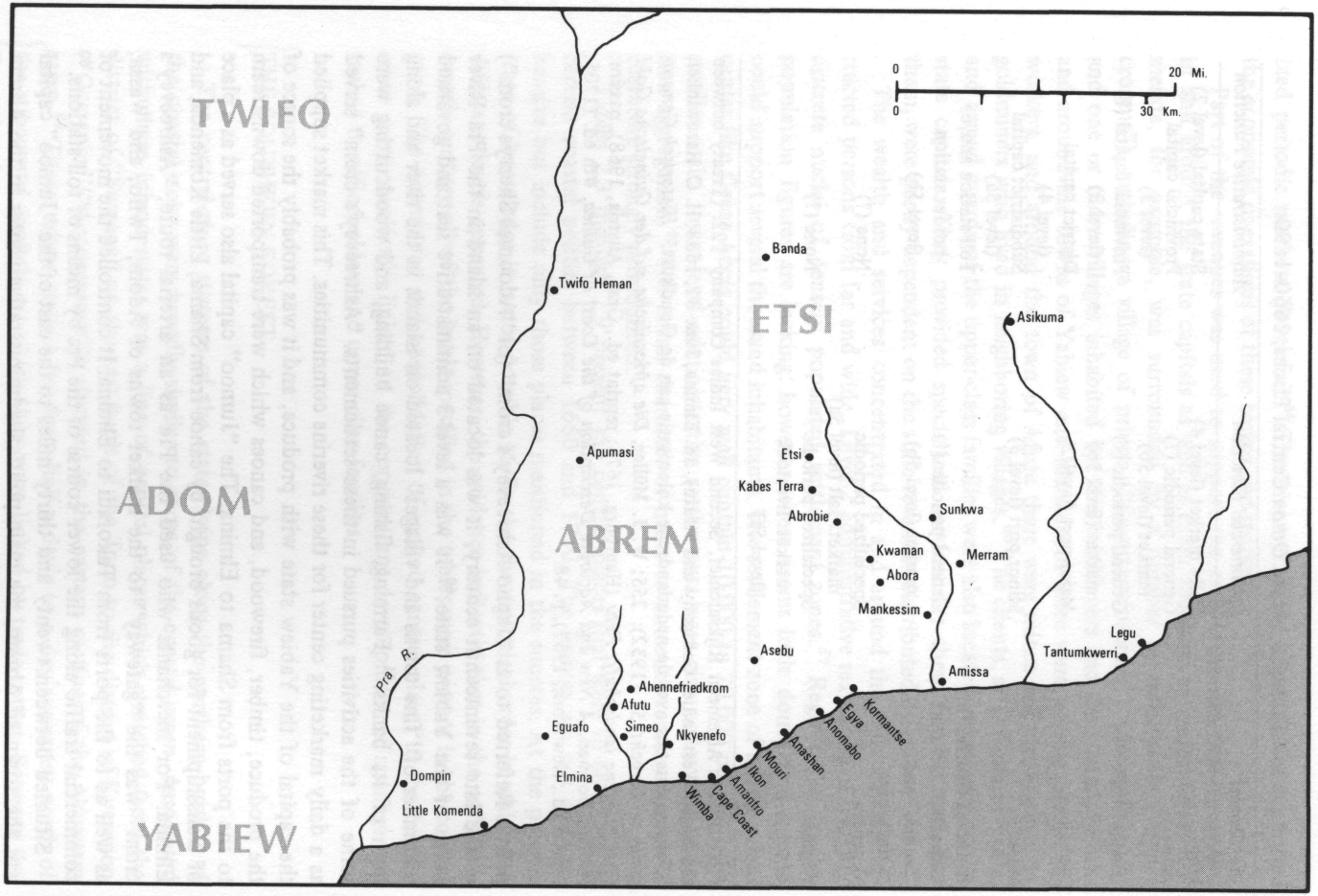
Table 2.3 Afutu *Oman* Central Places, 1660–1690

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Afutu	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
Simeo	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Provincial capital (level 3)
"Hennefried's crom"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Provincial capital (?) (level 3)
Cape Coast	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Amanfro	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)
"Annoma Gruffu," "Aurabia," "Jankre," and "Krinckresan"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Toll station and/or border station (level 5b)
Nkyenefo	Specialized periodic market: salt (level 5a)	None (?)
Wimba	Specialized periodic market: livestock (level 5a)	None (?)

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Second West Indies Company 122. (Treaty between the Dutch West Indies Company and Afutu), dd. Elmina, June 31, 1688; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee attestaties over de nederlandsche kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 255; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), passim; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 48.

polity. Referred to as "Japho Ashreevey's crom" (or "Adoomes Sherrys crom") in the late seventeenth century, it was located on an island in the Pra River north of the Yabiew state.[60] It was a level-3 administrative seat and governed a number of "fine towns and villages" located on islands in the river and along both of its banks.[61] Farming, fishing, canoe building, and woodcutting were some of the activities pursued in these settlements. "Ashreevey's crom" served as a daily marketing center for these riverine communities. This market supplied the capital of the Yabiew state with produce, and it was probably the source of the produce, timber, firewood, and canoes which were transported downstream to the ports from Shama to Elmina. The "Jumoo" capital also served as a place of transshipment for goods brought by canoe from Shama, Little Komenda, and Elmina. For merchants who used the Pra as an arterial route, "Ashreevey's crom" was the "gateway" to the market towns of Adom, Twifo, and Wassa, as well as to the ports from Takoradi to Elmina. It controlled the movement of commercial traffic along the lower course of the Pra by means of toll-stations.[62]

Situated between twenty and thirty miles to the east of the "Jumoo" capital was the town of Abrem, the main political-administrative center in the Abrem *oman.* In the 1660s it had five or six provincial and/or district capitals under its jurisdiction.[63] It was a level-2 administrative central place. In the early decades



MAP 2.3 Central places in the Eguafo, Afutu, Asebu, and Fante Aman

Table 2.4 Asebu *Oman* Central Places, 1690

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Asebu	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
Mouri	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Ikon	Minor port (level 3) and specialized periodic market: salt (level 5a)	Toll station (level 5b)
Eleven (?) towns	General periodic (?) markets (level 5b)	District/subdistrict capitals (levels 4 and 5a)

SOURCES: Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), p. 8; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee attestaties over de nederlandsche kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 256; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 53–55.

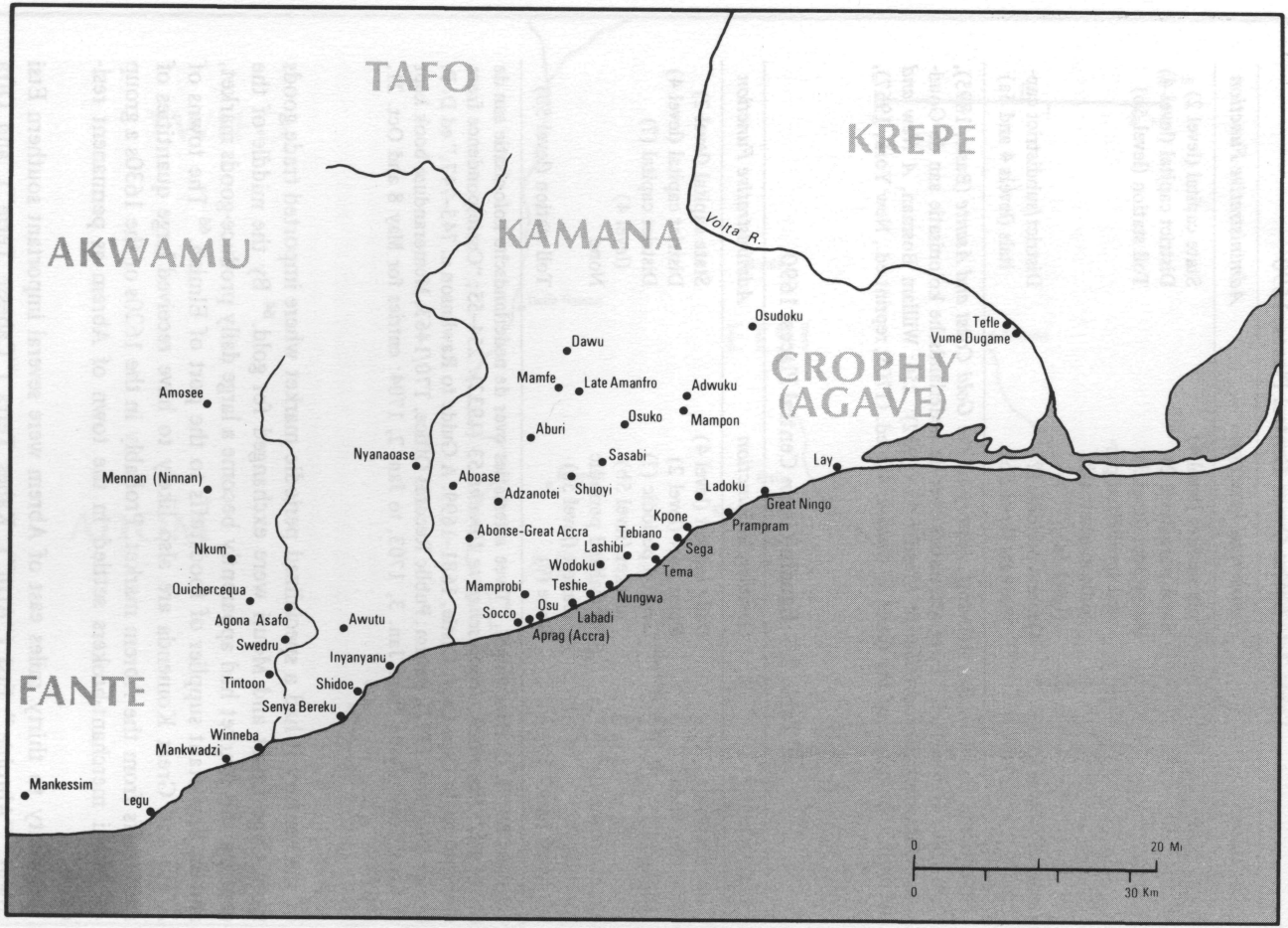
Table 2.5 Eguafo *Oman* Central Places, 1690

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Great Komenda	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
Little Komenda	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
"Dumpim"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (?) (level 4)
Akani trading settlement	Specialized periodic market (level 5a)	None
"Comany pass"	None (?)	Toll station (level 5b)

SOURCES: H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee attestaties over de nederlandsche kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 254–55; "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972), passim; Public Records Office, T70/1463. Memorandum book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 3, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entries for May 8 and Oct. 21, 1703.

of the century it had a specialized periodic market where imported trade goods from Cape Coast and Mouri were exchanged for gold.[64] By the middle of the century this market had apparently become a large daily produce-goods market, and an important supplier of foodstuffs to the port of Elmina.[65] The towns of Afutu and Great Komenda are also likely to have received large quantities of foodstuffs from the Abrem market. Probably in the 1620s or the 1630s a group of Akani merchant-brokers settled in the town of Abrem as permanent residents.

Twenty to thirty miles east of Abrem were several important southern Etsi towns: "Abrobie," Etsi ("Attij"), Kabes Terra ("Cabesse Terre"), and Ofra Agyei ("Afer" or "Offer Adje").[66] Each of these towns had a resident community of Akani merchant-brokers in the 1650s. "Abrobie," which was located near the Fante-Etsi border, was situated on a trade route that linked the towns of



MAP 2.4 Central places in the Agona, Accra, and La Aman

Table 2.6 Fante *Oman* Central Places, 1690

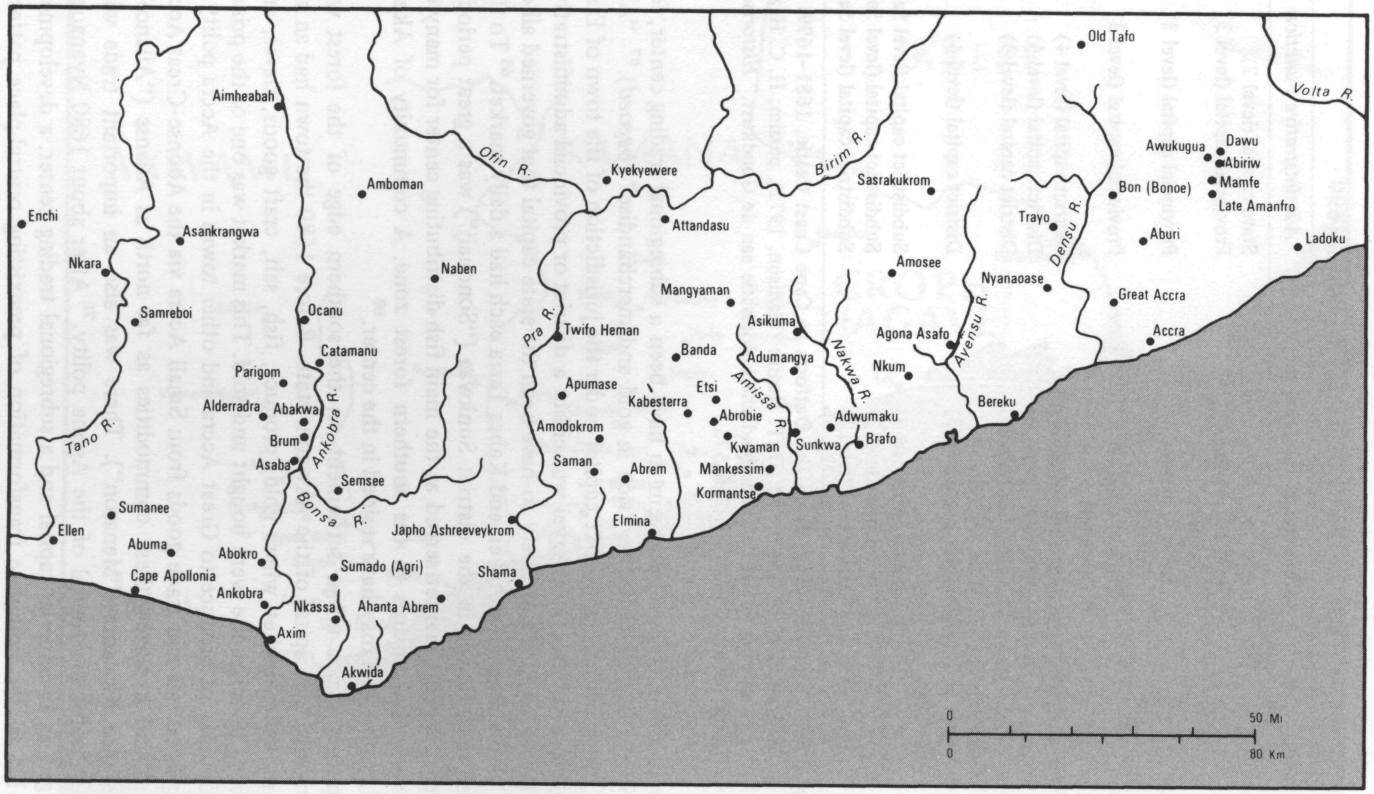
Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Mankessim	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
Abora	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)
Kwaman	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)
"Merram"	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)
Kormantse	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Anomabo	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Amissa (Kwasikrom)	Minor port (level 3)	District capital (level 4)
Tantumkwerri (Kwanzakrom)	Minor port (level 3)	District capital (level 4)
Egya	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)
Anashan	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)
Legu	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)

SOURCES: "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 545–547," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972), passim; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee attestaties over de nederlandsche kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 256–57.

Kwaman and Etsi. It would seem to have been a subregional trading center, for in 1653 it was described as "rich in gold and merchandise" (*begoed*).[67] "Abrobie" was, perhaps, a district capital under the jurisdiction of the town of Etsi, a provincial capital. Ofra Agyei was either a district or provincial administrative seat. Kabes Terra seems likely to have been the state capital that governed all of these places. Etsi, Ofra Agyei, and Kabes Terra each had a daily market.[68] To the east of these towns in the district Sunkwaa ("Sonquaij") was a great periodic fish market. This market served as the main fish-distributing center for many of the towns and villages in the southern forest zone. A community of Akani merchant-brokers may have resided in the center.[69]

Another major urban settlement on the southern edge of the forest was Nyanaoase, the capital of the Akwamu state. Before 1680 the town had an important daily market where gold, produce, fish, salt, craft goods, slaves, and imported merchandise were bought and sold. This market was one of the principal suppliers of produce to Great Accra and other towns in the Accra polity.[70] It imported salt and trade goods from Small Accra via the Abonse–Great Accra market and exported these commodities as far north as Adanse ("Allance") and Manso Nkwanta ("Menason"). There was also an important trade with Agona Asafo, the capital of the Agona polity.[71] After about 1680 Nyanaoase emerged as an imperial capital and a subregional trading center, a development that led to the complete transformation of preexisting central-place patterns over a wide area.

East of Nyanaoase were several towns located on the Akuapem scarp. Of



MAP 2.5 Central places in the southern forest

Table 2.7 Agona *Oman* Central Places, 1690–1710

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Agona Asafo	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
"Tintoon"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (?) (level 4)
Swedru	Daily market (level 4)	District capital (level 4)
"Quichercequa"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (?) (level 4)
"Mennan" (or "Ninnan")	Specialized periodic market: gold, slaves, trade goods (level 5a)	Toll station (?) (level 5b)
"Incoom"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (?) (level 4)
Senya Bereku	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Winneba	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Mankwadzi	Specialized periodic market: livestock (level 5a)	Subdistrict (?) capital (level 5a)
Shidoe	Minor port (level 3)	Toll station (?) (level 5b)
Inyanyanu	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)

SOURCES: "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972), passim; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee attestaties over de nederlandsche kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 257; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 62–64; "Valuation of the African Forts, dd. February 16, 1710," in *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America,* 4 vols., ed. Elizabeth Donnan (New York, 1965), 1:110, 112 n. 4.

these the most important was Late Amanfro, a subregional trading center. Archaeological data indicate that Abure, Mamfe, Abiriw, and Dawu were founded in the late sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century. All of these towns were commercially linked to Ladoku and other central places in the La state as well as to Nyanaoase.[72] All of these urban settlements were active participants in the gold trade. The pottery "gaming counters" found on the Dawu site were in all likelihood gold weights similar to those found at the Bighu and Bono Manso sites. The Bighu and Bono Manso "counters" were based on Islamic weight values.[73] Dawu was a major craft center, and the artisans of the town probably sold some of their products for gold, the main currency throughout much of the region. Pottery disc "counters" have been found on many other seventeenth-century sites.[74] These, too, were probably used as gold weights.

The principal town in the Kyerepon district was Awukugua. According to Kyerepon traditions, Awukugua was a large marketing center where Kyerepon Guan, Late, and southern Guan communities traded. It is uncertain whether the market was daily or periodic. Awukugua was possibly a level-2 administrative seat. According to traditional accounts the town exercised dominion over

Table 2.8 Accra *Oman* Central Places, 1675

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Adminstrative Function*
Abonse–Great Accra	Subregional trade center (level 2)	State capital (level 2)
Aprag (Small Accra)	Major port (level 2)	District capital (level 4)
Socco	Major port (level 2)	Subdistrict (?) capital (level 5a)
Labadi	Specialized periodic market: livestock (level 5a)	District capital (level 4)
Mamprobi ("Momberijbij"/ "Mamberij")	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)
Aboaso	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)
Wodoku	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (level 4)
Shuoyi	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)
Osuko	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Border station (?) (level 5b)
Teshie	Specialized periodic (?) market: fish (level 5a)	None (?)
Ten to twenty towns	General/specialized periodic (?) markets (levels 5a, 5b)	Provincial/lower-level administrative seats (?) (levels 3, 5b)

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe 149. Map of the Gold Coast from Ioni to Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; Rigsarkivet, Generaltoldskammerets Archiv. Guineiske uafgjorte (Journal-) Sager. "Pro memoria, no. 9," J. F. Kipnasse, dd. Copenhagen, May 26, 1781; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 12, 30, 32, 33, 36; Paul Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology of Accra," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6 (1963), passim; James Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," *Nyame Akuma,* no. 15 (1979), pp. 19–20.

Abiriw, Adukrom, Apirade, and Dawu.[75] Traditions refer to other urban settlements on or near the Akuapem scarp: Damurukuso (perhaps the "Bon" or "Bonoe" of seventeenth-century European sources), Akonno, Abotoase, Abotakyi, Oseem, Borimfono, Mantim, and Nkwapranase (Adenya).[76] These places apparently had daily or periodic markets. They would have been linked to the subregional trading centers of Abonse-Great Accra and Late Amanfro. With respect to their administrative functions they may be provisionally classified as level-2 to -4 centers.

The coastal and southern forest territories were characterized by developed central-place systems. These systems made possible the relatively high rate of

Table 2.9 La *Oman* Central Places, 1675

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*
Ladoku	Daily market (level 4)	State capital (level 2)
Adwuku	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (level 4)
Mampon	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (level 4)
Tebiano	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (level 4)
Lashibi	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District capital (level 4)
Sega ("Chincka"/ "Cinke")	Specialized periodic market: salt/fish (level 5a)	District capital (level 4)
Great Ningo	Specialized periodic market: livestock (level 5a)	District capital (level 4)
Lay	Specialized periodic market: livestock (level 5a)	District capital (level 4)
Tema	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict (?) capital (level 5a)
Twenty towns	General/specialized periodic (?) markets (levels 5a, 5b)	Provincial/lower-level administrative seats (?) (levels 3, 5b)

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe 149. Map of the Gold Coast from Ioni to Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 12, 33, 34, 73; Paul Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology of Accra," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6, (1963), passim; idem, "Adwuku: Fortified Hill-Top Village in Shai," *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 7 (1965), pp. 4–5; idem, "Ladoku: An Early Town near Prampram," *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 7 (1965), pp. 6–7; James Anquandah, "The Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project Report on 1976/77 Fieldwork," *Nyame Akuma*, no. 12 (1978), pp. 25–26; idem, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," *Nyame Akuma*, no. 15 (1979), pp. 15–18.

mobility between rural and urban settlements and between towns. Traditions recounting pre-eighteenth-century migratory movements are to be viewed in this context. The central-place systems also promoted the emergence of a comparatively uniform material culture over an extensive area.[77]

Further, they contributed to the consolidation of slavery as a form of social labor and to the strengthening of socioeconomic differentiation based on control over and access to material and human resources. They provided a basis for the opposition between "town" and "country"—and the rise of banditry—and they constituted a structural framework within which *agyesem*—social and political conflict—took shape.

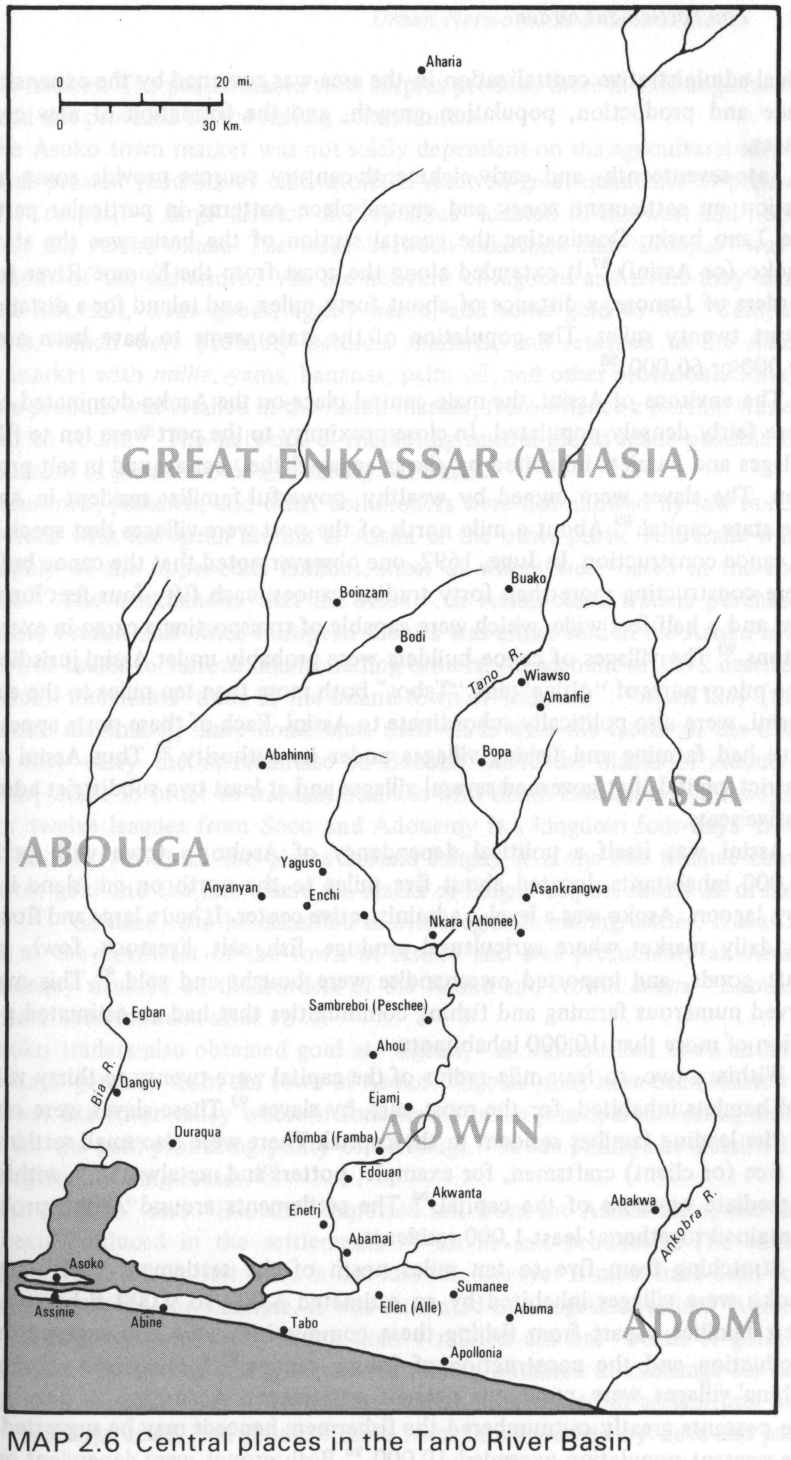
THE TANO RIVER BASIN

The network of central places in the coastal and southern forest *aman* and districts between the Pra and Volta rivers was fairly "dense." That found in the Tano River basin was much less so. Many of the central places of this area were located in or close to the river's valley. The river's lower and middle courses formed part of an arterial route that connected the port of Assini and the regional trading center of Bighu, which lay more than 200 miles from the seaboard.[78] The development of integrated central-place systems along the route was essentially a post-1640 phenomenon. By the late 1650s the auriferous districts bordering the lower course of the river were important exporters of gold to the coast and to Bighu. The expansion of trade and the emergence of central-place networks were closely linked. Associated with both was the comparatively rapid growth in population during the second half of the century.[79]

Throughout the seventeenth century Assini served as the main maritime outlet for the trade of the Tano basin. In the early decades of the century most of the gold exported from the town came from Egwira, a polity based in the middle Ankobra valley. The implication is that there were no major trading towns in the immediate hinterland of the port. With the general expansion of trade and production in the Tano gold fields Assini had become a populous and prosperous level-2 port by the 1670s.[80] Before the 1640s it had functioned as a level-3 port.

A Dutch letter of 1658 mentions eight "gold rich districts" (*gout rycke lantschappen*) that bordered the Tano: "Enetrij," "Ejamj," "Ellen," "Afomba," "Abamaj," "Ahonee," "Peschee," and "Ahasia" (or "Encassar Grande"). These places were Assini's main suppliers of gold.[81] With the exception of "Ahasia" (or "Encassar grande"/"groote Encassar") these districts cannot be identified.[82] A report of 1659 relates that traders from "Ahasia," together with traders from "Abahinnj," traveled to "Aharia" and "Isocquo" (or "Mandinga," that is, Bighu) with gold and imported merchandise.[83] All of these towns were central places. Reference has already been made to Bighu. The other towns were perhaps subregional trading settlements. "Ahasia" and "Aharia" may also have been state capitals.[84] Both probably lay over fifty miles north of Assini.

The seven "gold rich districts" were very likely located within forty miles or so of Assini. Nothing is known about their central places, but it may be assumed that each district had its administrative and marketing central places. The large earthwork site located on the lower Tano (near modern Nkara) was probably in one of these districts. Archaeological work on the site has revealed that its former inhabitants engaged in gold production, pottery making, and ironworking.[85] It was perhaps a marketing and administrative settlement as well. Towards the end of the century the Aowin *oman* was the main producer and exporter of gold in the lower Tano basin. Conceivably, it was formed out of some or all of the districts referred to in 1658. Details concerning the emergence of the Aowin *oman* as the dominant political unit in the lower and middle Tano basin between 1680 and 1715 are lacking.[86] However, it can be posited that the process of po-



MAP 2.6 Central places in the Tano River Basin

litical-administrative centralization in the area was governed by the expansion of trade and production, population growth, and the formation of new central places.

Late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century sources provide some information on settlement zones and central-place patterns in particular parts of the Tano basin. Dominating the coastal section of the basin was the state of Asoko (or Assini).[87] It extended along the coast from the Komoé River to the borders of Jumore, a distance of about forty miles, and inland for a distance of about twenty miles. The population of the state seems to have been around 50,000 or 60,000.[88]

The environs of Assini, the main central place on the Asoko-dominated coast, were fairly densely populated. In close proximity to the port were ten to fifteen villages and hamlets inhabited by slaves engaged the year around in salt production. The slaves were owned by wealthy, powerful families resident in Asoko, the state capital.[89] About a mile north of the port were villages that specialized in canoe construction. In June, 1692, one observer noted that the canoe builders were constructing more than forty trading canoes, each fifty-four feet long and five and a half feet wide, which were capable of transporting a cargo in excess of 8 tons.[90] The villages of canoe builders were probably under Assini jurisdiction. The minor ports of "Abine" and "Tabo," both more than ten miles to the east of Assini, were also politically subordinate to Assini. Each of these ports appears to have had farming and fishing villages under its authority.[91] Thus Assini was a district capital that governed several villages and at least two subdistrict administrative seats.

Assini was itself a political dependency of Asoko, a town with perhaps 10,000 inhabitants, located about five miles to the north on an island in the Aby lagoon. Asoko was a level-2 administrative center. It had a large and flourishing daily market where agricultural produce, fish, salt, livestock, fowl, game, craft goods, and imported merchandise were bought and sold.[92] This market served numerous farming and fishing communities that had an estimated population of more than 10,000 inhabitants.

Within a two- to four-mile radius of the capital were twenty to thirty villages and hamlets inhabited, for the most part, by slaves.[93] These slaves were owned by the leading families resident in the capital. There were also small settlements of free (or client) craftsmen, for example, potters and metalworkers, within the immediate environs of the capital.[94] The settlements around Asoko probably contained together at least 1,000 residents.

Stretching from five to ten miles north of the settlement "belt" around Asoko were villages inhabited by an estimated 8,000 to 9,000 fishermen and their families. Apart from fishing these communities were also engaged in salt production and the construction of fishing canoes.[95] Interspersed among the fishing villages were numerous peasant settlements. According to one report, the peasants greatly outnumbered the fishermen, hence it may be suggested that the peasant population exceeded 10,000.[96] Both groups were dependent on the

Asoko market. The peasants sold their surplus produce there in exchange for the fish and salt provided by the fishing communities.

The Asoko town market was not solely dependent on the agricultural surplus of local peasant (and slave) cultivators. It received great quantities of produce from "Compas," a large district of "republics" located to the west and northwest of the Asoko *oman*. The trade between this state and "Compas" was in the hands of the fishermen. Via the network of lagoons and rivers they transported fish, salt, trade goods, aggrey beads, and some gold to the "Compas" markets, which were probably periodic markets, and returned to the Asoko daily market with *millie*, yams, bananas, palm oil, and other provisions.[97] Some of this produce was retailed in the Assini market, from whence a portion was exported to Axim.[98] The network of marketing central places made possible the distribution of produce over a relatively wide area.

Fishermen, peasants, and other commoners were not allowed by law to conduct trade with European factors at Assini or the other ports. This trade was a monopoly of the upper-class families, most of whom were based in the state capital.[99] The merchandise that the Asoko- or Assini-based traders purchased from the French and other European factors was either sold in the Asoko town market or taken to various inland trading centers. An account of 1692 describes the Asoko merchants' trade at the inland town of "Edouan": "When they [that is, Asoko merchants] have conducted their trade with the factor of the Company, they carry the merchandise to Edouan where the blacks of Adouemy [Aowin] come in order to transact business with them. Edouan is a village lying ten or twelve leagues from Soco and Adouemy is a kingdom four days' travel from Edouan; . . . of all the places around Issigny it is the one whence comes the most gold and the one where the blacks of Issigny acquire nearly all of their gold."[100] "Edouan" can be classified as a subregional trading center. It was located to the northeast of the town of Asoko and was presumably an Aowin dependency situated on the borders of the Asoko and Aowin *aman*. "Edouan" may have been founded after 1670.

Asoko traders also obtained gold at "Egban," an unidentified town situated three days' journey from the town of Asoko. "Egban" may have been located in the lower Bia River valley where it functioned as the principal marketing settlement for the gold-producing polity of "Abouga." It can perhaps be classified as a subregional trading center.[101]

Both "Egban" and "Edouan" imported salt from the Asoko state, salt that had been produced in the settlements of servile salt producers. The annual monetary value of the salt trade is not known, however it must have been considerable. In 1688, for example, it was estimated that together Assini, "Abine," and "Tabo" exported yearly more than 4 million dambas' worth of gold.[102] A significant portion of this gold was very likely obtained in exchange for salt. In addition, the principal officeholders in the state traded in agricultural produce on a large scale. The produce came from farms worked by slave and peasant corvée labor, and much of it was exported to the auriferous districts, where

it was traded for gold.[103] The expenditure of wealth derived from trade created new consumption needs among the upper classes and the development of craft industries to serve these needs.[104]

Traders from the Asoko state obtained the bulk of their gold from Aowin. Various reports placed the gold-mining districts of Aowin at a distance of about two to eight days' journey from the coast. The traders traveled to these districts in canoes along the Tano River.[105] The main mining centers were to be found in the lands in and around the Disue-Tano confluence. This area, which measured thirty to forty miles in length and ten to twenty in width, constituted the economic and political heartland of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Aowin.

The area was fairly densely populated and contained several urban settlements. Here, too, occurred a concentration of craft industries, for example, pottery making and metalworking. There were also, it would seem, settlements inhabited by slaves who were employed in gold production.[106]

Oral accounts refer to various towns: Yagaso, Enchi, and Anyanya. Yagaso was said to have been the first state capital (its origins are from the late seventeenth century); it was replaced by Enchi Krofoaso.[107] Anyanya was the largest and most populous. Traditions relate that it was more than seven miles long and was founded by Ano Asemã ("Anascheman").[108] Like "Edouan," which was probably located on Aowin's southern frontier, Anyanya functioned as a subregional trading center. Ten days' journey from the seaboard was the town of "Abahiny." This place may have been situated on or near the northern frontier of Aowin, where it may have functioned as a border-station and a subregional trading center or as a specialized periodic market. "Abahiny" was regularly visited by Asoko merchants.[109]

From "Abahiny" Asoko traders traveled to Bighu ("Enzoko"), which, according to one report, was thirty days' journey from the coast. At Bighu they purchased Turkish carpets (*tapis de Turquie*) and fine cotton cloths with red and blue silk stripes (*fines étoffes de coton rayées de soye rouge et bleue*).[110] Traders from the port of Axim also traveled through Aowin en route to Bighu.[111] Between "Abahiny" and Bighu there were a number of urban settlements in Sehwi ("Encassar grande"), several of which were founded in the second half of the seventeenth century.[112]

Between 1640 and 1700 the Tano basin witnessed the development and consolidation of administrative and marketing central-place hierarchies. No single political-administrative center dominated the entire area, although the state capital of Aowin held suzerainty over the largest revenue-producing territory between 1690 and 1715. Long-distance trade, however, was dominated by Bighu, which was linked to subordinate trading centers, such as Assini and "Abahiny," via caravans and arterial routes. Economic and demographic growth as well as the formation and elaboration of centralized administrative systems were the cause and the consequence of changes in and the development of central-place networks.

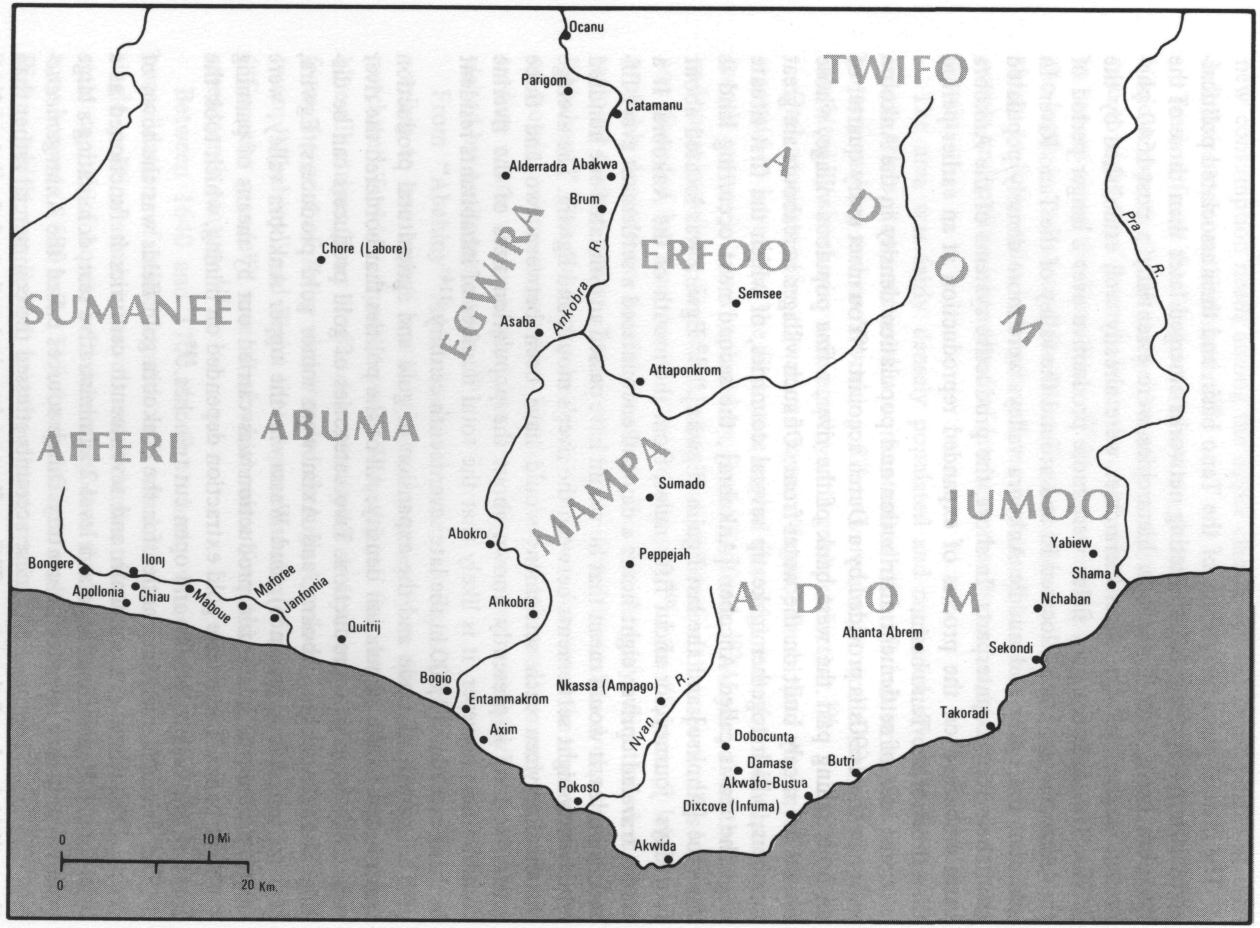
THE ANKOBRA RIVER BASIN

The central-place hierarchies of the Tano basin and their associated political-administrative systems and marketing networks emerged later than those of the Ankobra basin. The Tano basin hierarchies were essentially a post-1640 phenomenon; the Ankobra basin hierarchies were already well established by the 1570s. The Ankobra gold fields were more productive over a longer period of time than the gold fields located in and around the valley of the Tano River. In addition, the lower and middle Ankobra valleys were more densely populated than their Tano counterparts. In short, the productive systems of the Ankobra basin embarked on the process of expanded reproduction at an earlier period than those of the Tano basin.

Some idea of settlement distribution and population density in the Ankobra valley in the 1690s is provided by a Dutch account: "You meet every quarter of an hour sailing past the west bank of the river, a fine populous village, whose houses are nicely built on the water-front. Of such villages hereabouts are great numbers, which together make up several countries, of which the first situate next the sea is called Ancober [Ankobra], the second next occurring land is Abocroe [Abokro] and the last Eguira [Egwira]."[113] Egwira was located about four days' journey, or about fifty miles, from the mouth of the Ankobra. If a trader traveled upriver eight hours a day and encountered a settlement every fifteen minutes, it would mean that he would have passed an estimated one hundred and twenty-eight settlements between the river's mouth and Egwira. The average distance between each settlement would have been between two and three miles. Nothing is presently known about the population sizes of the riverine communities; however, it is likely that the total number of inhabitants resident in them exceeded 12,000 in the late seventeenth century.[114]

The growth of trade and the expansion of gold and agricultural production contributed to the population density. All of the polities that bordered the river were engaged in gold production. Two categories of gold producers can be distinguished: Ankobra, Abokro, and Axim were minor gold producers; Egwira, Mampa (an Adom province), and Wassa, in the upper Ankobra valley, were major producers. Small-scale production was carried out by means of panning the river banks. Large-scale gold extraction depended on mining, which took the form of circular pits, shafts, and open cut trenches.[115]

The principal maritime outlet for the Ankobra gold fields was the town of Axim. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it functioned as a level-2 port. It also functioned as a level-2 administrative seat, dominating a large political unit that seventeenth-century Dutch sources called the Axim *gemeenebest.* Sixteenth-century Portuguese accounts stressed the commercial rather than the political role of the town. The earliest and most detailed of these date from the early 1570s. They furnish concise information on the various Ankobra basin central places that traded with Axim. Unfortunately, they provide little information on the functions of these settlements (see table 2.10).[116]



MAP 2.7 Central places in the Ankobra River Basin and the Axim Commonwealth

Table 2.10 Ankobra Basin Central Places, 1550–1600

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*	*Polity*
Bogio	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Provincial capital (level 3)	Ankobra
"Bacorees"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Provincial capital (level 3)	Abokro
"Alderradra aldea do guira" (Guire Serafee)	Subregional trading center (level 2)	State capital (level 2)	Egwira
"Brum"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Egwira
"Perigom"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Egwira
Meirinho's town	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Egwira
"Catamanu"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Egwira (?)
"Ocanu"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Egwira (?)
São Lorenco	Portuguese trading station (abandoned between 1610 and 1620)	None	Egwira
"Agri"	Specialized periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Mampa (Adom)
"Semsee"	Daily (?) market (level 4)	State (?) capital (level 2)	Mampa (?) (Adom)
"Corisseno de Aliphante grande"	Subregional trade center (level 2)	State (?) capital (level 2)	Wassa
"Xabanda"	General periodic (?) market (level 5b)	Provincial (?) capital	Wassa (?)

SOURCES: António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:102; "1516–1619: Escravos e minas de Africa," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes,* 6 vols., ed. Luciano Cordeiro (Lisbon, 1881), 6:19–20; Armando Coresão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, eds., *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica,* 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1960), 3:67–70; 5:181, 185–86.

There are scattered sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century references to various economic activities in the lands bordering the river's lower course. The hunting of large and small game and wild fowl was an important activity. Fishing was also a major pursuit, particularly along the Abokro section of the river, where a fishery (*pesquerras*) was located. The town of "Bacorees" probably had an important fish market. Palm wine was produced in large quantities, and lemon trees and sugar cane were cultivated. Along the road between Axim and "Agri," a distance of fifteen leagues, were groves of bananas. Both "Agri" and Bogio were situated in gold-producing territories.[117]

Axim merchants conducted an important trade along the Ankobra in canoes.

A 1653 Dutch report relates that they traveled in groups, transporting salt and imported trade goods to Abakwa ("Abaqua"), the Egwira capital.[118] Adom and Wassaw traders sold gold in the town in exchange for the commodities brought from Axim. According to the 1653 account Abakwa received an average of 122,880 dambas (40 marks) in gold a month.[119] Like its late-sixteenth-century predecessor "Alderradra," Abakwa was a subregional trading center. It was Axim's main source of gold. Abakwa was also a gold-producing settlement. In the immediate vicinity of the town were numerous pits (*kuijlen*) from which gold was extracted. These were worked by women. Extending for several miles to the south were "many beautiful farming villages."[120] In 1654 the Dutch built a lodge in Abakwa, and shortly afterwards Axim traders erected houses around it. This section of the capital was known as "Tinseree"; by February, 1659, it had more than 150 inhabitants.[121] There are no population estimates for Abakwa, however in view of the town's political and commercial importance it is unlikely to have had less than 2,000 residents.

Dutch sources do not refer to "Xabanda," "Corisseno de Aliphante grande," or many of the other Ankobra urban settlements mentioned in Portuguese accounts. However, they do specify the eight provinces, or political-administrative units, which formed the Axim commonwealth. The commonwealth was probably established in the second half of the sixteenth century. Three of its provinces were located to the east of the Ankobra River: Axim, Nkassa, and upper Ahanta. Five were west of the river: Jumore, "Quitrij" (or "Gattrij"), "Abripiquem," Ankobra, and Abokro.[122] The port of Axim was the political capital and main commercial center of the commonwealth. A 1656 Dutch report relates that the port had a flourishing trade with all of the provinces.[123]

Detailed information on the locations and functions of the urban settlements of the commonwealth is lacking. However, Dutch sources contain references to (and, occasionally, descriptions of) more than ten central places, and these are listed with their known or assumed functions in table 2.11. The sources also contain references to other political units, none of which formed part of the commonwealth. These units (*landschapen*) were west of the Ankobra River, and included: Abuma ("Abomma," "Abouma," Aboimma"). Sumane ("Summani"), "Affimba," "Afferi," and "Chore."[124] None of these places can be confidently identified. A Dutch map of the 1650s depicts a large town in Abuma and one in Sumane. The Abuma town was referred to in one account as the capital (*onthout plaatse*) of "the people of Abouma."[125] Both the Abuma and Sumane towns traded with the port of Axim.

In 1503 the Portuguese built a trading factory in the port, and in 1515 they erected a fort called Saint Anthony. The Dutch gained control of this fort in 1642. The trade connections of the port were complex. In the first half of the seventeenth century the town imported canoes, palm oil, and salt from Takoradi; later in the century it imported produce from Ankobra, Abokro, Ahanta, and Asebu. Gold came from Ankobra, Abokro, Egwira, Wassa, and Adom, and from the 1680s onwards from Aowin and Denkyira. The port's trade extended along

Table 2.11 Axim Commonwealth Central Places, 1650–1679

Settlement	*Commercial Function*	*Administrative Function*	*Province*
Axim	Major port (level 2)	State capital (level 2)	Axim
Entammakrom	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	Toll station (level 5b)	Axim
"Aquaffo"-Busua	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	Toll station (level 5b)	Nkassa
Nkassa ("Ampago")	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)	Nkassa
Pokoso ("Praya d'Or")	Minor port (level 3)	Subdistrict capital (level 5a)	Nkassa
Akwida ("Acoda")	Minor port (level 3)	District capital (level 4)	Nkassa
Butri	Minor port (level 3)	District capital (level 4)	Upper Ahanta
Ankobra	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)	Ankobra
"Bogio"	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Ankobra
Abokro	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)	Abokro
"Quitrij"	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial capital (level 3)	"Quitrij"
"Janfontia"	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial (?) capital (level 3)	"Abripiquem"
"Maforee"	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	"Abripiquem"
"Maboue"	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	"Abripiquem"
Cape Apollonia	Minor port (level 3)	District capital (level 4)	Jumore
"Ilonij"	Daily (?) market (level 4)	Provincial (?) capital (level 4)	Jumore
"Chiau"	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Jumore
"Bongere"	General periodic (?) market (level 5a)	District (?) capital (level 4)	Jumore

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief der Nederlandsche Bezittingen ter Kust van Guinea, Collectie Leupe no. 1491: Map of the Gold Coast between Ioni and Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; Collectie Leupe no. 48: Map of the Gold Coast from Rio Sueiro de Costa to Pompena, n.d.; Collectie Leupe supplement no. 86: Map of the Gold Coast in Guinea, n.d.; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief der Nederlandsche Bezittingen ter Kust van Guinea 222, passim; "Vertoog of deductie, opgesteld voor de Staaten-Generaal der vereen. Nederlanden, door den Directeur-Generaal van de Nederlandsche bezittingen ter Kuste van Guinea, J. Valckenburgh, waarin dé oorsprong en de regtstitels van de bezittingen der Nederl. West.-Ind. Compagnie ter kuste, worden aangetoond anno 1656," in *De oorsprong van Neerlands bezittingen op de kust van Guinea*, ed. J. K. J. de Jong (The Hague, 1871), pp. 54–56.

the seaboard from the Kwakwa to the Ardra coast, and Axim traders traveled inland as far as Bighu.[126]

During the course of the seventeenth century the economy and occupational structure of the town experienced considerable change and development (see table 2.12). In the 1620s most of the port's residents were fishermen; the remainder were merchants (*cooplieden*) and brokers (*maecklers*).[127] At this time the town imported fishing and trading canoes and salt from Takoradi. It was a fishing and trading center but not a salt-producing or canoe-building center. After about 1645 the economic structure changed. Trade expanded on a considerable scale until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In contrast, the fishing industry declined. It was less important in the 1690s, when there were "only a few" fishermen, than in the 1620s, when most of the town's inhabitants were engaged in fishing.[128] The relative decline of the fishing industry was concomitant with the rise of the salt-producing and canoe-building industries. In 1653 Axim was a major salt-making center, the salt being produced in villages and hamlets near the town. Most of the salt was exported to the Egwira capital, Abakwa.[129] Salt was no longer imported from Takoradi. Similarly, Takoradi no longer sent canoes to Axim. In 1681 Axim was acknowledged the leading canoe-building and canoe-marketing center on the coast: "the cheapest and best canoes," a Royal African Company factor wrote, "are to be bought up to windward at Axehim."[130] The canoes referred to were freight canoes, each of which could transport a load of more than 10 tons. They were constructed in particular villages located a short distance inland from the port.[131]

The growth of commercial rice-growing was another important development. According to a Dutch report of 1659, the port's leading inhabitants did not engage in farming but devoted themselves almost exclusively to trade. By the 1690s it could be said that "nearly all Inhabitants are engaged in Agriculture, chiefly in the cultivation of Rice, which grows here above all other places in an incredible abundance, and is Transported hence all the Gold Coast over. The Inhabitants in lieu returning full fraught with Millet, Jammes, Potatoes, and Palm Oyl. . . ."[132] Unfortunately, estimates of the annual volume of late-seventeenth-century rice exports are lacking. A yearly export of 100 tons does not appear unlikely in view of the volume of trade in agricultural produce between Axim and Mouri. Indeed, this figure might be too low.[133] Between 1690 and 1707 the price of rice ranged between ½ and 1½ dambas per pound.[134] At these rates a yearly rice export of 100 tons would have been worth between 200,000 and 300,000 dambas in gold. No estimates exist for annual canoe sales, but in view of the heavy and widespread demand for Axim fishing and trading canoes, yearly sales of 100,000 dambas or more are not unlikely. Precise data on export salt sales are also lacking. Annual sales in excess of 100,000 dambas a year in value were, perhaps, "normal."[135] Together, the rice, canoe, and salt sales would have been worth more than 400,000 dambas in gold a year to the Axim economy. This suggested figure can be compared to the yearly value of Axim's gold sales to European factors. A 1688 account estimated that the port

Table 2.12 Port of Axim Occupational Structure, 1600s

Pre-1642	*Post-1642*
Traders	Traders
Brokers	Brokers
Fishermen ("many")	Fishermen ("few")
Canoemen	Canoemen
Militiamen	Militiamen
Chalk makers	Chalk makers
Craftsmen	Craftsmen
	Canoe builders
	Salt producers
	Commercial rice-growers
	Herders

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps van de Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Koninlijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden msc. H69. Accort tusschen den Generael Jacob Ruyghaver en de caboseros van Axem besloten, dd. Axim, Feb. 17, 1642; Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 81. Dagregister, passim; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 58; H.C. Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 53 (1932): 253; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 2–3, 6; Gabriel Debien et al., eds., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," *Bulletin de l'institut fondamental de l'afrique noire* 40, no. 2 (1978): 281; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uit gevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April anno 1652, passim.

sold 1,228,800 dambas' worth of gold annually.[136] Trade in gold and other commodities enabled the leading families to acquire riches and to live "luxuriously."[137] Certainly, no other urban settlements within the commonwealth commanded as much wealth as Axim.

The Ankobra basin comprised networks of trading and administrative central places. The latter formed nodes around which political systems and productive and other activities were organized.

THE PRA-OFIN BASIN

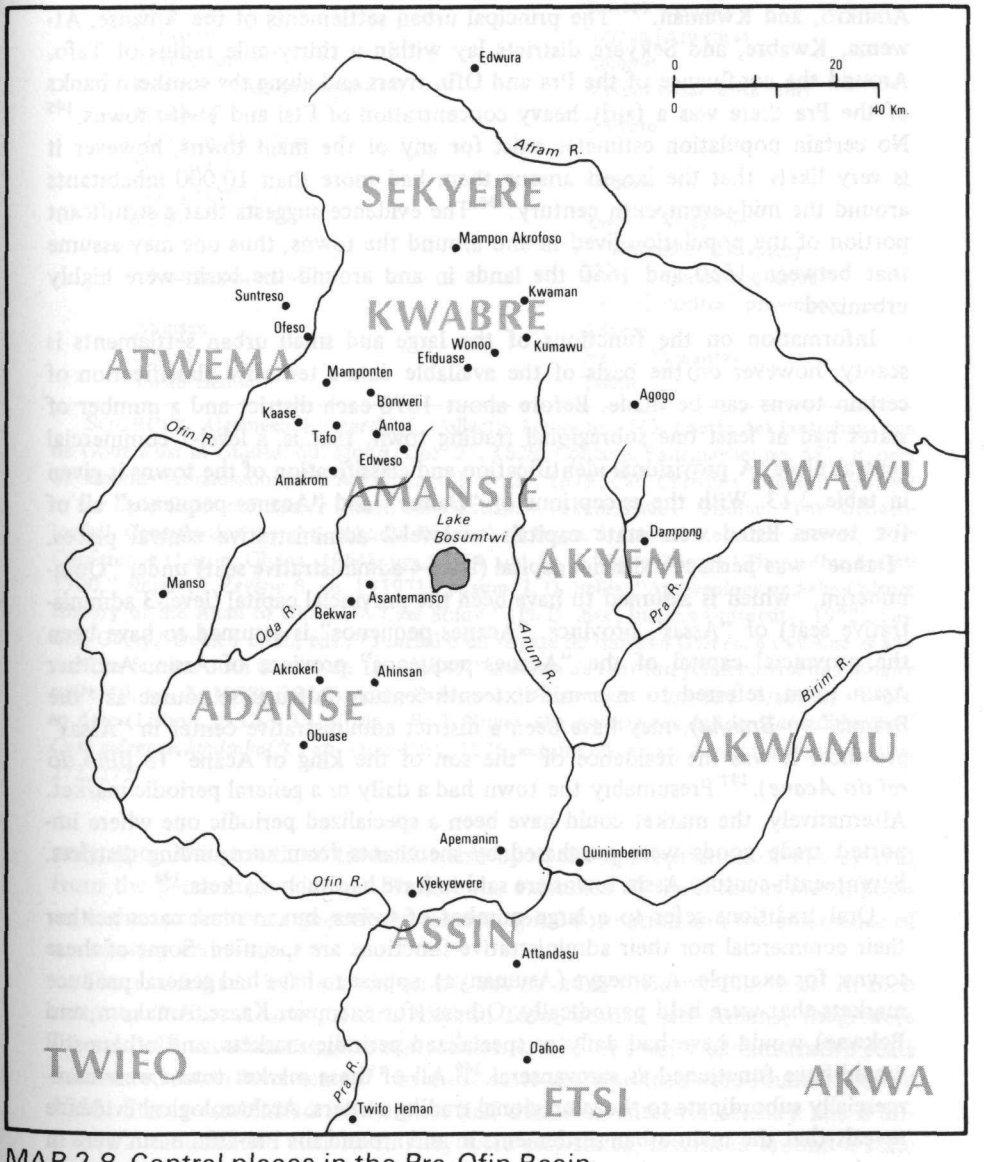
The most productive gold-producing territories in the region were located in and around the forested Pra-Ofin basin. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they supplied more than half of the gold exported from the coastal ports and the inland savannah commercial centers such as Bighu. Hence, they received the bulk of the trade goods imported into the region via the ports and the savannah towns.[138] Various accounts of the period refer to these auriferous territories: Adanse ("Adansee," "Alance"), Akyem ("Acanes castelhanos," "Acanes grande," "Groot Acanij," "Akim"), Akwabre ("Accabel"), Akaase

("Accasse"), Manso ("Meranson," "Menason"), and Tafo ("Tafoe," "Tafoo," "Nta").[139] Another gold-producing district was Sekyere. It can, perhaps, be identified with the *lantschap* (*afamu*) referred to as "Akan" on the 1629 Dutch map.

Until the emergence of the territorially expansionist Denkyira *oman* in the later seventeenth century, the lands in and around the basin were not dominated by a single political-administrative system based on a paramount urban center. Contemporary sources refer to several *aman* in the area: Adanse, Akyem, Kaase, Manso Nkwanta, Twifo ("Kuiforo," "Cuffroo," "'t Juffer"), and Assin ("Acanij," "Assingrud," "Klein Acanij"). Akyem was generally regarded as the wealthiest and most powerful of these inland polities, however the sources provide no information on its political organization.[140] Assin was the best known. Assin merchants, called *Akani* by the European factors on the coast, sold most of the gold that the factors purchased. Details concerning the Assin political structure are scanty, however there are indications that the state had two main political divisions. In the sixteenth century these divisions were designated "Assas" and "Acanes pequenos"; in the seventeenth, "Cocoritee" (hence, the "Cocoriteese," "Cocorities," "Cocoritische") and "Crijsakee" (hence, the "Crijsakeese," "Crijsacqueesche"); and in the early eighteenth century, Apemanim ("Oppemenim") and Attandasu ("Tandoshu").[141] During the seventeenth century "Cocoritee" and "Crijsakee" were the centers, or heartland, of a mercantile organization that embraced most of the region. They were the seats of the Akani (Assini) trading "empire." Between 1698 and 1710 this "empire" was destroyed and was replaced by the expansionist militarized states of Denkyira and Asante. The emergence of the capitals of these two states as imperial administrative centers transformed the political geography and the spatial patterns of central places within the Pra-Ofin basin as well as in other parts of the region. These developments marked a new phase in the evolution of the region's "historical forms of social production."[142]

Between the mid-fifteenth century and the middle decades of the seventeenth many new towns and villages were founded in and around the basin. Rural and urban settlement formation on this scale was rooted in population growth and the expansion of trade and of agricultural, craft, and gold production. In short, it can be linked to developments in the division of labor and to production cycles governed by the process of expanded reproduction.

Precise quantifiable data are lacking, however archaeological evidence and oral histories indicate that the number of new towns was large and that the towns' settlement zones were densely populated. The Amanse district was said to have had 12 principal towns, the Asante-Akyem district 17, the Adanse state 32, of which perhaps 7 were paramount, and the polity of Tafo, located in the Kwabre district, 100.[143] Northwest of the Kwabre district the Atwema (Atwoma) district had a dense concentration of urban and rural settlements focused on the upper Ofin Valley. In the Kwabre and Sekyere districts the main population concentration extended for nearly thirty miles, from Tafo in the southwest to Kumawu in the northeast, on the western edge of the sparsely inhabited Sene plains.



MAP 2.8 Central places in the Pra-Ofin Basin

This demographic axis followed the orientation of the main gold-bearing reefs. A second line of population concentration stretched northwards from Tafo for a distance of twenty to thirty miles through the towns of Breman, Mamponten, Ahinkro, and Kwaman.[144] The principal urban settlements of the Amanse, Atwema, Kwabre, and Sekyere districts lay within a thirty-mile radius of Tafo. Around the confluence of the Pra and Ofin rivers and along the southern banks of the Pra there was a fairly heavy concentration of Etsi and Twifo towns.[145] No certain population estimates exist for any of the main towns, however it is very likely that the largest among them had more than 10,000 inhabitants around the mid-seventeenth century.[146] The evidence suggests that a significant portion of the population lived in and around the towns, thus one may assume that between 1550 and 1650 the lands in and around the basin were highly urbanized.

Information on the functions of the large and small urban settlements is scanty, however on the basis of the available data a tentative classification of certain towns can be made. Before about 1670 each district and a number of states had at least one subregional trading town, that is, a level-2 commercial central place. A provisional identification and classification of the towns is given in table 2.13. With the exceptions of "Dahoe" and "Acanes pequenos" all of the towns listed were state capitals or level-2 administrative central places. "Dahoe" was perhaps a district capital (level-4 administrative seat) under "Quinimberim," which is assumed to have been the provincial capital (level-3 administrative seat) of "Assas" province. "Acanes pequenos" is assumed to have been the provincial capital of the "Acanes pequenos" province of Assin. Another Assin town, referred to in a mid-sixteenth-century Portuguese source as "the Branna" (*o Branna*), may have been a district administrative center in "Assas" province. It was the residence of "the son of the king of Acane" (*o filho do rej do Acane*).[147] Presumably the town had a daily or a general periodic market. Alternatively, the market could have been a specialized periodic one where imported trade goods were purchased by merchants from surrounding districts. Seventeenth-century Assin towns are said to have had such markets.[148]

Oral traditions refer to a large number of towns, but in most cases neither their commercial nor their administrative functions are specified. Some of these towns, for example, Asumegya (Asumanya), appear to have had general produce markets that were held periodically. Others (for example, Kaase, Amakom, and Bekwae) would have had daily or specialized periodic markets, and others still would have functioned as caravanserai.[149] All of these market towns were commercially subordinate to the subregional trading centers. Archaeological evidence reveals that the main urban settlements in and around the Pra-Ofin basin were in regular trade contact with the ports on the coast and the commercial centers situated along the northern edge of the forest zone.[150] The assumption is that these settlements counted brokers and merchants among their residents, the most important of whom were the Akani. A further assumption can be made. The relatively heavy concentration of level-2 trading towns in the area depended not

Table 2.13 Pra-Ofin Basin Subregional Trading Center, 1550–1670

Subregional Trading Center	*District/Polity*
Tafo	Tafo (Kwaman)
Suntreso	Domaa (Atwema)
Asantemanso	Amanse
Dampon ("Acanes grande"?)	Akyem (Asante-Akyem)
Kumawu	Sekyere
Mampon Akrofoso	
Wonoo (?)	Kwabre
Mamponten (?)	
"Dahoe"	Assin ("Assas" or "Crijsakee" province)
"Acanes pequenos"	Assin ("Acanes pequenos" or "Cocoritee" province)
Ahinsan	Adanse
Manso	Manso Nkwănta
Twifo-Heman	Twifo

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe no. 743; Caerte des lantschaps van de Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Collectie Rademacher no. 587: Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basel, 1895), chap. 4, passim; Paul C. Ozanne, "The Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," Ashanti Research Project, First Conference (Legon, Ghana, 1964), pp. 53–54 and fig. 2; Kwasi Boaten "The Asante before 1700," *Research Review* 8, no. 1 (1971), passim; J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), passim; Gabriel Debien et al., eds., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," *Bulletin de l'institut fondamental de l'afrique noire* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324; António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3: 110, 111; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), pp. 271, 272, 273.

only upon the growth of trade but also upon the appropriation of money rent from the peasant population. Finally, the existence of these towns presupposes an earlier period of large-scale merchant capital formation and the emergence of a monetary economy.

There is a little information on the towns' administrative functions. In such states as Twifo, Adanse, Assin, Akyem, Tafo, Domaa, and Amanse there were formal political-administrative hierarchies: level-2 or level-3 administrative seats dominated lower-level seats.[151] In most cases these polities were founded before 1550. States established in the first half of the seventeenth century had a different administrative structure. They were city-states, organized around a state capital that governed nonadministrative villages. Only the state capital had administrative functions.[152] It is likely that in the polities with formal political-administrative hierarchies the peasants' land tax was paid in gold, part of which the ruling classes converted to merchant capital. In certain of the coastal *aman* the appropriation of the agricultural surplus in the form of money contributed

to the rise of rural banditry, a phenomenon that apparently existed in sections of the Pra-Ofin basin as well.[153] One may posit that social conflict between peasant producers and urban appropriators was an ongoing political problem in the basin during the first half of the seventeenth century. In the city-states land tax was realized as produce and labor services and not as money. Here slave rather than peasant agricultural production was the decisive element.

The gold extractive industry was a major sector in the economy. Various contemporary accounts indicate that slaves were the principal labor force in the production of gold, in, for example, Akyem, Kaase, and Kwabre.[154] In these and certain other polities gold-mining areas and slaves were state property, that is, they formed part of the prebendal domains (office-estates) of the kingship. Beginning, perhaps, in the second half of the sixteenth century, gold production was organized by mining concessionnaires, wealthy individuals (*abirempon*) who received grants of land from rulers. These persons also owned slaves. The mines and slaves formed part of the personal (or family) estate of the *abirempon*; these were patrimonial domains, which were largely concentrated in the city-states.

Slaves were also employed in agriculture, particularly in land clearance. Large-scale forest clearance and the creation of farmlands have been associated with the migration of prominent and *abirempon* families from the Adanse-Amanse area to the Kwaman, Kwabre, Atwema, and Sekyere districts. The wealth of these families would seem to have come primarily from commerce. They were trading *abirempon*. Their migrations northwards began in the sixteenth century and continued until around the middle decades of the seventeenth.

The migrants traveled along the main arterial routes. Some settled around subregional trading centers or lower-level marketing settlements; others moved into sparsely inhabited areas. The lands on which they settled were obtained through warfare or were purchased from local rulers and landowners.[155] Land had monetary value; there was clearly a lively market in the buying and selling of land. The site on which the town of Kumase was later built was purchased for the sum of 25,920 dambas in gold, and that on which the town of Nsuta was built cost 24,830 dambas.[156] Only persons of wealth could have afforded to buy land. In 1659 the annual subsistence allowance of a woodcutter was 144 dambas in gold, and that of a blacksmith was 1,152 dambas. These incomes would not have allowed the woodcutter or the blacksmith to buy any land. Investment in land was a prerogative of the rich.

The migrant *obirempon* families founded towns and villages in the areas where they settled. A recent study of the pattern of place-name formation in modern central Asante may be of relevance in this context. The authors of the study offered a tentative conclusion: "It may be suggested that the pattern corresponds to the antiquity of settlement (the fewer the sites named for persons, the older the area's occupation) and reflects the increasing tendency in the protohistoric and historic period of settlement foundation by powerful individuals, *abirem-*

pon."[157] Of the three areas studied the central area of Amanse had the fewest settlements named for individuals; the northern area of Kwabre-Sekyere had the greatest number of settlement toponyms that bore the names of individuals, and the southern area of Adanse had more such place-names than the central area, but fewer than the northern one. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it would seem that Kwabre and Sekyere had the greatest concentration of *obirempon* settlements (perhaps well over thirty), suggesting that forest clearance, the creation of arable, and the establishment of new territorial-demographic units were largely focused in these districts. These settlements were established, for the most part, along a south-west and north-east axis from Kumase to Kumawu and along a north-south axis from Kumase to Boaman. In Adanse the number of *obirempon* towns and villages founded during this period approximated less than one-fourth the number of *obirempon* settlements established in Kwabre and Sekyere. It is possible that the new towns and villages represented the spatial extension southwards of older Adanse settlement zones rather than the creation of new ones. This process can, perhaps, be associated with the economic and political development of Abankesieso, the Denkyira capital, and other Denkyira towns in southern and western Adanse during the first half of the seventeenth century. In contrast, the Amanse and Kwaman districts had the fewest number of new *obirempon* settlements, an indication, it would appear, of the antiquity and density of population concentration in both places.[158]

The process of *obirempon* settlement formation was complex. In certain cases *obirempon* towns served as the capitals of city-states; in others they had no specific administrative functions, but were local marketing settlements (with general periodic markets) and residences of *obirempon* families and their dependents. The growth of trade contributed to the emergence of wealthy mercantile groups in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, some trading *abirempon* became landowning *abirempon.* The wealth derived from commercial operations was invested in land (mining concessions and farms) and unfree labor. The trading/landowning *abirempon* were responsible for the creation of new agricultural units by organizing the clearing of forests, the draining of swamps, and the building of villages.

In a recent study Ivor Wilks has suggested that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were periods of extensive forest clearance, that the process was initiated in Adanse and Amanse, and that it was introduced in the northern districts (Atwema, Kwabre, Sekyere, and so on) by migrant *obirempon* families.[159] Forest clearance was a highly labor-intensive task, and hence required a large work force. According to Wilks, the laborers were recruited among the slaves whom dealers in gold purchased from Dyula merchants and Portuguese factors.[160] The gold-extractive industry financed the initial stages of land clearance. The trading *obirempon* families of Adanse and Amanse, who spearheaded this venture, evidently envisaged the development of agricultural production as a necessary buttress for the development of gold extraction and the expansion of the gold trade. It may be supposed that they were instrumental in the spread

of "mixed forest" and "mixed bush" farms and the introduction of American crops (maize, for example) into the central forest agricultural regime.

Small-scale peasant food crop production in the forest zone "implied clearings several miles across in which rotational tillage could be practiced.[161] The development of the gold-mining industry, population growth, town formation, and the urbanization of crafts presuppose that numerous clearings "many miles across" had to be cut from the forest. Imported slaves are believed to have been used in this work. The exact number of slaves imported into the Pra-Ofin basin is not known. However, it can be estimated that between 1500 and 1550 no less than 10,000 slaves were brought into the area. At the prevailing price rates the market value of these slaves would have ranged between 6 million and 30 million dambas in gold, or between 120,000 and 600,000 dambas a year. Wilks maintains that the slaves were organized into production teams, each of which was charged with the creation of arable in designated parts of the forest.[162] Each team founded one or more rural settlements, and these were associated with food crop rather than gold production. It is likely that within a generation or two these settlements became the sites of periodic produce markets and rural craft industries as well as the nuclei of the peasant village system that established itself throughout the region during the course of the eighteenth century.[163]

From the agricultural production teams, Wilks suggests, the *abusua-kese* system—the institution of exogamous matriclans—emerged during the course of the sixteenth century. The large-scale importation of unfree labor and the organization of this work force for the purpose of clearing produced the *mmusua-kese* (matriclans).[164] Unfortunately, details concerning the formation of these corporate organizations are lacking; however, the assumption is that they did not emerge as kinship groups. Functionally, they are to be linked to landownership, slavery, and expanded reproduction in the agricultural sector of the economy. Historically, they are to be linked to commerce, trading capital, and merchants—in brief, to networks of commercial central places.[165]

In their initial period of development the *mmusua-kese* may be said to have constituted corporations of allied and related *obirempon* families and their unfree dependents. Originally involved in commerce, these families did not reproduce themselves as a social order of merchants and brokers but as landowners and officeholders in newly established polities. They made their way into landholding via warfare, mortgage, and purchase. Their "economy" and means of subsistence changed: property rights were acquired in land and the unfree laborers who worked it. Thus the *mmusua-kese* may be said to have emerged as a result of changing patterns in the ownership of the means of production. Not only were they corporate organizations that assimilated persons of servile status; they were also class organizations that represented the new social-political indentities and roles of particular *obirempon* families.

In addition, the *mmusua-kese,* constituting one particular form of upper-class social organization, had an important ideological component. The names they carried may be said to have denoted, at least initially, high social status, *titres*

d'honneur or *titres de noblesse*; they recalled the circumstances of their foundation. The early *mmusua-kese* conveyed, then, the idea of a specific social and historical order.[166] With the emergence of these corporations one can, perhaps, speak of a qualitative innovation in social organization and an ideological revolution. Eventually, large segments of the population in the region (primarily among Akan-speakers) became constituted in such a way that there were no social groups other than those having *obirempon* families organized in *mmusua-kese* at their base.[167] The agrarian *mmusua-kese*, a "vertical" social organization, replaced the mercantile "brotherhood of nobles," a "horizontal" one.[168]

Politically, the *obirempon* families responsible for the creation of the *mmusua-kese* were associated largely, though not exclusively, with agrarian city-states, that is, level-2 administrative seats and their dependent nonadministrative hamlets and villages. Certain of these city-states constituted the *amanto,* polities that confederated to form the Asante *oman* in the later seventeenth century.[169]

These families were in competition and open conflict with the ruling families of older established polities for control over land and settlements (means of production). These interstate political and military confrontations can, perhaps, be viewed as clashes between rural (agrarian) and urban (mercantile) interests. In the early phases of their development and consolidation the city-states lacked formal administrative hierarchies; they were characterized by food crop production and land clearance, the unity of craft and agricultural production at the village level, a corporate social organization in the form of the *abusua-kese* system, and territorial expansion by military methods. The older mercantile polities were characterized by formal administrative hierarchies, extensive trade based on commercial central places, widespread petty commodity production, the separation of craft and agricultural production, and corporate social organizations in the form of merchant-broker guilds and the "brotherhood of nobles." It is also likely that the agrarian-oriented states were characterized by patrimonial domains, but the mercantile-oriented ones by prebendal domains. For both categories of states gold mining was of major importance.

The emergence of Denkyira and the Asante can be attributed to the success of the *obirempon* families in the political and military confrontations.[170] Possibly another factor contributed to their success, namely, social and political, crises in the mercantile states. All of these states would seem to have had subregional trading centers, the maintenance of which promoted a tendency to tax the local productive systems, in particular that of the peasantry, to the utmost. Rural banditry rooted in peasant protest against heavy taxation was possibly one expression of this crisis.[171]

The territorial expansion of Asante during the first half of the eighteenth century transformed the central-place patterns that had existed in the Pra-Ofin basin since at least the later fifteenth century. The emergence of a centralized political apparatus institutionalized in *fekuo* (groupings of administrative offices) and based in Kumase, the imperial capital, contributed to the establishment and development of numerous lower-level administrative seats and the creation of new

offices, but, concomitantly, to the decline or disappearance of subregional trading centers, specialized periodic markets, and fairs.[172] Trade and merchant capital became oriented to the maintenance of the political apparatus. General periodic markets based in peasant villages and urban daily markets emerged as important marketing central places in metropolitan Asante.[173]

At the regional level one can discern another development. During the eighteenth century the regional trading center (Bighu) was "replaced" by a regional (imperial) administrative center (Kumase). Networks of administrative central-place hierarchies provided the "unity" that, in the seventeenth century and earlier, had been provided by networks of commercial central-place hierarchies. The "shift" was historically significant. If regional "unity" based on commercial central places gave rise to the dominance of towns over the countryside, "unity" based on administrative central places reversed the relationship, giving rise to the dominance of the countryside over the towns.

Part Two

THE SOCIOPOLITICAL AND MILITARY ORDER

3

NOBLES, RETAINERS, AND SUBJECTS
The Social Structure of Dominance and Subordination

THE PERSONS WHO CONDUCTED the greatest trade with the Europeans were for the most part "nobles," commented Sieur Villault de Bellefond, who traded at several Gold Coast ports in 1667; the "nobles," he continued, were "captains" or "officers" of towns and villages.[1] De Bellefond's remark indicates, at least for the coastal polities, that a structural relationship existed between administration—the management of public affairs and surplus wealth appropriation—on the one hand, and mercantile activities—the management of surplus wealth in the specific form of merchant capital—on the other. More specifically, administration entailed several elements: the exercise of power, the determination of policies, control of the apparatus of government, the deployment of resources, and control over the extraction of social wealth. Mercantile operations also included several elements: the buying and selling of commodities, credit-debt relations, control over the conditions of marketing in the towns and villages, and so on.

The sociopolitical jurisdiction of the nobles encompassed both production and distribution. As captains and officers of towns and villages, they exercised "command" over demographic and territorial units, that is, over settlements (*kroms: nkuraa* and *nkurow*), lands (*asase*), and people (*nnipa*); they had "command" over the trade (*bata* or *sesa*) in commodities (*batade* or *aguade*) and gold (*sika*); and, through the practices of panyarring and pawning, they had "command" over credit-debt transactions, or borrowing (*fem*) and indebtedness (*ekaw*). They also exercised "command" over war (*ako*) and the instruments and means of destruction (*akode:* "weaponry"; *akofo/asafo:* "soldiers"); further, they had "command" over mystical and supernatural forces as symbolized by and conceptualized in the *abosom,* the *asuman,* and the *abosomfie* (shrines).[2] In each *oman* the nobles formed a composite social class that controlled various

functions or "specialisms" within the organized set of state apparatuses—administration, trade, war, and religion. These apparatuses constituted collectively the institutionalized instruments of noble-class domination.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF NOBLE STATUS

Seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century European observers used various terms derived from their own respective social-political vocabularies to designate individuals of noble rank: *edel* (or *adel*), *edelman, edelliens, grooten, groot meesters, hoofdlieden* (or *hoofdluiden*), *overste, opperste, oberherzen, burgervaderen, morrini* (possibly from the Portuguese *meirinho*), *caboceers* or *caboceros* (from Portuguese *cabeceiras*), *groot monsier*, "captains," "great" or "principal men," lords, "magistrates," "governors," and so forth. The noble class did not form a homogeneous group: it was internally differentiated and hierarchically structured with respect to wealth, power, occupation, and status. A wide variety of terms were employed to denote this heterogeneity: *criador, pay marcador, viador, tollenaar, marini, makelaar, fiscaal, betiente, deurwaarder, hofmeister, Schatzmeister, Stadthalter, veltoverste, Feldherr, geweldiger, oppergesaghebber, opperste dienar,* "captain-general," great or first *caboceer,* and so on. These and other related terms were not used fortuitously by the factors of the European trading companies, who were well aware of the economic and social differentiation characteristic of seventeenth-century Gold Coast polities: of the different families (*Geschlechts*) and estates (*Standes*), and of the unequal distribution of material means (*Vermögens*).[3]

According to Pieter de Marees, a "noble" (*een edelman* or *een groot monsieur*) was known as an *obirempon* (in the plural, *abirempon*), which he renders *brennipono* and *brenipono.*[4] This word was evidently in common use in Akan-speaking areas.[5] An *obirempon* seems to have been either a person of wealth, such as a merchant (*batani,* and, in the plural, *batafo*), or the holder of a political and/or military office (*aene: ohene; ahene* or *ahenfo* in the plural). In his lengthy vocabulary list of the "Fetu language" W. J. Müller defines *obirempon,* which he transcribes *abrimpung,* as "rich" or "wealthy" (*reich*); an *obirempon* was an "eminent, wealthy man" (*ein vornehmer reicher Mann*).[6] He uses another word for a "noble" (*ein Edelmann*): *ofan* and *ofannen* (his transcriptions of the singular and plural form respectively). The Afutu nobles (*Edelleute, hohe Häupter oder Cabessirer*), he relates, were persons of high birth (*hohen Geschlechts*), wealth (*Reichtumbs*), and great power (*grossen Vermögens*).[7] *Ofan/ofannen* were, it is suggested, renderings of *ofahene* (in the plural, *afahene*)—from *ofa—* (*afa* in the plural), "a part," "a half," "a section"—and *ohene.*[8] Thus an *ofahene* was the ruler of an administrative unit (defined either demographically or territorially) that formed a part or section of a larger one: he might rule a ward in a town, several villages in a district, or a province in a state. In the Afutu *oman* of the 1660s an *obirempon* differed from an *ofahene* in two important respects: he

was not of high birth, and he did not hold any public office–his social rank and esteem derived solely from his wealth. While all persons of *ofahene* status were *abirempon* by virtue of their wealth, not all individuals of *obirempon* status ranked as *afahene.* From Müller's account it is clear that the *afahene* constituted a political aristocracy; the *abirempon,* on the other hand, appear to have been persons who gained their fortunes through trade.[9] They formed, perhaps, a kind of commercial aristocracy, which, at least in the Afutu polity, ranked below the *afahene.* The latter were not hostile or adverse to trade; indeed, many of them engaged in rather extensive commercial operations.

In the early-eighteenth-century Assini (or Asoko) state the nobles comprised two distinct groups: the *brembis* (the *capcheres ou grands du royaume*) and the *baboumets* (the *anciens*). To Père Godfrey Loyer, both words conveyed virtually the same meaning: *riches, chefs* and *capitaines.*[10] The *brembis,* however, were the persons of the greatest wealth and power. They numbered only forty or fifty in 1702, yet they had, collectively, several thousand people under their jurisdiction. Moreover, most of the gold in the state was concentrated in their hands.[11] They were the *grands* or *principaux* nobles, quite distinct from the lower-ranking nobles of whom Loyer wrote: "They rear some [sheep] as well as poultry but exclusively for the purpose of selling them in order to amass gold (in the possession of which they place their only happiness) with the intention to appear rich and like the *Capcheres.*"[12] Noble status in Assini was clearly defined in terms of the possession of wealth, specifically wealth acquired through trade; in this respect the *abirempon/afahene* and the *brembis/baboumets* were the same.

In one state the word *obirempon* had acquired a very different meaning by the early eighteenth century: it was an honorific or noble title associated exclusively with warfare and military. In his description of the Akwamu *oman* Johannes Rask writes: "That *Kabuseer* who holds his own [on the battlefield] with his men and kills the most of the enemy they call *Abringpung,* that is, a distinguished lord and hero [*en forneme herre og helt*], or *Aurangfrang,* that is, one who knows how to use his gun."[13] An Akwamu *obirempon* was not identified exclusively with trade or riches; he was also identified with martial skills and military operations. *Aurangfrang,* evidently a transcription of *owurafram,* "master of fire (-power)," has a similar military association: the title denoted a person who could handle a firearm with dexterity.[14] The title of *owurafram* emerged during the early period of large-scale musket-based warfare, which for the Akwamu state may be dated 1660 to 1680. In the ensuing three decades Akwamu armies, composed largely of musketeers, carried out extensive territorial conquests. During this time of expansionist militarism appeared the noble who was exclusively a combatant. This development very likely contributed to the social and political subordination of the Akwamu equivalents of the *ofahene* and the *obirempon*-merchant to the *owurafram* and the *obirempon*-soldier. The presence of a relatively large class of men who owed their social advancement, or ennoblement, solely to military service can be attributed to the new modes and techniques of fighting which emerged in the Akwamu state (and in Denkyira and

Asante as well) in the second half of the seventeenth century: the *levée en masse,* missile tactics, and "total" warfare. The noble as a military man was associated with expanding imperial state systems.

Seventeenth-century observers included in the class of nobles persons who carried the title of *ohene* (*ahene* or *ahenfo* in the plural), which was transcribed in several ways: *aene, henna, ohinni, ohin, ahin,* and so forth. De Marees referred to them as "captains" and *morinnis* and stated that they administered towns or districts (*quartieren*). Brun, in his account of the Asebu *oman,* commented that an *ohene* was an *oberherz* who exercised jurisdiction over a town (*Stättlin* or *Flecken*) and its dependent villages and hamlets.[15] William Bosman gives a similar definition. An *ohene,* he wrote, was the *overste,* or "captain," of a country, village, or people:[16] that is, an *ohene* was the ruler of either settlements, lands, and peoples (demographic and territorial units), or a settlement (a demographic and territorial unit), or of people(s) (one or more demographic units). In this sense an *ohene* was the same as an *ofahene.* Brun, Müller, and other writers indicate that *ohene* was also used as a title to designate a king; however, according to de Marees, a king was known as an *ohene kese* (*aene kache*), or "great *ohene.*"[17] This title was not referred to by later writers. It is evident that in the seventeenth century the rule of a state, or *oman,* and the administrators of demographic and territorial units were all known as *ahene* (or *ahenfo*). By the 1660s, in Afutu and, presumably, in other Fante-speaking states as well, the *ahene* were also known as *afahene.* It is not known when the title *ofahene* was first used; however, the possibility exists that it was not used in the early seventeenth century.

John Barbot's vocabulary list of about 1680 indicates that other general titles were employed to designate kings and captains. According to the list a king was known as an *oddiekourou* and a captain as *oppare-aene.*[18] The first word was, evidently, a transcription of *odekurow* (in the plural, *adekurow*), which can be translated literally as "the holder or possessor of a town" (from *ade,* "to hold," "to have," "to possess" and *kurow* [in the plural, *nkurow*], "town").[19] An *odekurow* was the ruler of a town and in all likelihood held jurisdiction over the villages and hamlets which were politically subordinate to it. By defining an *odekurow* as "king" Barbot implies that the term *kurow* denoted the capital town of a polity and was, apparently, not applied to other urban settlements in the state. In this regard he was mistaken, for during the period state capitals were designated by the addition of *oman* as a suffix to their names; for example, Great Komenda, the capital of the Eguafo state, was known as Eguafoman (and not Eguafokurow), and Abora, the Fante capital after 1698, was called Aboraman (but not Aborakurow).[20] There are, however, various references in the sources to *kroms* ("crooms"/"croommen"), a word that was used to denote, in somewhat indiscriminate fashion, both towns and villages. *Odekurow* would have been used to designate the ruler of a town rather than of a village or farming settlement. Thus references are found to such places as "Attapon's croom" (Attaponkrom: Attapon's *kurow*) in Adom, "Amodo's croom" (Amodokrom: Amodo's *kurow* and "Ana-crome" (Anakrom: Ana's *kurow*) in Abrem, "Ac-

coffo's croom" (Accoffokrom: Accoffo's *kurow*) in Agona, and "Saccerocroom" (Saccerokrom: Saccero *kurow*) in Akwamu.[21] Attapon, Amodo, Ana, and the rest were *adekurofo*, rulers ("owners") of the towns, which they may or may not have founded, but which bore their names. Although they probably administered dependent settlements through subordinates, they were not kings; they corresponded to the *afahene* and the *ahenfo*.

The second word, *oppare-aene*, may have been a transcription of either *apadehene* or *aparahene* (*aprahene*). *Apadehene* (possibly from *apa*, "district," "region"; *ade*, "property," "possession," "riches," "wealth," "part," "parcel"; and *ohene*) probably carried the meaning of ruler of a territorial division with its human and material resources; *aparahene* (from, possibly, [a]*para, pra*, "to gather," "to heap up [for example, riches]", and *ohene*) may have meant a wealthy person, or one who accumulated wealth.[22] It is not known which of these words (or, possibly, other related ones) Barbot attempted to reproduce. In any case, there seems little doubt that *oppare-aene* had the same social and political associations—wealth, power, and status—as *ohene* and *ofahene*.

THE PROCESS OF ENNOBLEMENT

The rank of noble was a recognized judicial category that encompassed a corpus of legally defined privileges, or entitlements, and honorific rights. Among the rights and privileges enjoyed by the *afahene* and the *abirempon*, several may be mentioned:[23] (1) the right to own, buy, and sell slaves, and to trade in other commodities; (2) the right to trade anywhere; (3) the right to attend town- and (state-) council meetings as participant members; (4) the right to have drums and horns, horse tails (and elephant tails), certain gold ornaments, shields, and umbrellas;[24] (5) the right to hold a feast day whenever desired; (6) the right to receive part of the fines levied in the town court; and (7) exemption from enslavement for themselves and their children. In the early-eighteenth-century Assini polity only the *brembis* and the *baboumets* had the right to trade with Europeans; all persons of lower social status who violated this law had their goods and gold confiscated.[25] There is no evidence that this law was in operation in any of the coastal *aman* to the east at this time or earlier. The rights and privileges listed here very likely obtained in all the inland states where class structures were virutally the same as those found in the *aman* on the littoral. The "brotherhood" of nobles was not restricted to the boundaries of particular political, cultural, or linguistic units, it transcended them: an *obirempon* or *ohene* of one state or town was duly recognized as such in other states or towns. The nobles, therefore, enjoyed a considerable degree of geographical mobility as they moved from one polity to another, whether for commercial, political, or social reasons.

Admittance into the rank of nobles was open to anyone who possessed the requisite qualifications. An individual could attain this status: (1) by birth, that is, by one's ancestry, (2) by merit, that is, by the performance of "some great

and honorable exploit for the benefit of the state," and (3) by wealth (money), that is, by purchasing an office (stool) to which noble status was attached or by purchasing the title of nobility in a public ceremony.[26] Indeed, de Bellefond remarked that a commoner who was rich enough immediately applied for noble status, even though the ennobling ceremony might impoverish him.[27] Commoners who achieved the rank of noble constituted the *abirempon,* or rich men.

In contrast, those who were noble by birth—the "traditional" aristocracy—formed the *ahenfo,* the holders of political offices. Persons ennobled as a result of some outstanding public service for the benefit of the state were generally appointed to a political post or military command; they were thus *ahenfo,* but not necessarily *abirempon.* In the early part of the century a Portuguese factor reported that, as a result of expanding Dutch trade, the number of wealthy commoners who were ennobled in the coastal towns was growing very rapidly indeed.[28] Trading, farming, and fishing were the principal means by which some commoners were able to accumulate sufficient wealth to be considered for ennoblement.[29] It is apparent that in the first half of the century many commoners wanted to become nobles (*groot meesters/adel*); hence as Hemmersam noted in the early 1640s, every young man saved as much money, that is, gold, as he possibly could so that in time he could become an *edelman.*[30]

Many of the nobles who resided in the ports were not particularly wealthy: de Marees says they were persons of "little means" (*cleyne middelen*), and Hemmersam comments that they did not have much property and wealth (*Gut und Reichtumb*). The ennobling ceremony had ruined them economically.[31] This ceremony was a three-day affair and was carried out in the town of the noble-to-be.[32] The person desirous of ennoblement applied formally to the captain, or *ohene,* of the town by presenting three gifts: a dog, a sheep, and a cow (or bull), as well as many other unspecified presents; these gifts signified that the candidate had the means to maintain himself and his dependents in a manner befitting one of high social rank. It should be noted that dogs, sheep, and cattle were very expensive food items in the coastal towns; a cow alone could cost more than one ounce gold. After this formal presentation before the ruler of the town, a day was fixed for the commoner's formal installation as a noble. The dog, sheep, and other gifts were then distributed among the commoners (*de ghemeynte*) who accompanied the candidate.

On the appointed day all of the townspeople—nobles, commoners, and slaves—assembled in the market square with the town ruler, who was armed and accompanied by his personal guard. The candidate, followed by family, relations, and friends, brought a cow to the square, where it remained until the final day of the ceremony. He provided all of the assembled with food and drink for three days, and to the home of each nobleman he sent a pot of palm wine and a fowl. Seated on a stool in the middle of the square, the candidate was adorned with gold jewelry by the nobles of the town, and a horse tail was placed in his hand; the nobles then performed a formalized dance around him while the musicians—drummers, trumpeters, gong-gong beaters, and so on—played in the background.

Next followed the procession of the nobles through the town accompanied by musicians, armed retainers, and members of the town militia. On the third day the new noble demonstrated before the assembled gathering in the square how he would use his weapons—sword, javelin, and shield—in defense of the state. After this, the cow that had been left in the square was butchered and its meat distributed among the nonnobles. Its head was taken to the new noble's residence, where it was painted, decorated, and covered with amulets (*asuman*), then hung on a wall as a symbol of his new social status.

The cost of ennoblement could be exorbitant. Before the ceremony of installation could begin, the candidate had to present the ruler of the town with 8 bendas (6,144 dambas) gold in addition to the dog, sheep, and other items. Moreover, providing food and drink for the people who attended the ceremony, at the conservative estimate of 8 bendas gold a day, would have cost him 24 bendas. The total expenditure could have amounted to 50 bendas (38,400 dambas) or more; hence a new noble could find himself completely impoverished (or in debt), for the gifts he received amounted to only about 4 bendas gold.[33] Nevertheless, his depleted means did not deprive him of his high social ranking: he had status, but neither wealth nor power.

Once a year every noble, provided he could afford it, held a costly festival to celebrate what was called his *aura-jabe,* that is *awura-yeda* (*die de vitalgos* or *Adels-tag*). He bought a cow or bull, several sheep or goats, and great quantities of palm wine which he distributed among the townspeople, principally among the commoners, who did not normally eat beef, mutton, or goat. Such a *hochzeitliches Fest* could cost 12 bendas (9,216 dambas) gold.[34] In addition, it was customary for the nobles of a state—who formed what de Marees termed a *broederschap,* a "society" or "brotherhood"—to hold an annual feast on the sixth day of July.[35] Nobles from other polities were also invited to participate. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there occur references to the feast days held by members of the noble class.[36]

By the end of the century the procedures involved in the ennoblement of wealthy commoners had changed. Bosman refers to persons of the third rank in the coastal polities who became "enriched either by Inheritance or Trade." He continues:

> To acquire a Reputation and great Name amongst their Fellow-Citizens, [they] buy seven small Elephants' Teeth which they make into Blowing Horns; upon which they cause their People to learn in the manner of the Land, to play, to blow, all sorts of Tunes, which when they have learned, they inform all their Relations and Acquaintances that they may come and make merry with them for several Days together. . . . They with their wives and slaves appear with as much Pomp and Splendour as is possible, borrowing Gold and Coral of their Friends to make the greater show. . . . Only those who have gone through this Ceremony are free to have these Horns blown at their pleasure.[37]

The affair was a costly one since those who held such a ceremony were obliged to distribute large quantities of valuable presents among the people in attendance.[38] Apart from the "horn ceremony" there was the "shield ceremony," which was held by an individual who, in order "to achieve still greater Honor and Esteem," had two shields made for himself. On the first day of this ceremony the *obirempon* went with all of his people to the town's market square, where they lay all night in full battle array, indicating that the noble was "not afraid of any Danger or Hardship in Defence of his People."[39] The remaining eight days or so of the ceremony were "spent in shooting and Martial-Exercises, Dancing, [and] merry-making." The noble and his wives and family were all richly dressed; all of the gold and other wealth that the noble owned was publicly displayed in the square, and during the course of the festivity his property was taken to other towns in the state where it was again openly displayed. During the "shield ceremony" the noble received valuable gifts, hence it was less expensive than the "horn ceremony." Having held this ceremony, he was then permitted to have two shields carried for him in war and on festive occasions, a right denied those who had not held this festival.[40] Both the horn and the shield ceremony were observed by rich commoners who were ennobled and by persons who were of noble status by ascription.

RETAINERS AND COMMONERS

Lower-Class Status

Writing in 1692, a Brandenburgher factor of Akwida related that the coastal towns comprised some noble families "in the widest sense of the term," that is, extended families. He continues: "The head (*oberhaupt*) of a family is absolute master and has the duty to be concerned about each family member. The many so-called chiefs (*Häuptlinge*) are often only heads of families (*Familienoberhäupter*), but they are often called kings by the whites."[41] The members of a noble family "in the widest sense" included the head (*awura,* and, in the plural, *awuranom*), his wives, children, and concubines, and his affined and cognate relations; forming the outer "circle" of the town family were his servants, attendants, and slaves, who were, as nonkin, ceremonially incorporated into this familial organization.[42] The family celebrated births and weddings and held funerals and festivities together, and they were all under the spiritual suzerainty of the *awura's abosom.*[43] Such a family had, in many cases, extensive affined and cognate ties with noble families in other towns, both on the coast and inland; the wider the social base of extended family affined-cognate connections, the greater the prestige and esteem of the family head, or *awura.*[44] To an *obirempon* or an *ohene* the family "in the widest sense" was a significant part of his social world. It was, however, only a part, for beyond the extended family "circle" were two other categories of people that determined the continued social-

economic existence of the *abirempon* and the *afahene* as an upper class: retainers and free commoners. As corporate descent organizations, the extended families of the nobles determined status, role, and social patterns of control over inheritance (property) and succession (office). The retainers and commoners provided the labor services and social wealth which were the underpinnings of property and office.

The retainers comprised two groupings: the slaves (the singular, *akoba* meaning "male slave," and the singular *afanaba* meaning "female slave") and the bonded free people (*abofra;* in the plural, *mmofra*).[45] The latter included debtors, pawns, persons unable to pay court fines, and poor people (*arme luyden*) who had placed themselves and/or their children in the service of and under the protection of a wealthy and powerful individual.[46] Such persons were employed in a variety of tasks: as household servants engaged in cooking, cutting and fetching firewood, and so on, as canoemen, fishermen, cultivators, armed guards, and attendants.[47] Crucial to the initial build-up of status, power, and wealth was the ownership of slaves and, it should be added, the possesssion of gold. Access to slaves was tied to the social hierarchy—only persons of high social rank could own them—and to property—only persons of means could purchase them. Like the bonded retainers, the slave retainers were used in a number of ways: they were farm laborers, engaged in both agricultural production and land (forest) clearance, goldminers, porters, craftsmen, herdsmen, brewers, guards or soldiers, traders, household servants, and attendants.

The greater number of slaves were very likely employed in farming and land clearance, mining, and porterage. The class of bonded and slave retainers was marked by a considerable degree of occupational differentiation, reflecting the nobles' demand for diverse and specialized services. At the same time, this class appears to have been hierarchically structured according to the duties and responsibilities of the retainers. A direct correlation existed between the status of a noble and the size of his retinue of retainers, the latter of which was directly related to the quantity of gold owned, for retainers were acquired, in one way or another, against money, and came to form part of their master's heritable estate.

The slave retainers were drawn, via market transactions, from an extensive geographical area. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Malian Dyula merchants based in commercial centers on the northern edge of the forest were the principal suppliers of servile labor from the north, these slaves being taken as far south as Twifo-Heman.[48] From the late fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century the Portuguese imported slaves into Elmina and Axim from Benin, the Kongo Kingdom, and elsewhere.[49] Around the mid-sixteenth century Elmina merchants are said to have purchased slaves on the Malaguetta coast, and in 1572 "Olandes" traders from the eastern Ivory Coast were said to have been regular suppliers of slaves to Axim.[50] During the seventeenth century Ardra, Popo, and later Whydah were important sources of slaves for the Gold Coast market; possibly the early-seventeenth-century slave market of Winneba, where

only female slaves were sold, drew its supply from Ardra.[51] The slaves were bought by the rich and powerful with gold, the main currency of the country.

The total number of slaves imported into the Gold Coast over a period of two centuries—from the second half of the fifteenth to the second half of the seventeenth century—is not known. Between 1504 and 1536 the Portuguese alone sold between 10,000 and 20,000 slaves.[52] Over the entire period the number imported from all sources may have approximated 100,000, or an annual average of 500 slaves entering the country from the north and the coast. The slaves were incorporated in various capacities into the different retinues of retainers. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the rise of the rich men, the *abirempon,* who expended part of their wealth on building up their retinues. The *abirempon* engaged their retainers in large-scale productive operations—prospecting and mining activities, land clearance and farming—and as porters in interregional trade, and in many parts of the country they established new settlements for their retainers. These settlements often carried the names of their founders.

In the central forest zone, it has been suggested, the distribution of towns and villages named for individuals reflected "the increasing tendency in the protohistoric and historic period of settlement foundation by powerful individuals, *abirempon.*"[53] This tendency was clearly in evidence in the seventeenth century in the forest and coastal zones south of the Pra-Ofin basin. In the late 1630s and early 1640s, for example, the wealthy brother of the Eguafohene is said to have founded "many villages" (*viele Orten*), and these were doubtless inhabited by his bonded and slave retainers.[54] Jan Ahenekwa and Acroissan Tay of Afutu both had "crooms," and various accounts of the later seventeenth century indicate that wealthy and powerful individuals from Ahanta to Agona had their "crooms" of retainers.[55] Map 1.6 provides some idea of the distribution of settlements named for individuals; these settlements, it may be supposed, were of post-1650 date. Between the Ankobra and Pra there were three towns possibly named after *abirempon:* "Aimheabah" (Wassa), "Amboman" (Twifo), and "Attapons Croom" (Adom). East of the Pra were: "Amodos Croom" and "Ana Croom" (Abrem), "Aqurabafafoo" (Kabes Terra), "Accoffos Croom" (Agona), and "Ashamona" and "Saccerocroom" (Akwamu). All of these settlements were the residences of retainers; their founders established them on or near trade routes where they developed into administrative, marketing, food-producing, and craft centers.

The nobles acquired bonded and slave retainers through the possession of wealth; they "acquired" commoners through the control of political offices. While the retainers formed the class of personal dependents, the commoners constituted the class of political dependents or subjects. In the literature of the period the commoners were designated by several terms: *de arme, de arme luyden, de gemeynte volk, der gemeine Pöbel, de ringe, de fattige, le menu peuple, les pauvres,* the "meaner" or "poorer sort," "the mobiles," and so forth. At the

beginning of the seventeenth century the commoners were apparently known as the *anihumanifo bebere* in the Fante-speaking areas; de Marees transcribed the term as *animafo bebiri,* which he glosses *arm,* "poor."[56] In the 1660s the "Fetu" word for "poor" (*arm*) was rendered *odofu,* probably a transcription of *odofo* (in the plural *adofo*).[57] Evidently the words for "poor" and "commoner" were the same. *Anihumanifo* and *odofo* carried the meaning of a poor, common person just as *obirempon* signified a rich, eminent individual. Within the social context of the coastal polities *anihumanifo/adofo* and *obirempon* were opposing concepts: the latter denoted wealth and privileges, the former (relative) poverty and lack of privileges.

The *anihumanifo/adofo* constituted a comparatively large class that was occupationally and economically diversified. In this class were to be found peasants, hunters, herdsmen, fishermen, canoemen, salt makers, craftsmen, thatchers, woodcutters, charcoal burners, lime makers, common soldiers, hawkers and market sellers, water carriers and water sellers, ferrymen, laborers, lower-ranking priests and priestesses, astrologers, diviners, doctors, pilots, and so on. They resided in the coastal and subcoastal towns, villages, and hamlets. Their village/hamlet settlements were, it would seem, distinct from those inhabited by retainers. As political dependents, or subjects, the commoners were revenue producers who were liable for a variety of imposts or levies "realized" in the form of money (gold), labor services, and kind.[58] Within a given *oman* commoner settlements formed a collectivity of territorial-demographic units, which were under the jurisdiction of particular stools, or offices, held by members of the upper classes, the *ahenfo* or *afahene.* These holdings represented office-estates or revenue assignments; they may be viewed as economic usufructs over lands (*asase*) and people (*anihumanifo*).

The commoners represented, then, a major source of revenue for the *afahene* who held office-estates; however, their social and economic relations with the upper classes extended beyond the dimension of direct surplus wealth appropriation. From the ranks of the commoners emerged, for example, wealthy, prosperous individuals who, after undergoing the ceremony of ennoblement, became members of the upper classes; at the same time, commoners who were unable to maintain themselves because of poverty or who suffered one or another social misfortune (indebtedness, judicial punishment, and the like) were incorporated into the retainer class as bonded freemen in service to and under the protection of the rich and powerful. From the class of *anihumanifo,* or *adofo,* came revenues, new nobles (specifically as *abirempon*), and new retainers. In these ways the commoners ensured the social reproduction of the *abirempon/afahene* as members of the ruling classes.

In terms of wealth, power, and status the nobles of the seventeenth-century coastal *aman* formed, broadly speaking, several distinct groups. The lowest rank was occupied by the nobles of little means, persons who lacked wealth and retainers and held no political office, but who enjoyed the rights and privileges attached to their social station. The next level was occupied by nobles who held

political offices, nobles who exercised political-administrative authority over groups of commoners, but who had comparatively few retainers and relatively little wealth. Above this group were the nobles who had accumulated a great deal of wealth as well as sizeable retinues of retainers, but who held no political offices. At the top of the upper-class hierarchy were the nobles who held political offices, had large numbers of retainers, and possessed much wealth. All of these noble groupings were to be found in the different coastal states. They were a permanent social feature of upper-class differentiation; it was within this context that noble families rose and fell with regard to wealth, power, and status. The various noble families in a given *oman* were linked in different ways: by marriage alliances and by relations of clientage and "vassalage"; not infrequently, affined ties linked a royal family of one polity with that of another.[59] At the same time there was rivalry and conflict among the noble families over, for example, revenue-producing administrative units. Political intrigue, feuds, court litigations, assassinations, and revolts were the means by which competing families sought to attain their objectives.[60]

The Structure of Production

Through the mediation of the nobles, retainers and subjects—the personal and political dependents of the *obirempon/ofahene* class—were closely linked at the level of agricultural production, at the level of military organization, and at the level of regional trade. In the seventeenth century the coastal polities and, presumably, the inland ones as well, were characterized by a land rent system, a system entailing the appropriation by a governing class of land rent in labor and money (gold) from a free peasantry (*nkuraafo/asãfo*).[61] The institution of state landed property provided the legal-political conditions for rent appropriations. De Marees wrote: "No one here has his own land which he can clear in order to make use of, for the king keeps all woods, fields, and lands in his hands, so that they can neither plant nor sow there without his consent."[62] For the right of usufruct the peasants paid two forms of land rent: labor rent, for which they were obliged to clear and farm the lands of their overlord (these lands forming part of his office-estate or revenue assignment), and money rent, for which they were obliged to sell part of their harvest at a local market for gold, which was used to pay "the king's rent."[63] The clearance of extensive stretches of fallow land, particularly in the forested areas, required a large labor force, since land intended for cultivation was clear felled. The upper classes possessed such a labor force in their retainers, and each of several *afahene/abirempon* jointly organized their retainers into work teams that were then employed in converting long-term fallow lands into cultivable lands. The cleared lands were distributed among the peasantry by *ohene* overlords in the early seventeenth century, and in the second half of the century by state-revenue collectors, or *marinis,* who served as overseers or caretakers of the lands in their areas of fiscal jurisdiction. The usu-

fructory holdings of the peasants thus constituted redistributed fallow lands that had been cleared by the retainers of the *afahene* and/or *abirempon.* Peasant tenure on the land was contingent upon meeting the obligations of the payment of an annual money rent and the rendering of various labor services. The nobles also placed some of their retainers on the land as cultivators. Agricultural production may be said to have had two distinct but related social-economic structures: peasant production, in which the peasants produced for their own maintenance and produced a surplus to support the public offices to which they were attached and owed obligations; and retainer production, in which the retainers provided for their own subsistence and, at the same time, produced for the maintenance of their masters' household (which included the masters' families and their nonfarming retainers). The peasant and retainer villages and hamlets were generally concentrated around the principal towns within an estimated radius of between three and ten miles.

This concentration of habitation gave rise to the rather densely populated settlement zones that were such a conspicuous feature of the Gold Coast landscape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The spatial extension of these zones, or the creation of new areas of population nucleation, entailed, essentially, the further clearance of uninhabited or lightly inhabited lands by retainers and the establishment, in the cleared areas, of new retainer farming communities. Concomitant with this development was the founding of a local center of authority which very likely bore the name of the *obirempon* responsible for the agricultural and demographic expansion. In the event the *obirempon* was appointed to a political office by the rulers of the *oman* or by the state council, portions of the cleared lands would be opened to peasant settlement and the new territorial-demographic unit would be attached to the office as its source of revenue. This multifaceted process, comprising as it did the expansion of the geographical base of agricultural production, the establishment of new settlements, and the development and spatial extension of political-judicial administration, was a phenomenon of major importance in the history of the southern Gold Coast.

In the seventeenth century two distinct systems of military organization operated in the *aman:* one involved the mobilization of retainers as soldiers, and the other involved the mobilization of peasants and other commoner subjects.

Retainers were subject to high levels of mobilization during periods of military conflict, while peasants either were not recruited or were subject to low levels of mobilization. The commoners were regarded essentially as producers and providers of labor services of a nonmilitary kind, these activities being deemed more important in the eyes of the *abirempon* and *afahene.* As far as most of the coastal states are concerned this system remained dominant for the greater part of the century. By the eighteenth century it had changed. The commoners, especially the numerous peasantry, were subject to high mobilization levels in

times of war, while the scale of recruitment of the retainers was comparatively low, the role of the latter being restricted in large measure to production and the provision of various services.

The shift from a somewhat elitist military force organized around retainers (and professional soldiers) to the *levée en masse* which entailed the conscription or impressment of large numbers of *anihumanifo* marked the emergence of inland imperial state systems (Denkyira, Akwamu, and Asante) in the second half of the century. This development also represented the end of the period of extensive land clearance and the beginning of the period when retainers were placed in increasing numbers under the authority of political offices, a practice that can be associated—at least in terms of scale—with the imperial states.

Two classes of retainers were in evidence in the early eighteenth century: the slaves and bonded freemen who formed a part of their master's family estate, and those attached to political office who formed a part of the estate of the stool. They corresponded, perhaps, to the *arve-slaver,* "hereditary slaves," of early-eighteenth-century Akwamu officeholders.[64]

If the retainers provided an *obirempon* with a personal power base and commoner subjects provided holders of political offices with a revenue base, both retainers and commoners may be said to have been important as sources of labor and revenue to the great seventeenth-century gold merchants—the Akani *batafo.* The Akani, that is, Assin, traders were the leading dealers in gold and commodities during the century and were to be found in many of the coastal ports as well as in the principal inland commercial centers, from the markets on the southern edge of the forest to the townships in the lower Tain-Black Volta basins, and from the markets of the auriferous valleys of the middle and upper Tano River to the capital town of Agona on the Ayensu.

The Akani trading organization was a state-directed enterprise; it was not the private preserve of wealthy traders operating independently of the political system. Akani brokers and merchants were under the authority and jurisdiction of the *ahenfo*—the *groot meesters* and *adels* of the Dutch factors—who were members of the state council(s). The retainers, whom the sources of the period usually referred to as slaves, performed particular services for the *batafo,* or merchants: they were servants (stool carriers, baggage carriers, sword bearers, trumpeters, and the like) and caravan guards. Their most important duty, however, was to transport gold and goods along the arterial routes from one marketing center to another.

In view of the volume of seventeenth-century Akani trade and the vital role of this trade in the regional distribution of gold and commodities, the retainers of the Akani *ahenfo, akonkofo* ("speculators"), and *batafo* were more important as transporters of goods than as agricultural producers. One may estimate that several thousand retainers were regularly engaged in the physical movement of trade goods between, for example, the ports and the markets in the central forest zone. It appears that the retainers lived in farming villages, producing mainly for their own subsistence needs and not for their masters' households. From

these villages both male and female retainers were recruited as porters, the level and frequency of recruitment being determined by the labor demands of caravan trading operations. The retainer-porters would appear to have been, at least as far as their own basic food requirements were concerned, largely self-supporting. Their agricultural production used to maintain the transport, or carrier, sector of the Akani trading organization.

If the settlements of retainer-porters represented one essential socioeconomic and demographic base of the Akani commercial system, the peasant farming communities can be seen to have represented another. It is assumed that Assin peasants, like their counterparts in the coastal zone, marketed a fairly substantial portion of their produce, which was sold for gold.[65] Peasant agricultural production rather than retainer agricultural production supplied the households of the great with provisions via the network of daily and periodic markets, and not through politically imposed levies. At the same time, the peasants were obliged to pay land rent as a condition for the continued enjoyment of usufructory rights to the land. Like the peasants in the coastal polities, they probably paid their rent in gold obtained through the sale of produce in the various town and village markets. The land rent was appropriated through the political structure of the Assin *oman,* accruing to the *ahenfo* who held authority over the different administrative units of the state. The *ahenfo* invested a portion of this rent in trade.[66] The gold derived from land rent (and other levies) was not *sold* at the *ntontofro* (forts) in the coastal ports, or at the *nkramofokrom* (Muslim towns) along the southern savannah fringe; it was used to meet the predictable costs of trade—transport costs, tolls and customs duties, brokers' fees, dashes, and the like. In addition, losses that the Akani *batafo* suffered, for example, from the confiscation of merchants' property by a ruler whose area of jurisdiction lay across a trade route or from the plundering activities of brigands, were covered by gold that the political-administrative class appropriated as land rent, taxes, and court fines. From these revenue sources—including not only customary levies, but also ad hoc imposts—"bankrupt" *batafo* could be reimbursed for losses suffered, and caravans and new trading operations could be financed, for each Akani merchant-broker was attached to a political office. Akani commercial operations were thus structurally linked to revenue-producing administrative divisions based on peasant settlements and areas of peasant agricultural production. The surplus wealth extracted from the peasantry was, like the labor services provided by the village of retainer-porters, indispensable to the maintenance and expansion of Akani trading activities during the seventeenth century.

Access to the revenues derived from peasant production could only be realized through the political structure, hence the complete involvement of the public authorities—the class of *ahenfo*—in the mercantile sector of the Assin economy and the incorporation of Akani merchants and brokers into this structure. Under the circumstances there was little room for the emergence of a private wealthy merchant class that could effectively operate outside of the system of state-dominated trade. With respect to trade the *abirempon* and the *ahenfo* of Assin

were distinguishable largely by their different mercantile functions; together they formed a single, cohesive class and controlled the peasant and retainer communities that provided the necessary support for the maintenance of trade.

PUBLIC AUTHORITY AND POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Jurisdiction over the commoners, as opposed to that over the retainers, was realized through the system of political and judicial administration. In the seventeenth century each *oman* was divided into political units, whose number and spatial and population size varied over time. These divisions were specified in various ways in the documents of the period. In the Dutch sources, for example, *aancleeve, district, gedeelte, landschappen, leensplaats, landgoed, cantons, quartieren,* and *provincie* were some of the terms used. In the coastal states and, no doubt, in the inland polities as well, three types of political divisions can be distinguished: (1) the territorial-demographic division, (2) the territorial division, and (3) the demographic division. These categories were not designated as such by contemporary observers, but are used here to designate particular forms of political organization in evidence during the period under study.

In the territorial-demographic division land and people, that is, subjects or political dependents, formed a single administrative unit under the authority of an office, the unit constituting an "office-estate" or "fiscal fief"; the officeholder was entitled to tax whoever made use of his land (whether or not the persons concerned were his subjects) and to receive labor services and levies from his subjects.

In the territorial division land alone made up the administrative unit, and the officeholder who exercised jurisdiction over it had the authority to impose levies on those who used it; his authority did not extend over the people who were settled on the land.

In the demographic division the officeholder exercised authority only over one or more groups of political dependents, and not over the land they occupied and worked; hence, he was entitled to their labor services and could tax or fine them, but his levies were not derived from their use of the land. An officeholder, or *ohene,* might have only one kind of political division, any combination of two types or all three types under his rule. In terms of spatial patterns a division could be geographically compact, that is, situated in a single locality; or it could be dispersed over a relatively wide area within a state, in which case the unit consisted of territorially discrete sections separated from each other by other administrative units. Public authority, that is, *ahenfo* paramountcy, over lands and subjects was organized therefore into three distinct but interrelated structures of judicial and political administration.

The origins of this system of public authority are not known. However, the institutional and organizational supports that characterized the political and

social dominance of the nobles appears to have been well established in some of the coastal polities in the early seventeenth century. The historical roots of the system must be sought in the sixteenth, or perhaps the fifteenth, century. De Marees provides the earliest detailed account of certain aspects of political organization in the coastal *aman* east of the Pra; much of his information on this organization came from the merchants and *ahene* with whom he and other Dutchmen traded. According to this account the *ahenfo kese* possessed all of the land—arable and nonarable—within the territorial limits of their respective states. Consequently, they were entitled to tax all who worked or used the land. Peasants were obliged to pay the "king's rent" in the form of money (gold dust) for the right of usufruct, and merchants from the interior had to pay for the right of free passage when they traveled to the coastal ports to trade. The authority of an *ohene kese* was linked primarily to his paramountcy over land; the kingship was based on the territorial political division, the second type of administrative unit just described. The captains or *ahenfo,* those whom de Marees also called the *ambassadeurs,* that is, "lieutenants" of the king, had authority over demographic units—towns and villages inhabited by commoners—and over territorial units, namely those lands, both arable and nonarable, which the king granted them in his capacity as the first overlord of the land.[67]

The *ahenfoship* was apparently based on the territorial-demographic division, the first type of administrative unit mentioned earlier. In the early seventeenth century these units seem to have been spatially compact: lands and peoples formed single geographical units.[68] From their political dependents the *ahenfo* were entitled to services of different sorts; for example, their subjects had to clear and cultivate their farms—which were attached to offices rather than to noble families—and could be impressed into military service when necessary; in addition, the *ahenfo* could impose fines and various levies on their political dependents.[69] As *auditeurs,* the *ahenfo* were responsible for collecting the land rent on behalf of the king, and they were allowed to keep a certain percentage of it; the exact proportion is not known.[70] The remainder of the "king's rent" was dispatched to the capital, specifically to the state treasurer, the *viador* of de Marees's account, who resided there.[71] The captains possessed the means of administration: they were able to bear the costs of governing because of the office revenues they received.

The ruler of a state did not exercise direct authority over the towns and villages in which his commoner subjects, the *anihumanifo,* lived. Authority was mediated through the *ahenfo,* who were the de facto rulers of the commoners. The subjects of a king—that is, the persons over whom he had unquestioned jurisdiction—included his retainers (slaves, clients, and bonded freemen), who were attached to the royal household as personal dependents of the king, and his close relations.[72] The settlements of the retainers and of the king's relations were generally concentrated around the state capital; however, a few, such as the

commercially and politically important coastal townships, which were usually governed by a royal retainer or a relation, were situated several miles from the royal residence.

In the early seventeenth century many of the inhabitants of these towns seem to have been royal retainers or the retainers of nobles who resided in the capital.[73] The power base of the ruler of a coastal state was limited essentially to the number of retainers in his service or in the service of his relations. The power base of the *ahenfo,* on the other hand, rested not only on their own retinues of retainers and their retainers' settlements, but also on the settlements of their political dependents, the commoner subjects.

The early-seventeenth-century data indicate the existence of two political divisions in at least some of the coastal states: the territorial division under an *ohene kese* and the territorial-demographic division under an *ohene.* The territorial division and the demographic division, each under the jurisdiction of a single captain, were not mentioned in the accounts of contemporary observers. The implication is that these divisions had not yet come into existence or that they were of relatively minor significance in the political organization of the coastal *aman.* Accounts dating from the post-1640 period indicate that they had by then become important forms of judicial and political administration.

The development of the territorial and the demographic divisions as distinct administrative units within the organization of public authority is, perhaps, to be associated with the growth of the *obirempon* class in the coastal and subcoastal townships in the first half of the seventeenth century, a growth that was commensurate with the expansion of international and interregional trade. By means of their wealth the *abirempon,* namely, rich commoners who had been ennobled, were able to acquire from the *ahenfo kese* and the *ahenfo* the right to "economic usufructs," or revenues, from land or from the settlements of the *anihumanifo.*

Initially, then, the formation of the territorial and demographic political divisions would seem to have been linked to a new order of political nobles, those who owed their social advancement to the possession of wealth and not to the possession of a noble ancestry. The power base of the *abirempon* was linked either to jurisdiction over land or, alternatively, to jurisdiction over commoner communities; at the same time, of course, the *abirempon* maintained, collectively, large bodies of retainers as their personal dependents. In the coastal political systems the *ahenfo kese,* the *ahenfo,* and the *abirempon* constituted, by the second half of the seventeenth century, three distinct but functionally integrated foci of public authority and power. A schematic representation of this triadic structure is given in table 3.1.

The social-political integration of the three "orders" was further realized through institutionalized affirmations of allegiance and by means of social alliances such as marriages and common membership in the brotherhood or society of nobles. Another form of social alliance was exemplified in early-eighteenth-century Ahanta, where the principal men, or *hoofdlieden,* were

Table 3.1 Coastal Political Systems Structure, 1600s

Political Order of Nobles	*Political Division*	*Divisional Revenues*
ahenfo kese (royals)	territorial	land rent taxes court fines
ahenfo (nobles by birth)	territorial and demographic	land rent labor services taxes court fines
abirempon (nobles of wealth)	territorial	land rent taxes
abirempon (nobles of wealth)	demographic	labor services taxes court fines

divided into two separate social groups: the "red-earth people" and the "white-earth people"; presumably the *hoofdlieden* of other coastal polities had similar groupings.[74] The diverse social alliances linked upper-class families–both within the jurisdictional-territorial confines of a single polity and across political boundaries–at different levels and degrees of interaction. At the same time, it should be noted, social alliances did not preclude the formation of antagonistic factional groupings among the *hoofdlieden* and their families, a development that could sometimes subject an *oman* to serious internecine strife.[75]

The Organization of Political Space

The organization of political space in the southern Gold Coast polities was centered on the control exercised by the *afahene* and the *abirempon* over revenue-producing administrative units and over the state apparatus. The revenue producers, broadly speaking the *adofo,* constituted occupationally heterogeneous groupings. Barbot refers to some of them: "There are very many who industriously apply themselves to some particular profession or handicraft, as merchants, factors, or brokers, gold- and black-smiths, fishermen, canoo or house carpenters, salt-boilers, potters, mat-makers, husbandmen, porters, watermen or paddlers, and soldiers; in each of which professions they not only endeavour to live, but to grow rich. . . ."[76] The organization of political space was necessarily derived from the geography of production, that is, the location and distribution of farmlands, gold mines, artisans' workshops, fisheries, saltworks, markets, trade routes, and the like. The continued social and political dominance of the nobles was necessarily contingent upon their control over and management of "the division of social labor." Thus in 1659, to cite one example, the labor resources of the Afutu commoners were utilized in the construction of a fortified trading station for the factors of the English East India Company. The organizer of this labor, a high-ranking dignitary in the Afutu government who

was known to the English as John Cloice (the Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay of the Dutch and Danes), presented his plan to the chief factor:

> John Cloice answered me privately and swore by his fetishes and his head that no other nation but we should have [Fort Carolusburg at Cape Coast] if in case ye Swedes did not come to trade within a year; in ye meantime we have another house provided for us and we follow a trade there, and John Cloice has promised me to cause ye country people to break stones for us and if in case [we] do not get ye castle to build us a stone house and if [we] get ye castle they [that is, "the country people"] will serve to finish it up for it is not finished above ye half; when it is finished it will be as strong as ye Mina.[77]

By January, 1660, the "country people" had completed the construction of the "stone house"—an *ntontofro*—together with its garden and walkways.[78] They were very likely Cloice's subjects, peasants and craftsmen who formed part of his office-estate. Conservatively estimated, they numbered at least several hundred. Commoners were employed in a similar manner in other polities.

In 1686 and 1687 canoemen of Little Komenda were ordered by the *fetere* and *marini* of Eguafo to transport stone that was to be used in the construction of the Royal African Company fort at Little Komenda; and in 1694 about twenty *caboceers* of the Agona township called up a "division" of commoners ("yɔung men")—a "division" comprised three "quarters" of thirty to forty men each—for the purpose of building a trading station for the Royal African Company at Winnebah.[79] The labor services rendered by the "country people" of Afutu, the canoemen of Little Komenda, and the "young men" of Agona constituted one of the imposts "paid" by all political subjects.

Retainers, or the personal dependents of the *ahenfo* and *abirempon,* were also an important source of labor in the construction of "public works." In November, 1660, to cite one example, retainer labor was responsible for building a trading establishment for the Danish African Company at a place situated a short distance east of Cape Coast. Zur-Eich, a factor in the company's service, related that the ruler of Afutu (Aduafo) "and other great lords [*grosse Herren*] of the land" ordered 300 retainers (*morische Sclaven*) to the building site, where they were divided into two work teams: one team cleared the summit of the 300-foot-high hill on which the trading post was to be erected, and the other fetched wood and other necessary building materials; both teams then constructed several small buildings that were to be used as warehouses for the storage of trade goods and as dwelling places for the company's agents.[80] Within a period of one or two months the construction was completed, for labor service was one of the obligations the retainers owed their masters.

The sources of the period furnish information on retainer and political holdings of individual nobles. In some cases only a single, brief reference to such holdings is given; however, in other instances more detailed accounts are provided. Most of the information refers to the second half of the seventeenth century and the first three or four decades of the eighteenth; information relevant

to retainer and political holdings in the first half of the seventeenth century is, comparatively speaking, scanty. The journal of the Dutch factor Dammaert covering the years 1652 to 1656 contains numerous references to *ahenfo* in various coastal and inland states. Among those mentioned, three are cited here.

The first is an unnamed *caboceer* (probably Ambo, the *okyeame* of the Asebu *oman* and a brother of the Asebuhene) who resided in the state capital. He is said to have had at least 1,000 people (*volk*) under his authority, a figure that presumably refers to his retainers since, according to the same account, the Asebuhene had a substantially smaller number of people.[81] It is uncertain whether the *caboceer* had any jurisdiction over specific administrative units, namely lands (for example, arable or nonarable used by peasants) and commoner subject villages. His retainers would have resided in the section, or ward, of the capital where he lived and in villages located around the capital. This pattern of retainer settlement was common to all retainers whose masters maintained permanent residences in state capitals; hence the lands around the capitals, or more precisely the inner ring of settlements which encircled them, tended, on the whole, to be densely populated by retainer families. The outer settlement ring, on the other hand, comprised the communities of tax-paying subjects. The spatially concentrated villages and hamlets of personal and political dependents constituted the settlement, or urbanized, zones of the different subcoastal state capitals. The power base of the Asebu *caboceer,* who very likely had a greater number of personal dependents than any other Asebu *ohene,* was focused in and around the capital, a factor that no doubt contributed to his commanding influence in the state council.[82]

The second noble is a certain Adonie who lived in Mankessim and was the son of a recently deceased *brafo,* or ruler, of the Fante *oman.*[83] Adonie held a high military position in the Fante government; he was described as the "captain of the mancebos," or the commander of the militia (or "Bendifoes") of Mankessim, which numbered perhaps 2,000 men.[84] He had a retinue of personal and political dependents numbering at the very least several hundred. Among his retainers was a corps of musketeers, and one of the towns or villages under his authority may have been "Aniang" (or "Adjangn"), an unidentified place that seems to have been situated near the seaboard.[85] In May, 1654, Dammaert reported that 117 of Adonie's dependents—including not only retainers (slaves) and subjects (vassals), but also relations—were executed on the orders of the *brafo* of Fante.[86] All of these persons appear to have resided in or very near Mankessim; however, most of Adonie's political dependents were not, apparently, concentrated around the capital, but lived in settlements dispersed throughout the southern districts of the state. The settlements and the Mankessim militia were attached to his political-military post, forming what may be termed his political estate. His retainers, like those of other *ahenfo* residents in the Fante capital, were concentrated in and around Mankessim. Adonie may have resided in the Nkusukum quarter of the capital under the authority of the *brafo* of Nkusukum, one of the leading *ahenfo* in the state. In terms of its geographical

structure Adonie's power base rested upon spatially concentrated retainer groups in his personal service, spatially concentrated milita units, and spatially dispersed communities of peasants, craftsmen, and the like.

The third *ohene* who is referred to in Dammaert's journal came from the Egwira polity. He was the *brafo,* or ruler, of the town of Abakwa ("Abaqua") as well as the numerous farming communities extending along a main road for a distance of several miles to the south of the township; in addition, he had authority over the many gold workings situated on the outskirts of the town and over an extensive area of arable, fallow, and woodland.[87] Abakwa was the capital of a geographically compact agricultural and gold-mining district of perhaps 100 or 200 square miles. The town was also the main trading center in the middle Ankobra valley in the mid-seventeenth century. According to Valkenburgh's estimate, it received a monthly average of 320 ounces gold from Adom and Wassa traders, who exchanged their gold for salt and trade goods sold by Axim merchants. During the course of a year the town could conceivably import 3,000 or more ounces gold, a figure that does not take into account the town's own gold production. The political jurisdiction of the Abakwahene, or *brafo* of Abakwa, included authority over territory–lands farmed by peasants, gold fields worked by miners, contiguous trade routes utilized by merchant caravans–and over demographic units–the urban settlement of Abakwa and the village communities of peasants, goldminers, artisans, and, probably, fishermen, who fished in the Ankobra River. Unfortunately, there is no information on the size of the resident population of the Abakwa political-administrative district; an estimate of 5,000 people may not be unreasonable, as the district was said to have been very populous. Similarly, there are no references to the size of the Abakwahene's retinue of retainers; one may estimate that it numbered 200 or 300. Yet in view of the evident wealth of the district it is likely that the *brafo* could have maintained a substantially larger number of personal dependents.

The holdings of the three *afahene*–the Asebu *caboceer,* the "captain of the mancebos," and the *brafo* of Abakwa–typified the kinds of political and retainer holdings that obtained in the southern Gold Coast polities in the second half of the seventeenth century. The priest Müller, who resided at Amanfro from 1662 to 1669, mentions in his work "a great lord" (*ein grosser Herr*) of the Afutu *oman,* named "Hennefried," who had a large domain (*eine grosse Herrschafft*) situated along the Afutu-Abrem border and comprising his political dependents (probably), his farms (*Land*), and his retainers (*Leute*). These holdings were probably concentrated along the trade route that joined the towns of Afutu and Abrem.[88] "Hennefried"'s town would have served as the capital of this district and also, perhaps, as a toll station where mechants entering his territory were taxed. Regrettably, Müller provides no information on the spatial extent of "Hennefried"'s district or on the number of his personal and political dependents, but one may suggest that the latter amounted to several hundred. The political division that "Hennefried" governed consisted of both territorial and demographic units of administration, which were located in one

particular part of the Afutu state and, like those of the Abakwahene, were spatially compact.

It differed from the holdings of an Ahanta *ohene,* "Ashervee" (or "Ashree"), whose retainers and subjects were dispersed over a fairly wide area in the 1680s and 1690s. "Ashervee"'s main settlement, or *krom,* was located a few miles north of Sekondi on a trade route linking the port with inland markets. Most of his retainers lived in his *krom* or in villages lying in close proximity to it; they were soldiers and cultivators and may have numbered between 200 and 500 persons. "Ashervee"'s political dependents were located in the coastal towns of Sekondi, Butri, and Dixcove. They would have included fishermen, canoemen, salt makers, and craftsmen, and, perhaps, a small number of brokers and traders, and would have numbered perhaps between 500 and 1,000. "Ashervee"'s dependents at Sekondi, for example, amounted to more than 150 people (men, women, and children), all of whom occupied one ward, or quarter, of the port. His authority did not extend over the other inhabitants of the town, nor was he the ruler of the town. Similarly, his dependents at Dixcove appear to have been limited to one ward, and, again, his jurisdiction did not encompass all of the inhabitants of the port. The extent of his political authority in Butri is uncertain: he was the ruler either of this port or of a section of it only. Nor is it known with certainty whether he had retainers and/or subjects in the farming villages located in the vicinity of Dixcove and Butri, although one report implies that he had jurisdiction over some of the villages around Dixcove.[89] It would seem that "Ashervee"'s political authority rested largely on his control over population units—town quarters and farming villages—rather than territorial ones; that is, the lands on which his subjects were settled and which they worked came under the jurisdiction of other Ahanta *ahenfo,* and were not attached to his political estate.[90] The lands farmed by his retainers were presumably part of his family (or personal) estate. Thus "Ashervee"'s political division was spatially fragmented and was limited to the administration of peoples, in contrast to the divisions of the *brafo* of Abakwa and "Hennefried," which included jurisdiction over both lands and peoples.

In the late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Assini state, retainer and political "holdings" were concentrated in the hands of the rich and powerful, who lived in Asoko, the capital. In 1692 Asoko had five quarters, each with its own ruler:

1. "Adouma," quarter; "Agassigny," ruler
2. "Epidia," quarter; "Captain Banga," ruler
3. "Sucobre," quarter; "Couba," ruler
4. "Equenye," quarter; "Captain Eynan," ruler
5. "Sumba," quarter; "Captain Sumba," ruler

Each ruler possessed slaves, or retainers, some of whom lived in the particular ward of their master, while others lived in villages dispersed throughout the state. Thus "Agassigny" and "Banga" had authority over the eight or nine coastal

villages that were inhabited by slaves engaged in salt production. Other dignitaries, such as "Yamaquay," the brother of "Agassigny," also possessed villages of servile salt producers.[91] Information on the number and population size of Assini salt-producing villages is lacking. One may surmise, however, that if the fifteen or sixteen villages referred to by contemporary observers averaged between 50 and 100 inhabitants each, they would have contained a total of 750 to 1,600 salt producers. Of this number "Agassigny" and "Banga" together would have possessed between 400 and 900. There are no data on salt production. The owners of salt-making villages earned large profits from the salt trade, in which the salt was exchanged at different inland markets for gold and various commodities such as textiles.

The retainers employed in salt production formed one category of personal dependents in the service of the Asoko *ahenfo;* the retainers engaged as guards and soldiers formed another. The military retainers made up the nucleus of the Assini army in times of war. In 1692 "Agassigny," the first *caboceer* of the state, had about 1,200 slave soldiers under his direct authority, and in 1702 "Banga," the second *caboceer,* had under his command an estimated 500 or 600 slave soldiers. Most of the other political dignitaries resident either in the capital or in subordinate towns had fewer than 500.

Each Asoko ward or quarter had, then, a resident body of military retainers numbering several hundred men, and each had under its jurisdiction varying numbers of salt-producing retainers who lived in villages along the coast and along the banks of the Assini River. Salt production and the military organization of the state were subsumed under the institution of retainership, an institution encompassing persons bound to their masters by diverse social relations: slavery, clientage, and debt bondage. Standing outside this structure of personal dependency were the revenue-paying artisan and peasant communities, which were attached either to an Asoko quarter or to a local political center. Such communities were subject to monetary and nonmonetary imposts of different kinds levied by their respective overlords.[92] The farming and craft villages constituted political estates, not personal or family estates; that is, they belonged to the structure of public authority and not to the structure of retainership. Neither the retainer nor the political "holdings" of the Assini *ahenfo* formed spatially compact, or contiguous, units; on the contrary, they were dispersed throughout the state.[93]

The settlements of fishermen, however, were differently organized. The fishermen and their families, numbering perhaps around 8,000 or 9,000 at the end of the seventeenth century, lived in villages located along the banks of the lagoons and rivers and on islands situated in the midst of the lagoons. Together their settlements formed a large geographically compact political division under a powerful *ohene* who did not reside in the capital. This division constituted a semiautonomous administrative structure within the Assini state system. Peasant communities do not appear to have been included in this division.[94] Thus public authority over the fishing economy of the state was distinct from public

authority over agricultural and craft production. Political and personal control over the different branches of production, labor, and land was concentrated in the hands of the *ahenfo* or, more precisely, in the hands of the *brembi* and *baboumet* families (which in the early 1680s carried out the conquest of the old Assini state).

The social concentration of political power was concomitant with the social concentration of wealth: collectively, the ruling Assini families possessed great quantities of gold.[95] The principal families were heavily involved in commerce and dominated Assini's trade with the European factors on the coast and with the Muslim commercial centers situated near the northern edge of the forest.[96]

Nobles and the Sociopolitical Role of Trade

Like the dignitaries of the Assini polity, the *afahene* and *abirempon* of other coastal and inland states traded on a large scale. Some were full-time merchants; for others trading was not a métier, although they regularly bought and sold at the forts and factories and maintained constant commercial contact with local brokers and traders. Commerce served diverse social and political needs. *Ahenfo* purchased merchandise for personal and family (household) consumption at the European trading establishments and from Akani and other *batafo*. A noble family could have well over 100 members. Barbot, for example, writes, "There are rich merchants and officers of towns who have twenty or thirty wives, according to their circumstances; but the kings and great governors take some eighty, some an hundred and more, with as many concubines or slaves to wait on them."[97] In order to maintain his wives and children at a material standard befitting their social station, the family head, or *awura,* was obliged to purchase on a regular basis a wide range of commodities, especially textiles. At the same time he had to maintain his retainers, who could easily number several hundred. Family members and retainers could generate a large demand for goods, ranging from stoneware to silk.

In the course of a year a noble of means usually held several festival days during which he engaged in a lavish display of wealth, dispensing gold, food and drink, and merchandise to all and sundry. In addition, he and others of his class participated in the great public political-religious festivals held in the various polities at specified times of the year. On these occasions the open display of wealth before large multitudes was obligatory. Expensive imported goods figured prominently in these displays.[98] The possession of large stores of merchandise (and also the possession of much gold) was a major indicator of high social and economic status.

The relatively large-scale trade of the *ahenfo* also served to enhance the dignity, prestige, and wealth of their offices. An *ohene,* for example, would buy goods at the trading-company establishments or from local merchants and "give" them to his office. The goods became stool property, or part of the estate of a political post, and were no longer his personal property. The holdings

of an office would have included not only lands and/or settlements (territorial-demographic units), but also stool property in the form of merchandise, gold, retainers, and so forth.[99] Succeeding officeholders were apparently expected to contribute to the enrichment of stool property. Hence in the coastal states there were well-to-do *ahenfo* whose offices possessed meager stool endowments and *ahenfo* of comparatively little means who held richly endowed offices.[100] There were also wealthy *ahenfo* who occupied wealthy stools. An example of the last is Jan Claessen Cutta (1663 to circa 1675), who held the office of *day*, or state treasurer, in the Afutu polity. When he visited the European forts at Elmina, Cape Coast, and Amanfro, he traveled, Müller observed, in great splendor:

> He was carried in a West Indian hammock on the heads and shoulders of two slaves. Over the rods, to which the hammock is firmly attached, hangs an expensive covering worth much gold under which he's protected from the sun. In front of the hammock go his musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and bell-beaters—, stool- and shield-bearers, archers with bows and arrows, servants with swords and pikes. Particularly close to his hammock goes one of his servants who carries the *day's summan* on his head. At the same time his *titie,* or herald, continually shouts at the top of his voice: "Make room. Make room," or, as it is expressed in the Fetu language: "Be prepared. The *day,* a great lord of the land comes." Beside the hammock run eight, sometimes twelve, retainers with matchlock or flintlock muskets. In the rear follow other distinguished blacks and a great crowd of soldiers as well as many wives and children.
>
> The Fetu *day* wears, according to the fashions of the country, very magnificent clothing. Besides an undergarment made of costly East Indian silk cloth, he, usually, has an outer garment which is either a Benin cloth, which is considered very valuable among the Fetu and is called *Ohin' Ampassi,* a king's cloth, or else a scarlet cloth trimmed with silver and gold. The *day's* hair, beard, arms, hands, and feet are sumptuously adorned with gold and precious stones.[101]

On the occasion of his visits to the forts Cutta displayed his personal wealth and the wealth attached to his office. It may be supposed that the herald, slaves, servants, musicians, soldiers, and "distinguished blacks" included his personal dependents and persons attached to, or in the service of, the *day*ship. The hammock, cloths, gold, and precious stones were very likely stool property.[102] With the exception of the gold, these items were purchased at the trading stations or from Akani or other merchant-brokers.

The authority that the *afahene* and the *abirempon* exercised over the class of retainers and the political divisions of the coastal and inland polities was closely tied to the maintenance and expansion of commercial operations at the ports and the inland market towns. In terms of local monetary values the trade of the upper classes may be valued at millions of takus or dambas. Trade on this

scale suggests the degree to which social wealth was concentrated in the hands of the *afahene* and the *abirempon* and indicates the importance of noble control over the means of surplus wealth appropriation.

PUBLIC AUTHORITY

Revenue Systems

The different levels of the state apparatus were dependent upon regular sources of public revenue. These levels included the court, or royal household administration based in the state capital; the central administration of "civil and military ministers," also based in the capital; the local administration, based on the demographic and territorial divisions and subdivisions of the state; the military, generally centered on the capital; and the priesthood, centered principally on the *abosomfo* and the *asumanfo.*[103] Public revenues were drawn from several sources, for example, different kinds of taxes (market tax, fishermen's tax, war tax, and so on), tolls, customs duties, land rent, court fines, and so forth. From various seventeenth-century accounts it is possible to identify two categories of revenues in several of the coastal and inland polities: imposts in kind (that is, provisions, merchandise, and labor services) and pecuniary or monetary imposts. Revenues can be further divided into impersonal ("real") and personal ("subjective") imposts. Impersonal imposts refer to levies on property without regard to the personal condition or circumstances of the "owner(s)," for example, taxes imposed on the European forts and factories, the fishermen's tax, and taxes levied on towns and villages as corporate units. Personal imposts, on the other hand, were levied according to the taxpayer's ability to pay; thus tolls (or free-passage fees) paid by merchants, the market tax levied on buyers in the town markets, and land rent in money appropriated from peasant household heads can be included among personal imposts.

Finally, imposts were characterized by two additional features. They were either fixed assessments, meaning the taxing authority determined the amount to be paid by each unit subject to taxation, or they were apportioned or quota assessments, meaning the taxing authority first fixed the aggregate sum to be collected and then distributed it among the various revenue-paying units without determining in advance what each unit would pay.

One example of fixed and apportioned assessments comes from the Akwamu state of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1699 military conflict between Akwamu and Akyem ended when the Akwamuhene, Ado (1699–1702), agreed to pay the Akyem authorities 3,000 bendas (over 2 million dambas) in gold and trade goods. The following year this sum was apportioned among the various tax-paying units of the state. The commandant of Christiansborg, the Danish fort at Osu, paid between 6 and 10 bendas in merchandise

(although the original tax quota had been set at 30 bendas), and presumably the commandants of the Dutch and English forts at Accra paid a like amount; the remainder was collected from towns and villages which were under Nyanaoase rule.[104] Each coastal town in the Akwamu state was subject to a regular, fixed revenue assessment—a town tax, which it paid as a corporate unit. The captains and *caboceers,* who formed the town council, were charged with the collection of the levy, and the amount paid was determined by the population size of the town. As a rule the tax was paid in both kind and money.[105]

In a number of coastal polities fiscal relations between the different levels of public authority were organized on the basis of two administrative practices: separation of revenue services and revenue-sharing. Separation of revenue sources entailed the division of tax sources among the various levels of public authority, with each exercising exclusive jurisdiction over a specific tax or set of taxes. An *ohene* who had political dependents had exclusive rights to their labor services (for example, they served in the state army under his command and cleared and cultivated the farms attached to his office) and to court fines that he imposed.[106] Customs duties on ships were divided among different categories of dignitaries. In the 1640s, for example, the Dutch director-general paid duties to *ahenfo* resident in the towns of Axim, Elmina, Afutu, Great Komenda, Mouri, Asebu, Kormantse, Mankessim, and Great Accra, as well as to the Akani merchant communities of Elmina, Afutu, Mouri, and Kormantse.[107] The *ahenfo* included both town and state officials. In the 1660s and 1670s agents of the Danish African Company paid duties on every ship that traded at Christiansborg: the Accra king received 1 benda (in gold and/or goods) and a sample of each kind of merchandise from a ship's cargo; members of the state council, the king's *caboceers,* received, collectively 1½ bendas (again, in gold and/or goods), and the ruler of Osu, where Christiansborg was located, was paid ½ benda.[108]

For certain coastal states there is evidence that priests and priestesses had exclusive rights to a particular tax that was periodically levied on the populace.[109] The division of other revenue sources is also referred to in the documents: Dutch factors of Elmina, Mouri, Shama, and Axim and the captains of certain towns, for example, Anomabo, were granted, either by town or state councils, the exclusive right to collect a daily tax from fishermen, and revenue collectors in the ports were entitled to receive certain customs duties imposed on merchants who traded aboard the ships and at the trading-company establishments.[110] The division of revenue sources constituted a form of tax farming. At the same time it was one of the factors that contributed to political contention and rebellion among the families of the great men.[111]

Revenue sharing represents a somewhat different administrative practice: certain taxes, once collected, were concentrated at one level of public authority and subsequently shared by other levels. De Bellefond, for example, commented in his description of the Afutu state that on a single occasion the Afutuhene could distribute 200 marks (614,400 dambas) gold among his courtiers and the principal dignitaries of the land.[112] During the course of a year thousands of bendas of

gold were handed over to the *afahene* and the *abirempon*. The source of this gold was, undoubtedly, the imposts levied on the various revenue-producing units of the polity. The same practice was evident in late-seventeenth-century Eguafo and early-eighteenth-century Akwamu: levies imposed on the trading-company stations were redistributed among the leading *caboceers*.[113]

Revenue separation and revenue sharing were not mutually exclusive administrative practices when viewed from the perspective of the revenue producers, although the holders of territorial and demographic political divisions seem to have seen them as distinct. Peasants, for example, had two land rent obligations—a labor rent and a money rent. On the one hand, they were required to work the farms attached to the office of their political overlord, though not the farms of other *ahenfo*. On the other hand, they had to pay a rent in gold to the king, who periodically redistributed it among the principal men of the land. The *ahenfo* disliked kings who hoarded gold. In their view the prosperity of a state depended upon the continuous circulation of gold, at least within the ranks of the nobles.[114] The town of Osu, an Akwamu dependency after 1680, represents another example of a tax-producing unit that provided revenues for its governor and revenues for the Akwamuhene. Until the late 1720s Osu and the Danish fort of Christiansborg paid imposts (including the town tax) to the Akwamuhene and members of the state council. On the first of January, 1727, the Akwamu ruler, Ansa Kwao (1725-30) appointed Kwaku Kansiang (died 1729) ruler of the town. A Danish report gives a brief account of the appointment: "Since cabuceer Quacu Kansiang has for a long time been very serviceable towards the fort and continues to be faithful and helpful towards the [Danish] Company, both with his own person as well as with his people, whether in disputes or other matters with which he is capable of dealing, and as the King of Aquambue, Ensanquau, has ceded to him this town of Orsue and enfeoffed him as governor over it, caboceer Quacu Kansiang is resolved to take over as governor of the town."[115]

As overlord of Osu, Kansiang received not only various "contributions" from the factors at Christiansborg but also a regular tribute from the town. These levies were paid in kind and money (cowrie shells or gold) and were, generally speaking, fixed revenue assessments. The tribute received by Kansiang, one of the highest-ranking officials in the Akwamu state, was distinct from the town tax and other imposts paid by the Osu *caboceers* to the fiscal agents of the Akwamuhene. Osu was clearly subject to a system of double taxation, a system derived from the separation of revenue sources (the governorship) and revenue-sharing (the monarchy). This administrative practice was already well established in the Akwamu state by the late seventeenth century.[116]

In other *aman* fiscal-political relations among the different grades of office-holders appear to have been based mainly on revenue sharing during the first half of the seventeenth century. Most taxes were received by the state treasurer, an officer of the royal household, and were then periodically distributed among the *ahenfo*. During the second half of the century separation of tax sources

assumed greater importance as a political-administrative device and was superimposed on the older practice of revenue sharing or, in some cases, replaced it. As far as the coastal states are concerned, this development can be linked to the expansion of production and commerce, the emergence of new ports and market towns, the rapid growth of the *obirempon* estate, and the creation of new political offices associated with the *abirempon.*

Two results of these changes may be suggested: commoners became subject to higher levels of mobilization in warfare, and revenue-producing units became subject to a system of double taxation. With regard to the latter phenomenon it would seem that in certain instances political offices became the personal fiscal "fiefs" of officeholders. Barbot, for example, noted this development: "The collectors of the constant revenues, being always some of the prime men, never fail to collect so well for themselves that little remains for the king. When all this falls short, some of them will levy exorbitant fines, without any justice, on such of their subjects as are able to pay them; but others also rather than thus to suck the sweat and blood of the people, will strive to live by their own, and the labor of their slaves. . . ."[117] Some revenue collectors, evidently those who lacked retainers and other forms of personal or family wealth or who held offices with little or no accumulated property, exercised exclusive fiscal jurisdiction over their political dependents. Taxes were no longer regularly dispatched to the state capital; instead they were, for the most part, retained at the local revenue-collecting center. In this case the separation of tax sources emerged through political default. Other revenue collectors, presumably those who were personally rich (they had slaves) or who occupied offices that traditionally had substantial holdings, passed on the taxes they received to the state treasurer who, together with the king, was responsible for sharing them with officeholders of high rank. The late-seventeenth-century intertown conflicts (for example, between the coastal urban centers and the subcoastal capitals), revolts, and internecine strife which plagued certain polities (for example, Eguafo, Afutu, Fante, and Agona) may be attributable, at least in part, to competition for control over sources of revenue.[118]

Political Hierarchies

The political systems of the coastal (and inland) states were characterized by hierarchies of offices. The ranking of offices was determined by several factors: the duties of the particular office, the wealth of the office-estate, and the personal and/or family wealth of the officeholder. The principal offices were associated with: (1) the administration of the royal household, (2) the administration of lands and settlements, (3) the administration of taxation and trade, (4) the administration of the military, and (5) the administration of religion.[119] These "administrations" represented the main sectors of public authority, and were supported, for the most part, by various imposts levied on the different revenue-producing "units." Officeholders within the different "administrations"

engaged in fairly extensive trade, and a considerable portion of their trading capital was derived from the revenues they received.[120]

In most polities one person served as the de jure head of the "administrations." Different titles were employed to designate this individual: king (or, in some cases, queen), captain, first *caboceer, oppergesaghebber, brafo,* and *amaradow* (*murranadoe/murrawando*).[121] Hierarchically ranked below the king were a number of officeholders who were responsible for one or another administration. In the 1660s, according to Müller, the Afutu polity had four principal officers of state who were also royal councilors. In order of rank they included the following:

1. the *okyeame* (*obcjammi/ocjammi*), the *cancellar* or *cancellarius;* this officeholder was also known as the *fetere* (*fitiro*);
2. the *day,* the state treasurer (*Schatzmeister*), governor (*Stadthalter*) of the capital (probably), and chief commander of the army;
3. the *brafo* (*braffu*), a high-ranking military officer (*Feldherr/Feldoberster*) who commanded the vanguard and who was responsible for quelling unrest and revolts in the state; and
4. the *appang,* whose duties were not described.[122]

The *okyeame* may have been the de facto head of the different "administrations," being charged with day-to-day executive and supervisory functions. According to Barbot the *fetere* was the captain, or commander, of the king's guards.[123] The *okyeame-fetere* of Afutu was apparently an officer of state and an officer in the royal household. The *day* was the head of the administration of taxation and trade and the administration of the military. The revenue collectors, *marinis,* were under his authority; every three months they sent him the tolls, fines, and taxes they had received. The *day* was in charge of the trading-company establishments located in the Afutu ports, and he was the official who granted the companies permission to construct forts and lodges.[124] From about the 1650s to the 1680s the *brafo* was a subordinate of the *day* in the administration of the military; prior to about 1654 the *brafo* headed this "administration."[125]

In the 1680s several new offices were created. The *fetere*ship was established as an office separate from the *okyeame*ship. An official known as the "high treasurer" or "moreen" assumed responsibility for the administration of taxation, and the "administration" of the military came under the charge of a person referred to as "the captain-general" of the Afutu army. The *day* remained the head of the "administration" of trade and was also designated the "viceroy" or "deputy king."[126] The order of ranking changed. The *day* became the first officer of state, replacing the *okyeame.* Unfortunately, the ranking of the other officeholders is not known. Documents of the 1680s and 1690s consistently refer to the *fetere,* the *brafo,* the *moreen,* the *okyeame,* and the "captain-general" of the army, indicating that these posts were among the principal offices in the state.[127]

The highest-ranking court officer was a person Müller called the *piafo* (*piaffu*)

or *hofemeister.* He was the court treasurer and he headed the "administration" of the royal household.[128] He may have been the overseer of the royal farms as well. Under his authority were a number of court functionaries, for example, the head of the royal heralds, the head of the royal sword-bearers, the head of the royal drummers, and the head of the royal trumpeters.[129] The office of *piafo* may have originated in the 1630s or the 1640s: at the beginning of the century the duties of court and state treasurer were combined in one office. The holder of this office was known to the Dutch as the *viador.*[130]

The "administration" of lands and settlements was in the hands of various grades of *afahene* who either were rulers of towns and villages or held offices such as treasurer, *okyeame,* and ward heads in the town governments. Town rulers often carried the title of *brafo.* In Afutu the *afahene* ranked below the officers of state, and they formed the state council.[131] Certain of the officers, for example, the *day* and the *brafo,* were rulers of towns and districts.[132] The *abosomfo* and the *asumanfo,* the two highest grades of priests (and priestesses), were responsible for the "administration" of religion; they were in charge of the organization and management of shrines, the manufacture of religious objects, and so forth.[133] The homes of the *abosomfo* were inviolable. They were sanctuaries for criminals, debtors, and runaway slaves; no one could be apprehended once he (or she) sought refuge with an *obosomfo.*[134] Barbot noted that the priests sometimes served as "chief justices."[135]

The political organization of Asebu and Eguafo was similar to that of Afutu. Between the 1650s and the early eighteenth century there are numerous references to various officeholders—the *okyeame,* the great *fetere,* the little (or under) *fetere,* the *brafo,* the under *brafo,* the great *marini* (the equivalent of the *day* and the "high treasurer" of Afutu), the chief commander of the army, the chief priests ("fetishmakers") the "captains" (or *brafos*) and *caboceers* of towns and villages, and chief priests—but also to other posts—the "captain of the caboseros," the "captain of the mancebos," the chief of the korentsirs, the korentsirs (spelled in a variety of ways: "currants," "qaairanteirs," "curranteers," "quantrees," "corrantiers," "quarenteers," and so on), and the "captain of the archers of Great Fante" (*capteyn van de boogshietters van Groot Fantyn*).[136] As far as the other coastal and inland states are concerned there are relatively few specific data on officeholders. Generally speaking, most are designated "captains" or *caboceers;* occasionally, however, there are references to *brafo, fetere, okyeame,* and treasurer (*fiscal*). In 1658 in Agona there was an official known as the king's chief merchant, who may have been in charge of the internal and external trade of the state, and in the Accra polity there was a high-ranking dignitary known as the *pay marcador,* possibly the equivalent of the great *marini* and *day.*[137]

Other officeholders are known. In late-seventeenth-century Egya an official known as the "captain of ye Prea" (*praya,* "shore," "beach") received 48 dambas a month from the Royal African Company. According to the Egya factor, the "captain looks after all goods that come ashore and corn that goes off to see that nothing is lost or missing."[138] The "captain" was, presumably, appointed by

the Fante ruler. In 1686 the Eguafohene assigned a *caboceer* to the Royal African Company factory at Little Komenda: "One cabusheere of Great Commenda lives here by ye king's order to see that we suffer no abuses anyways by Blacks. He looks carefully after our building to see that nothing is stole. [Suggest he] be entered into ye service at 4 a[ngles] per month. . . . I am sure he will save and get ye Company above 4 bendyes [bendas] per month; for not only this, but he is a great trader and brings to ye factory most of ye money comes through his hands."[139] This position, like that of the *praya* captaincy, came under the "administration" of trade, and hence under the jurisdiction of the great *marini.* Most late-seventeenth-century ports had similar offices.[140]

The creation of these and other posts within the different "administrations" over the course of the seventeenth century reflected, it would seem, growing specialization of function within the sphere of public authority. This development was commensurate with the increased occupational specialization that occurred within the spheres of commerce and production during the same period. The growing importance of revenue separation within the ranks of officeholders and the establishment of systems of double taxation as an increasingly significant mode of surplus wealth appropriation illustrate the specialization that occurred within the "administrations." The differentiation of economic and other activities among the lower classes, the commoners and the retainers, was matched by greater political-administrative specialization among the upper classes, the *afahene* and the *abirempon.* Changes in military organization and technology and in the patterns of warfare were closely linked to these developments in the social and technical divisions of labor in Gold Coast society.

4

SOLDIERS AND WARFARE
The Military Organization

THE MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS of social-political dominance and the system of surplus extraction depended ultimately on the military forces at the disposal of the *abirempon* and the *afahene.* The "administration" of the military was necessarily an important sector of public authority. During the seventeenth century two major new developments in military organization and warfare occurred in Gold Coast society: fundamental changes were introduced in the execution of war, and military operations expanded geographically. Transformations in military organization, in weaponry, and in the scale and methods of fighting were directly related to the preponderance of missile tactics (firepower) over shock tactics (hand-to-hand combat) in warfare.

During the second half of the century there was a gradual shift from a reliance on shock tactics to a reliance on missile tactics; by the early eighteenth century firepower had become the decisive element in battle in most areas. This development was symptomatic of the changing attitudes of the *afahene* towards the nature of warfare. It also indicated the growing military imbalance among competitive central townships. By the end of the century two urban centers, Abankesieso and Nyanaoase, had emerged as the political capitals of two expansive imperial systems. Mass armies and missile tactics characterized the warfare they conducted. The hegemony of both towns rested on the subjugation and destruction of rival economic and political-military centers.

During the first half of the century the political-military balance of power among the coastal and forest polities remained relatively stable. No single state was militarily stronger than its neighbors. Weaponry, the organization of the soldiery, and the methods of fighting were practically the same for each state; hence no *oman* was able, on the basis of its own military resources, to engage in a policy of extensive territorial aggrandizement. Warfare was either defensive in character or was limited to comparatively small-scale offensive operations, embracing tens rather than hundreds of square miles. Shock tactics prevailed, and

armies tended to be highly elitist in personnel, comprising mainly retainer soldiers (the military force of the nobles) and militiamen (the military force of the towns). These persons were subject to high levels of mobilization. The male *anihumanifo* able to bear arms were, however, seldom impressed into military service in large numbers: they were more important as producers than as combatants.

By the late seventeenth century the armies of the principal states campaigned over hundreds of square miles. The spatial range of military operations had expanded. This change was coincident with new tactics and new weaponry. Two related social phenomena were determinant in these developments: the decline of the elitist army of retainer soldiers and militiamen and the emergence of the mass army of commoners. Both were indicative of the changing social relations between the nobles on the one hand and the commoners and retainers on the other and of transformations in the social forms of agricultural production.

TOWN MILITIAS: THE *OKOFOKUM* AND *ASAFO* ORGANIZATIONS

The earliest account of warfare and the military is provided by Pieter de Marees, who traded at several Gold Coast ports in 1601. His description pertains specifically to the coastal *hoofddorpen* and to the coastal polities. The "common soldier" (*gemeyn crijschman*), he writes, was known as *confokum*, a transcription of *okofokum* (in the plural, *akofokum*).[1] This word is derived from *okofo:* "a combatant," "a fighter"; *ekuw:* "a group," "an association"; and *mu:* "in," "within."[2] *Okofokum* would therefore appear to designate a rank-and-file soldier who belonged to a military association or group; by extension the word could also be used to designate the association as a whole. Thus, depending on the context, *okofokum* meant "a common soldier" or a military association comprising a number of commoner soldiers. De Marees calls these associations "companies," and they were to be found in all of the principal ports. He remarked, for example, that when festivals were held in the ports, "the young men used to drink until they were drunk, and at night run through the streets with their arms and assegais . . . and meeting with other companies, with whom they quarrel, they fight each other."[3] The "young men," or *jonge vrijers* in Dutch, were also known as *mancebos*, a Portuguese word that was frequently used in the seventeenth century to refer to the commoner soldiers in the ports.[4] Each ward or quarter of a port had a company that came under the jurisdiction of the captain of the quarter. During peacetime the duties of the young men or commoner soldiers were manifold, ranging from police work, such as apprehending criminals and runaway slaves, to construction, for example, building and repairing European trading establishments.[5] In times of war the companies formed, collectively, the town militia, which came under the command of the town's military head. The *akofokum*, or commoner soldiers, constituted an occupational group in much the same way as artisans, fishermen, canoemen, and salt producers did.

After about the middle of the century another term, *asafo,* became current. Like *okofokum* it had two connotations: soldiers and military associations.[6] The full name was *kwa-asafo,* the prefix *kwa* meaning "common." Those who belonged to an *asafo* were known as "young men" or *mansebos* in the seventeenth century.[7] With respect to the coastal towns the *asafo* organization did not differ from the earlier *okofokum* organization. Both were attached to town quarters and served as basic units for training men in the handling of weapons and in military exercises. At the same time they served as an institution for the integration of strangers (including the company slaves employed in the European forts and factories) into the political and social life of the towns.[8] Further, the peacetime and wartime duties of the *asafo* did not differ in any way from those of the early-seventeenth-century *akofokum:* both engaged in police work, both were involved in maintaining peace and security in the markets and in building and construction, and both formed the militia of the towns. The primary difference between them was the weaponry used.

Unfortunately, little is known about the social origins of those who filled the ranks of the *akofokum* and the *asafo* or about the means by which they were recruited into the companies of the various ports' quarters. Presumably entry into the ranks of the *akofokum/asafo* was open to all, so that the young men or commoner soldiers were drawn from all sections of the urban and rural population, the upper classes excepted. Whatever their respective social backgrounds, they were considered by all accounts to be an unruly lot.[9]

Information on the wages, or allowances, paid to the young men is scanty. In some cases, the militiamen employed at the European establishments received a monthly pay of between 24 and 48 dambas.[10] Many, however, appear to have received less than this, perhaps only about half, that is between 12 and 24 dambas.[11] It seems highly unlikely that the commoner soldiers who were not employed at the trading establishments would have received 48 dambas a month; a monthly rate of between 12 and 30 dambas may have been the standard payment.[12] The European factors made regular payments to the young men and their leaders. At least once a year the Danish agents presented the *mansebos* of Osu with one anker of spirits and three iron bars; the *mansebos* of Cape Coast and Great Accra received the same payment.[13] The Royal African Company factors presented customary payments to the young men of Komenda, Cape Coast, Anomabo, Egya, and Anashan; for the most part these payments consisted of gunpowder and spirits.[14]

The *akofokum/asafo* system was essentially an urban phenomenon. It is to be associated with the growth and development of coastal townships in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A prominent feature of coastal urban organization was the internal division of the towns into varying numbers of wards. Wards served as the basic administrative, economic, and social units of the towns, and at the same time they served as the primary urban military units. The military associations represented one aspect of the growing occupational specialization and social differentiation which characterized the towns in the

seventeenth century. With the continued expansion of trade the towns became places of social and economic opportunity, attracting people from a wide area.[15] The immigrants into the coastal *hoofddorpen* were integrated into the towns at various levels—as laborers, as salt producers, as brokers and traders, and as soldiers or militiamen who were charged with the defense of the towns and with the maintenance of law and order. The small fishing and salt-making settlements had no militias; each was under the jurisdiction and protection of a particular town.

The Numerical Strength of Town Militias

Data on the sizes of town militias are fragmentary. For many towns there is no information; for others only one or two estimates, often made many years apart, are available. One town for which there is a fair amount of information is Elmina. In 1621 the soldiers in the town are said to have numbered 200 out of a total population of 500 family heads; however, when the port was attacked by a Dutch force of about 2,000 men in 1625, 900 Elminas under the command of three captains were able to repulse it. In 1631 the town had, according to one report, 800 *habitatori.*[16] Various accounts dating from the second half of the century indicate that Elmina had a larger military force than any other township on the seaboard. Estimates of this force range from 2,000 to 12,000.[17] Elmina was divided into three quarters, each with its captain (*capitãe*) and company.[18]

In 1618 Mouri had a militia of at least 300 men, but at the end of the century it was reported that most of the town's inhabitants were fishermen, and consequently no more than 100 men with arms could be mobilized. Mouri had at least two quarters.[19] Kormantse had four quarters around the middle of the century, and in 1664 the militia of the town numbered at least 300 men.[20] The neighboring port of Anomabo was divided into two main quarters, one inhabited by Elminas, the other by Fantes. In 1681 its militia appears to have had from 400 to 500 men; by 1700 the town had as many as 2,000 soldiers.[21] Axim, with its upper and lower quarters, had 150 soldiers in 1638; by the end of the century this number had risen to around 300.[22] Fifteen miles or so east of Axim was the port of Pokoso (Prince's Town), which had a militia of 130 men in the 1690s.[23] In 1665 Takoradi had 400 to 500 soldiers; however, by the end of the century war had so devastated the town that it was inhabited "by a few inconsiderable people only."[24] In 1681 Amanfro, a port that was divided into five quarters, had over 100 soldiers, who occupied their own quarter.[25] The Cape Coast militia of the 1690s was said to have more than 400 men.[26] In the same period the militias of Aprag, or Small Accra, and Osu had an estimated 500 and 300 men respectively.[27]

Occasional references are to be found to the militias of other seaboard towns, for example, Boutri, Sekondi, Shama, Little Komenda, and Winneba. There is no specific information on their respective sizes. One may guess that their militias ranged in size from 100 to 300 men. In the late seventeenth century the number

of commoner soldiers on the coast totaled between 7,000 and 10,000. The Elmina militia would have accounted for a minimum of 4,000. At the beginning of the century, however, the militia population did not exceed 3,000. There is, regrettably, little information on militia organizations in the subcoastal and inland towns. References in Louys Daemmert's journal of the 1650s indicate that each of the different quarters of Mankessim, the Fante capital, had soldiers, and a 1680 Danish document mentions the *mansebos,* or "young men" (*det unge mandskab*), of Great Accra.[28] The subcoastal towns in Ahanta also had commoner soldier military organizations.[29]

THE *AHENFO* AND THEIR RETAINER MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS

The *okofokum/asafo* organization represented one type of military association; the military organization associated with kings and other *afahene* represented another. De Marees relates that the rulers of the coastal polities had "their soldiers and slaves" who served as guards at their residences and accompanied them whenever they went to war.[30] These soldiers were not militiamen attached to a town quarter; they were gendarmes who served as members of a king's royal guard, as retainers of an *ofahene,* or as mercenaries in the employ of a state.

Generally they were either recruited from the slave population or they were hired professional or mercenary soldiers. Slave soldiers and mercenaries were conspicuous elements in the military and political life of the Gold Coast *aman.* Bosman refers to those "of such a turbulent Nature that they cannot live out of the Camp, they go to serve in the Neighbouring Wars if there is no occasion in their own Country to march out in aid of another, or to maraud somewhere; these are the ones whom one might properly call Soldiers, who maintain themselves by Warfare."[31] A 1675 account mentions Agona men who lived "most of all on plundering their neighbors and on hire for serving others in war."[32] Late-seventeenth-century Akwamu was generally recognized as the land of mercenaries par excellence.[33] One of the expenditures of the Afutu state treasurer in the 1660s was "the payment of soldiers in time of war"; these soldiers included mercenaries.[34] The towns of Abora and Nyanaoase actively recruited "vaggabones" and "runaways" as soldiers in the later seventeenth century.[35] One of the rights of the Akwamuhene was, according to Tilleman, "to have the best and most experienced slaves in war, who can be found in the whole country."[36] The policy of recruiting slaves and mercenaries was followed by a number of towns and *aman.*

Soldiers were recruited from the urban poor—the "vaggabones"—and, apparently, from social groups like bandits. With respect to the latter, one traditional historical account provides an interesting description of the origins of certain *asafo,* or military companies, in the Akwamu *oman:* "The Akwamu *asafo* is reported to have been instituted by a man of the same name, who had original connection with the ancient Akwamu kingdom. The real name was *okwan-mu:*

Okwanmuka ntiri na me woho, 'I am here to plunder on the general road' or 'I am here for the sole purpose of plundering the passers-by.' Gradually he succeeded in getting many followers, which he formed into *asafo,* and they later on became the main army of the Akwamu kingdom."[37] The same account relates that the Kontiri, or Krontiri, *asafo* of the Akwamu state was established under similar circumstances: the founder of this *asafo* placed himself on one of the main roads "solely for the purpose of war," that is, plundering the travelers.[38] The origins of the Akwamu and Krontiri *asafo* were associated with bandit groups, which eventually were incorporated into the political-military order of the Akwamu *oman.*

Seventeenth-century sources do not refer specifically to the recruitment or employment by the *ahenfo* of bandits as guards and soldiers. Nevertheless there are several references to the phenomenon of banditry in different parts of the country. A Portuguese report dating from the 1610s states that the number of bandits in and around certain of the coastal polities was increasing, a phenomenon that was attributed to expanding commercial activity. Later in the century Barbot commented, perhaps with exaggeration, that the woods and paths were "everywhere pestered with robbers," and Dutch writers refer on various occasions to the presence of *struickroovers,* "highwaymen," on some of the main trade paths.[39] The bandits ("robbers" or "highwaymen") plundered merchant caravans; they operated either as free agents in defiance of any political authority or under the protection of an *ohene.*[40] The examples of the Akwamu and Kontiri *asafo* suggest that the recruitment of *banditti* as hired soldiers was not a rare occurrence in the seventeenth-century Gold Coast.[41] Bandits thus became mercenaries and members of the military establishment.

The emergence of mercenaries and slave-soldiers was one of the consequences of urbanization and occupational specialization. Like *akofokum/asafo* organizations, professional soldiering was an urban phenomenon. The accumulation of wealth in the urban centers made it possible for some men to earn their living as full-time soldiers, just as the movement of trade goods between marketing centers made it possible for other men to earn a livelihood by robbing the carriers of these goods. At the same time the development of central financial administrations in particular polities rendered possible the employment of mercenaries and slave-soldiers. The availability of private or personal wealth in the hands of the *ahenfo* and of public wealth in the state treasuries was an important factor in the growth and maintenance of the professional soldiery.

Mercenaries, in fact, appear to have been well remunerated for their services, receiving considerably more than the commoner soldiers. One example of the kind of payment a group of hired soldiers could expect dates from 1614: twenty to twenty-five Dutch sailors were hired by the ruler of the Accra state at the rate of 2 bendas gold each in order to join his troops in an expedition against the neighboring polity of "Atty."[42] The Accra ruler expended, then, a total of 40 to 50 bendas (over 30,000 dambas in gold) for their services. Whether the 2-benda gold payment represented the standard fee paid to a mercenary for his services

during one or two expeditions is not known. Certainly, the accumulation of substantial quantities of gold in large urban centers like Great Accra rendered such payments feasible.[43] A second example relates to the Akwamu soldiers of Nyanaoase, who were hired in the early 1690s by Ofori, the ruler of Little Popo, to assist him in his war with the Whydah Kingdom. The Akwamu are said to have received "a vast sum" in *aggrey* beads and other valuables as remuneration; in addition, they were entitled to all the booty they could get.[44] Professional soldiering at the individual level could be a highly profitable business.

Professional soldiering at the state level was equally profitable. It was not unusual for one state to hire another as its ally in war, nor was it uncommon for the factors of one or another trading company to engage in the same practice when its particular commercial interests demanded such action. A single payment could amount to several hundred bendas in gold or the equivalent in merchandise and arms.[45] On these occasions the soldiers in service to the different kings and *afahene,* rather than the commoner soldiers, were called upon to campaign.[46] The number of guards or retainers of a single *ohene* frequently exceeded the size of a town militia. In 1614 the Accra King's personal guard numbered at least 1,000 men.[47] In 1618 the Asebuhene's guard consisted of 800 men; around the middle of the century it had about 1,500 soldiers.[48] The Afutuhene's armed retainers numbered at least 200 in 1618, but by the 1660s they appear to have totaled 500 or more.[49] About 1680 the Eguafohene's guards were about 500 strong.[50] At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century the ruling triumvirate of the Assini polity had between 2,200 and 2,400 slaves who served as their soldiers.[51] Ahenèkwa of the Afutu *oman* had 400 soldiers under his command in the early 1640s; his brother, Acroissan Tay, had a guard of about 2,000 musketeers in 1659.[52] The ruler of Agona had a guard of at least 300 musketeers in 1658; an Adom *caboceer* of Mampa had 200 musketeers in his service in 1686, and around the same period certain Ahanta *ahenfo* had as many as 500 soldiers each.[53] There are numerous references to other *ahenfo* who maintained large numbers of armed retainers in, for example, Ajomoro, Ankobra, Fante, and Akwamu. A larger number of *afahene* and *abirempon* had smaller retinues of guards ranging in size from about twenty to sixty.[54] The total number of gendarmes in service to *ahenfo* and *abirempon* doubtless exceeded 20,000 men. The military associations of soldier-retainers were quite distinct from those of the young men, the former being associated with important offices of state administration, the latter with town quarters.

THE "BENDEFOE" *ASAFO*

One late-seventeenth-century development that occurred in some towns was the amalgamation of commoner and retainer military associations to form new ones. Various accounts of the 1680s and 1690s mention an *asafo* called

"Bendefoes" (or "Bendifoes"). Five towns are reported to have had them: Mankessim, Abora, Anomabo, Agona Asafo, and Great Komenda.[55] Whether other towns had "Bendefoes" is not indicated. It should be noted that the "Bendefoes" are not referred to in accounts prior to 1681. Nothing is known about the origins of the "Bendefoes," nor is there any information on the social composition of these companies. The "Bendefoe" military company appears to have been associated with a town rather than a town quarter or a particular *ohene.* "Bendefoe" members probably lived in different quarters, not just one. The captain of the "Bendefoe" was a very important person and may have been a member of the town council.[56] The towns with "Bendefoes" do not seem to have had any young men military associations; the towns where young men military associations were found had no "Bendefoes." Early-eighteenth-century Cape Coast had two commoner soldier, or young men companies—the company of red-coat soldiers and the company of yellow-coat soldiers—but no company of "Bendefoes."[57] During peacetime the "Bendefoes" functioned very much like a police force: they apprehended malefactors and runaway slaves and maintained law and order in the towns. During periods of war they represented the first line of defense, and they were the first military units to go into action.[58] In the early eighteenth century two other companies, both based in Abora, are mentioned: "Taffoe" and "Ancobia."[59] They were probably similar in character to the "Bendefoe" companies and may have been established at the very end of the seventeenth century or in the first decade of the eighteenth. In the early 1680s the town of Abora pursued a policy of strengthening its military resources, recruiting, it was reported, "vaggabondes" and "runaways" as soldiers.[60] The "Bendefoe" and other companies were a result of the reorganization and consolidation of the town's military establishment. Mankessim, Anomabo, and the other urban settlements with "Bendefoe" companies apparently pursued the same policy, that is, the creation of town as opposed to ward *asafo.* At the same time it is likely that village communities, which during times of war fought under the banners of various political overlords, were transferred by the town councils to the new town *asafo* and henceforth fought under the banner of the *asafo* captains.[61]

THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ARMIES

Estimates of the sizes of the different *oman* armies are given by several writers. Bosman, who offers the fullest information on the military strength of the various states, relates that a state could generally field 4,000 men for offensive military operations. A somewhat larger number was required for defensive warfare.[62] He does not enumerate the particular polities he had in mind, but it is likely that he referred to those with which he was most familiar. The coastal states would have included Axim and its confederates (Ankobra, Abokro, Egwira, Ajomoro, and Enkassa), Ahanta, Eguafo, Afutu, and Asebu; the inland

Table 4.1 Army, Manpower, and Population Estimates

Polity/Town	*A**	*B†*	*C‡*	*Date*
Accra	20,000	4,000	160,000	1572
Asebu/Mouri (towns)	1,100	2,200	8,800	1618
Afutu (town)	800	1,600	6,400	1618
Great and Small Accra	9,000	18,000	72,000	1646
Accra	15–16,000	30–32,000	120–124,000	c. 1650
Asebu (town)	1,500–2,000	3–4,000	12–16,000	c. 1650
Fante	8–10,000	16–20,000	64–80,000	c. 1650, 1665
Assin ("Akani")	20,000	40,000	160,000	1676
Adom	3–4,000	6–8,000	24–32,000	1681
Akwamu	12,000	24,000	96,000	1682
Akyem	12,000	24,000	96,000	1682
Fante	54,000	108,000	432,000	1688
Afutu	4,000	8,000	32,000	1689
Akwamu (22 towns)	7,000	14,000	50,000	c. 1695
Assini	15,000	30,000	120,000	1698
Akwamu	25,000+	50,000+	200,000+	1700
Fante	25,000	50,000	200,000	1700
Afutu, Eguafo, and Asebu	12–15,000	24–30,000	96–120,000	1700
Assini	4,000	8,000	32,000	1702
Twifo	3,000	6,000	24,000	1707
Abrem (town)	500	1,000	4,000	1709
Aowin	8–9,000	16–18,000	64–72,000	1718
Fante	12–15,000	24–30,000	96–120,000	1730

SOURCES: António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3: 112; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basel, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 85, 88; K. Rateband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Goud Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 252, entry for Oct. 27, 1646; Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledugerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), pp. 76, 81, 82; "Particulars of our voyage (in Capt. Reynold's ship) on the coast of Africa, dd. April 1665," in *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1661-1668,* ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1880; reprint ed., London, 1964), p. 294; H. Sieveking, "Die Glückstädter Guineafahrt im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Stück deutscher Kolonialgeschichte," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 30 (1937): 49; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische-Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), p. 87; John Barbot, *Descriptions of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 294; Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 18, 1688, in "Correspondence from the Outfort to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972); Public Records Office, T 70/11. Letter from S. Humfryes et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 12, 1689; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), pp. 105–6; "Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1698 par le chevalier Damon," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687-1702,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 15; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 181; Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687-1702,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 189; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Daghregister gehouden by den oppercoopman president Nuyts: entry for Mar. 7, 1707; Public Records Office, c 113.36, Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; "Blenke to Haringh, dd. Axim, Mar. 9, 1718," in *The*

states were, probably, Adom, Abrem, and Kabes Terra. On the basis of his estimate these polities could field collectively 32,000 men for offensive action. For defensive purposes the number would be greater, but it is uncertain by how much. One may guess that 50 percent of the men able to bear arms were mobilized for offensive operations. This would mean that for defensive action the estimated total would amount to 64,000 men. Bosman states further that Fante could bring 25,000 men to the field, presumably for offensive warfare, and that the Akwamu *oman* could mobilize an even greater number.[63] Together these states could call up a little more than 100,000 soldiers for defense. For the ten states the estimated total of men who could be brought into action on the defense amounts to 164,000, a figure that prima facie seems excessively high. Indeed, on the assumption that the men fit to carry arms represented, in each state, one-fourth of the total population, this figure would yield a gross population of 656,000 for the coastal and southern forest-edge polities.[64]

Table 4.1 presents estimates taken from different sources. For the most part these estimates produce equally large gross population figures. Thus, for roughly the first half of the seventeenth century the presumed defensive military figures for the states of Accra, Asebu, Fante, and Afutu yield in the one case, an estimated population total in excess of 100,000; in the other, however, estimated defensive military figures for Accra, Asebu, and Fante would suggest a total population of more than 180,000. The various estimates are not completely inconsistent, being generally of the same order of magnitude. Moreover, it would appear that the estimated size of the Accra and Fante armies reflects the fact that both polities were densely populated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, substantially more so than any other coastal *aman.* The combined population of both states was well over 100,000.

The principal inland urban centers of Accra were destroyed and depopulated by Akwamu military forces in the period from to 1677–1681. The scale of depopulation cannot be quantified; however, the densely inhabited settlement zone of Great Accra had reverted to wilderness by the first decade of the eighteenth century. One account suggests that a great number of people was killed, displaced, or enslaved as a result of the large-scale military operations directed against Great Accra and its satellite settlements.[65] Akwamu military expeditions into the Akuapem hills in the 1680s and 1690s led to the destruction and depopulation of an unknown number of settlements there. Similarly, military incursion into the eastern Accra plains against the towns and villages of Ladoku

Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 188; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief der nederlandsche bezittingen ter kust van Guinea 97. Journal of St. George d'Elmina 1715–88: letter from J. de la Planque, dd. Accra, Oct. 14, 1730.

*Estimated number of men who could be mobilized for offensive warfare and estimates of army sizes.

†Estimated number of men who could be mobilized for defensive warfare. Based on a multiplier of two.

‡Gross population estimate. Based on a multiplier of eight.

and Shai led to a serious population decline in that area.[66] Thus, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, significant population decreases occurred over an extensive territory that was economically and politically linked to Great Accra. The early estimates of the Accra state's military strength were not unduly exaggerated.

The Akwamu state, specifically the settlement zone centered on Nyanaoase, was very populous.[67] Indeed, the number of people in the Nyanaoase settlement district may have increased considerably during the period that saw a population decline in some of Akwamu's subjugated territories; but whether population growth in the one area equalled or exceeded population decline in the other districts cannot be determined on the basis of the available data. Nyanaoase and its geographically contiguous towns and villages were destroyed in the period from 1730–1733, resulting in the almost total depopulation of an extensive settlement zone.[68] If the Nyanaoase district could field an army of several thousand in 1695—whether for offensive or defensive military purposes—it is highly unlikely that the same district could have mustered a few hundred men in 1735. Within a period of fifty-six years two full-scale military operations—the first from 1677 to 1681, the second from 1730 to 1733— caused the middle Densu basin to lose most of its population. The sources do not offer precise loss figures; they merely state that many thousands were killed, were enslaved, or became refugees.[69] For most of the seventeenth century the basin supported a relatively dense population, and, although exact figures are lacking, it is quite possible that the inhabitants did not number less than 25,000.

The Fante polity escaped the demographic disasters that overtook the lands to the east. It was generally acknowledged as the most populous of all the seaboard states in the seventeenth century, or at least as populous as the pre-1677 Accra Kingdom.[70] The fact that in February, 1688, it could field an offensive force of 54,000, including "the train," is indicative of the fairly high population density of the area. This figure was given by "captain Eggin," the commander of the army.[71] Even if he overstated the army's size and his figure is reduced by one-half, the numerical strength of the force remains impressive. Of this reduced number the soldiers may have accounted for 10,000 to 15,000. Earlier estimates, referring to the period from the 1640s to the 1660s, suggest that a Fante army mobilized for offensive warfare could consist of 8,000 to 10,000 men.[72] A gross population estimate of at least 70,000 does not seem unreasonably high; if the Fante dependencies of Esikuma-Breman, Sunkwa, Akron, and southern Etsi (Kabes Terra) are included, the population would have exceeded 100,000.[73]

Bosman remarked that the coastal polities lying west of the Pra were less populous than those lying east of the river. Certainly, in his view, Afutu, Asebu, and Eguafo were more densely inhabited than Ahanta, Yabiew, Axim and its confederates, and Assini (or Asoko) and its dependencies. He nevertheless commented, in apparent reference to the collective military strength of these states,

that "though each of the two contending Armies were composed of five or six several Nations, they would not together make twenty-five thousand Men."[74] Each state could, presumably, mobilize between 3,000 and 5,000 men for offensive military operations, suggesting that the *aman,* Yabiew excepted, were approximately equal in population size. It is doubtful that any of these states had more than 30,000 to 35,000 people in the late seventeenth century. Excluding Yabiew, whose inhabitants probably did not exceed 5,000, the six other states may have had an estimated collective population of 100,000. The populous southern forest states of Adom and Abrem may have had a combined population of about 30,000 to 40,000 in this period.

Information on the army sizes of such forest states as Aowin, Wassa, Sefwi (or Sehwi), Twifo, Assin, Adanse, Denkyira, Asante, Kwawu, and Akyem is, on the whole, lacking. All accounts, however, indicate that most of these *aman* had much larger military forces than any of the coastal polities (Fante and Accra excepted). Commenting on the early-eighteenth-century armies of Akyem and Asante, Bosman says that "they come with a whole torrent of Men, as if they wanted to flood the Country."[75] It may be assumed that each of these armies had more than 4,000 men. Of the few accounts that give estimates, one refers to an Assin army of 20,000 men which invaded Afutu in 1676. Another states that in 1682 an Akyem army of 12,000 soldiers was encamped against an Akwamu force of equivalent size.[76] A third account relates that in 1693 and 1694 a confederate army, comprising men from Assin, Asebu, and Cape Coast, numbered 20,000; most of the soldiers were from Assin, however, no information is provided concerning their numbers.[77] The estimates given for the 1676 Assin and the 1682 Akyem armies were probably exaggerated, unless each force included auxiliaries from allied states. No firm estimates can be given for the total population of the inland polities, beyond saying that the number of people doubtless exceeded 300,000 and that the greatest population concentration was in the Pra-Ofin basin.[78]

The only other data that provide any information on relative army sizes, both for coastal and forest armies, come from reports of the number of men killed in battle. Unfortunately, these reports do not stipulate the numerical size of the contending forces. Bosman states that very few men were killed in battle and relates further that in a war in which six or seven countries were involved—the armies evidently numbering a few thousand—no more than 100 men were slain. "That Engagement is very warm," he adds, "which leaves one thousand Men upon the Place."[79] Heavy battle casualties were, perhaps, not as infrequent as Bosman implies.[80] While casualties of 60,000 or 100,000 are evident exaggerations, they nevertheless draw attention to the scale of warfare and military operations and suggest that battles that engaged 20,000 men were not rare. The lower casualty estimates shown in the table are not inconsistent with army sizes of 4,000 or 5,000 men, although certain observers indicated that warfare in the second half of the century was more severe than that in earlier periods.[81] Yet,

Table 4.2 War Casualties

Armies	*Estimated Number Slain*	*Date*
Accra-"King of Matos"	1,000 total (?)	1570 or 1571
Accra-"Atty"	600 "Atty"	1614
Assin-Abrem	40,000 total	1618
Asebu-Esti	Several hundred Etsi	1620s
Accra-Late	1,000 Late	1646
Eguafo-Abrem	150 Abrem	1646
Asebu-Fante	600 Asebu	1657
Assin-Twifo	3,105 Twifo	1658
Afutu/Assin-Abrem	60,000+	1662–1666
Fante-Twifo	200–300 Twifo	1695
Aowin-Denkyira	2,000+ Denkyira	1690s (?)
Asante-Denkyira	100,000 total	1701

SOURCES: António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:112; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 36, 81; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Leupe no. 743: Caerte des Lantschaps van de Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Goud Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 223, entry for Aug. 28, 1646, and p. 252, entry for Oct. 27, 1646; Koninlijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden msc. H64b. Extract uyt de messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, July 13, 1657; Koninlijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, Mar. 4, 1658; Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 360–61; letter from J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, May 27, 1695, in "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972); William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 76, 79.

according to Samuel Brun, the 1618 conflict between Assin and Abrem was considered by elderly men of Mouri to have been remarkably unusual because of the great number of soldiers killed.[82] Brun was informed that the dead amounted to some 40,000, a figure that may be taken to denote an order of magnitude and not an actual count.

On the basis of the admittedly incomplete data on army sizes and the numbers slain in battle one may tentatively postulate a gross population estimate of between 300,000 and 500,000 for the coastal and southern forest *aman* of the seventeenth century. The lower figure represents a possible minimum for the period, the higher a possible maximum. In terms of the collective military strength of these polities—that is, the approximate total number of men able to bear arms—these figures suggest an estimated 75,000 soldiers on the one hand and 125,000 on the other. The quality of the data precludes any exactitude in population estimates; nevertheless the sources do provide a plausible framework of quantitative reference within which certain suggestions can be advanced.

CATEGORIES OF FIGHTING MEN

In order to ascertain the approximate proportion of the population represented by the army, it is necessary to examine the levels of mobilization. The source materials make it possible to identify four categories of mobilization with different rates of recruitment. The categories can be summarized as follows:

1. the personal, or household, guard of the king;
2. the armed retainers of the *afahene;*
3. the commoner military associations, or militias;
4. the commoners who were not formally attached to militias but who owed "obligations" to one or another *afahene.*

The nature and importance of an impending armed conflict, among other factors, determined whether mobilization would involve one or more of these categories.

In his general account of the Gold Coast, Barbot offers the following information on military recruitment: "The wars thus declared, all men fit to bear arms above the age of twenty, repair to the rendevouz from all parts of the country, in their martial equipage, leaving at home the decrepit old men, and the *manceros* or youths."[83] In this context *manceros* refers to those under twenty. Elsewhere he uses the word to denote the commoners in an army:

> If no booty can be had in the expedition the young men or manceros often desert and return home, being under no obligation to stay abroad any longer than they think fit, though under any particular officer or commander, whose authority extends not beyond those who are his proper slaves; for the freemen own no authority, not even to that of their governors, unless compelled by a superior force. Thus it often falls out, that the leader advancing foremost towards the enemy, is followed but by a few, which renders their warlike expeditions very precarious and uncertain.[84]

Barbot probably exaggerates the unreliability of the commoners in battle; nevertheless he does draw attention to the importance of the armed retainers—slave and free (including professional soldiers)—of the commanders. Loyer is more explicit. In his description of the Assini polity he states that the slave soldiers of the *brembis* were the mainstay of the army: "they were their best and their most faithful soldiers."[85] The slave soldiers numbered about 4,000 or 5,000 at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was a different matter with the commoners, who in military affairs did not amount to much: "Each inhabitant [that is, commoner] is free to place himself under the banner [of the commander] who pleases him most, and to join the commander to whom he has the greatest obligation."[86] Once his obligation to a particular officer, or *brembi,* was met, a commoner could apparently place himself in service to another. He could, in other words, freely transfer his allegiance from one *brembi* to another. The transitory nature of their allegiance meant that an individual *brembi* could not rely entirely on the military support of the same commoner communities over

an extended period of time. Slave soldiers formed the nucleus of the Assini army, and the commoner soldiers, whose mobilization was probably kept to a minimum, were no doubt used simply as auxiliaries and as porters or baggage carriers. Thus the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century figures indicating the size of the Assini army refer largely to the slave soldiers, a highly specialized group representing a relatively small proportion of the population.[87]

Bosman offers a slightly different perspective on those who fought in the armies:

> All the Negroes in general are Soldiers as long as the War continues, if at least they are but able to buy Arms, or their Masters bestow any on them; and the War ended each Man applies himself to the Exercise of his particular calling: But if there happens to be any of such a turbulent Nature that they cannot live out of the Camp, they go to serve in the Neighboring Wars; if there is no occasion in their own Country to march out in aid of another, or to maraud somewhere; these are the ones whom one might properly call Soldiers, who maintain themselves by Warfare. Amongst the Fishermen there are very few Soldiers; for they living upon the Shoar and under our Protection, are not frequently attacked by Enemies; therefore they don't even furnish themselves with Arms.[88]

Reference has already been made to the professional soldiers and slaves who constituted the class of armed retainers in the towns. Fishermen seem to have belonged to the category of persons not conscripted in times of war. In January, 1687, the Royal African Company factor at Anomabo wrote: "Ye news of war and preparation thereto has so alarmed this town that they are all got to Fanteen [that is, Mankessim] except it be ye fishermen, women and children; there is not a fighting man in Annamabo and all ye adjacent crooms."[89] A month later the factor reported:

> Yesterday they sent from Fanteen to command all able men to bear arms up hither and hung a "fittis" at ye gate that no man should come to trade to sell any corn or any other thing but immediately to repair with arms to Fanteen; I was forced to give ye Braffo and cabusheers to take it [the "fittis"] down again 2 lead bars and ½ a barrel of powder and a pintadoe that we might not be debarred ye liberty of people to bring refreshment to sustain us, which is granted and people have free egress and regress.[90]

The general mobilization order, which was issued from Mankessim, was intended to call up sufficient manpower—"all able men to bear arms"—for an imminent invasion by a confederated Agona-Akyem army to be successfully repelled. Fishermen were evidently excluded from the call-up, even though there were over 4,000 of them in the littoral Fante towns and villages around 1700. Thus the various estimates given for the sizes of the Fante and other coastal armies would not have included the fisherman population.[91]

The Anomabo factor indicates in his February letter that his trading establishment received produce and other necessities daily. These items were brought by

fishermen, salt makers and peasants, none of whom had been mobilized. It is uncertain whether the salt makers and peasants belonged to the category of nonfighting men, like the fishermen, and possibly canoemen, or whether their level of mobilization was low. Priests and craftsmen belonged to the nonfighter category.[92] However, it is clear from several of the factor's letters that the principal men of Anomabo, Egya, Kormantse, and so on had traveled with their soldiers to Mankessim as soon as the order had come down from the capital; they were later joined by the members of the "Bendyfoes."[93] As far as the seaboard towns and villages were concerned, mobilization was largely restricted to the armed retainers of the *afahene* on the one hand, and to the *asafo,* or militias, on the other. It is evident that the level of mobilization in the area was high, since all of those classified as fighting men were called up. The implication is that nonfighting men, such as fishermen, canoemen, and craftsmen, were not, generally speaking, regarded by the political-military authorities as belonging de facto to the category of men who were able to bear arms.

In February, 1688, a Fante army of 54,000, which included combatants and noncombatants, marched to the town of Asebu to unite with the forces of the Asebuhene against the Afutu *oman.* The army included all of the "Fanteen," that is, Mankessim, people: "In short there is not a cabushier or a man left that is able to carry arms."[94] For this expedition the *brafo* of Fante and all of the *afahene* of Mankessim mobilized their gendarmes and *asafo* units like the "Bendyfoes." Villagers who were the subjects of the different *afahene* were, in all likelihood, recruited as baggage carriers and auxiliaries. The available military forces in the coastal towns and villages—the armed retainers, the *asafo,* and the commoners—were not, however, called up to participate in the forthcoming Afutu campaign.[95] The men who were able to bear arms included three categories of fighting men, but in this instance the fighting men were drawn exclusively from the capital and other inland towns and districts. These places, especially Mankessim and its environs, had a high level of mobilization; in contrast, the fighting men in the coastal towns and districts were not mobilized. Thus the recruited manpower represented a significant proportion of the subcoastal population of the Fante state, but not of the coastal population.

Bosman's comment that all able-bodied men served as soldiers in times of war needs to be qualified, since, in the seventeenth century at least, the able-bodied were divided into two categories: the fighters and the nonfighters. A further qualification is necessary. The fighters either had to buy their own arms and equipment or were supplied with them by their overlords or masters. It may be taken for granted that all of the armed retainers and household guards were duly equipped and that the officers of the *asafo* provided their men with weapons and the like.[96] The *anihumanifo* who were classified as fighters, for example, peasants and laborers in the towns, were obliged to purchase their own weapons or, if possible, to make them when, as was usually the case, they were not armed by the officers under whom they fought. However, a significant number of commoners, especially in the coastal towns, lacked the wherewithal to purchase

adequate daily rations of food; consequently, they could ill afford to buy arms. Thus the contribution of the commoners to military campaigns was minimal. In the absence of the *levée en masse* as a guiding principle for military mobilization, it would seem that the political-military authorities of the different polities made no serious efforts to recruit large numbers of *anihumanifo.*

Prior to the general adoption of firearms, the coastal and forest armies were highly elitist. They were organized around specialized corps of fighting men in personal service to the *ahenfo* and around the militias of *akofo,* or *asafo:* hence the various seventeenth-century references to "the armed persons of the caboceers" and to "the soldiers," that is, the retainers and the militiamen.[97] The 4,000, 5,000, or 10,000 men that an *oman* was able to mobilize were thus, for the most part, retainers and militiamen.

LEVELS AND PATTERNS OF MOBILIZATION

Unless the different estimates of army sizes were gross exaggerations, the class of retainers and militiamen must have represented a substantial proportion of the adult male population. As suggested, the collective military strength of the southern Gold Coast polities may have ranged between 75,000 and 125,000 men in the seventeenth century. The guards of the *ahenfo* and militiamen together constituted, perhaps, 30 to 50 percent of this strength, or, in terms of the total figures, 25,000 to 62,500 of the men able to bear arms.[98] The remainder would have included commoner auxiliaries and those classified as nonfighting men.

The *ahenfo,* in fact, maintained quite sizeable bodies of armed men who were employed in nonmilitary tasks in peacetime. In 1614, for example, the ruler of the Accra state sent a force of 1,000 soldiers, together with 20 to 25 Dutch musketeers hired as mercenaries, against the neighboring inland polity of "Atty." According to Brun, who gives a brief description of this expedition, the soldiers came from Great Accra, in which case they would have been either members of the king's household guard or *mancebos,* young men, who belonged to the militia units of the capital.[99] In October, 1646, to cite another example, an army of 9,000 men from Great and Small Accra launched a successful assault on the important market town of Late Amanfro ("Latabe") in the Akuapem hills.[100] The different units of the army were not identified in the account of the expedition. Other documents suggest that the army would have included the king's household guard, the armed retainers of the principal men of Great and Small Accra, and the militiamen, or *mancebos,* of both towns.[101] According to Dapper, the Accra ruler could field an army of 15,000 or 16,000 men.[102] The assumption is that these soldiers represented the total number of fighting men who could be called up for offensive warfare and that the majority of them were guards of the royal household, armed retainers, and militiamen. In terms of these figures, the 9,000-man estimate of the army would have meant that 56 percent of the men available for offensive operations were mobilized for the Late Amanfro cam-

paign. The Great Accra authorities considered the political control of Late to be of vital importance, hence a level of mobilization exceeding 50 percent would not have been improbable.[103]

The Asebu *oman* of the early seventeenth century provides other examples of mobilization. In 1618, following a combined Mankessim-Kormantse attack on a number of Asebu settlements, the Asebuhene, "Henna Jany Jafari Jafarry," called up the Mouri militia of 300 men (who were joined by 30 Dutch musketeers) and sent them against villages in the Kormantse administrative district (*Gebieth*). Eight weeks later a small body of Mankessim-Kormantse soldiers killed a number of Mouri inhabitants on the outskirts of the port. In retaliation the Asebuhene sent to Mouri 800 Asebu, who were joined by 200 men sent by the Afutehune, "Henna Aquaqua."[104] Their charge was to defend the town's inhabitants and to raid villages in the Kormantse district. As these soldiers were particularly well armed and well accoutered, they undoubtedly belonged to the household guard units of the two *ahene.* On the occasion of two inroads into his state by Fante soldiers the Asebu ruler, in one instance, called up the Mouri town militia; in the other he employed the men of his own guard. A total of 1,100 men (excluding the Dutch and the Afutu) were involved in the Asebu counteroffensive. Although there are no figures indicating the total effective strength of the Mouri *akofokum,* it is probable that the 300 soldiers represented a total mobilization of the militiamen. Brun says nothing about the size of the king's personal guard; however, around the middle of the century the Asebuhene could bring to the field about 1,500 armed men who apparently constituted the royal household guard.[105] Other accounts suggest that the Asebu army, whether it was used in offensive or defensive engagements, was considerably larger than this.[106] In relation to the 1,500 armed men, the 800 royal guardsmen mustered in 1618 denoted a mobilization level of 53 percent. Such a high level of mobilization was necessitated by the intense commercial rivalry between Kormantse and Mouri, the second and third leading gold-exporting towns on the coast respectively.[107] Both ports were competing for the gold trade of the Akani *batafo,* and each attempted to undermine the commercial position of its competitor by military means. Mouri was the main trading town in the Asebu state, and the maintenance of its commercial life was a primary concern of the Asebuhene and the *ahenfo* of the capital. The protection of the port devolved upon two categories of fighting men: the port's *akofo,* or militiamen, and the Asebu ruler's personal guards.

In May, 1653, a Fante army organized in "four large companies" (*groote troopen*) attacked Mouri, destroying a part of the port and killing a number of people. This force, which may have numbered about 2,000 men, comprised only the soldiers of "Annomanie," the *brafo* of the Nkusukum quarter of Mankessim.[108] Other *ahenfo* of the capital did not participate in this expedition. Most of these persons had 200 or 300 armed supporters in their service; however, principal *ahenfo* like the *brafo* of Nkusukum, the captain of the *caboceers,* the captain of the *mansebos,* and the great *marini* (*grooten marijnje*) had over

500 each. The *brafo* of Fante very likely had 2,000 or 3,000 guards attached to his court. Although there are no data on the number of armed retainers residing in the Mankessim settlement zone, they would seem to have numbered well over 5,000 in the period from 1640 to 1670. During the Anglo-Dutch war, for example, the Dutch director-general hired the Fante ruler as an ally upon the payment of 50,000 pieces of eight; the *brafo* then agreed to support the Dutch with an army of 10,000 men.[109] The majority of these soldiers would have been drawn from the corps of royal household guards and retainers in and around Mankessim. Presumably other able-bodied fighting men, namely the *asafo* and the commoners, would not have been included in the call-up.

This pattern of mobilization was in evidence in other polities. In the Abrem-Afutu conflict of the mid-1640s the Afutu force consisted entirely of the armed retainers of the *ahenfo* and the household guards of the Afutuhene.[110] In the 1640s the *brafo* of Afutu, John Ahenekwa, had 400 soldiers under his personal authority; in 1652 the Afutuhene had at least 300 to 400 musketeers. The *day* of Afutu, Acroissan Tay, had a considerable number of soldiers in his personal service: in 1659 he commanded a force of 2,000 musketeers in his defense of the Swedish castle at Cape Coast against the Dutch.[111]

The household guard of the Eguafohene numbered about 500 around 1680.[112] The principal *ahenfo* of Eguafo—the *marini,* the great *fetere,* the little *fetere,* the *okyeamehene,* and so on—all had several hundred armed men in their personal service. Similarly, various accounts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries refer to the soldiers in the service of different Ankobra, Ahanta, and Adom *afahene,* the estimates ranging from 200 to 700.[113] In early-eighteenth-century Assini the three leading men of the state had 500 to 600 slave soldiers each; other important *brembis* had 20 to 50.[114]

In many seventeenth-century interstate military conflicts the mobilization of soldiers was largely limited to two categories of fighting men: the personal or household guards of rulers, and the armed retainers in service to the *ahenfo.* Militia units, the military associations of *akofo* or *asafo,* seem to have been utilized less frequently, at least until the latter part of the century. For the most part, although there were exceptions, they represented a second level of available military manpower. The last to be called up were the commoners who were not associated with an *akofokum* or *asafo.* Commoners were not exempt from military service, but in terms of their relatively large numbers the level of recruitment (or impressment) to which they were subject was low. In view of the nature of seventeenth-century combat tactics, it is likely that less than 3 percent of an *oman*'s *adofo*—able-bodied adult male commoners—were called up to fight. The other categories of fighting men were subject to high levels of mobilization, which in certain instances may have exceeded 50 percent of the total. Certain groups of *anihumanifo* were almost completely excluded from military service.

Seventeenth-century warfare had a decidedly elitist character, the soldiery consisting mainly of professional and semiprofessional fighting men, persons

who on a more or less regular basis received training in the use of arms and in combat maneuvers. Commoners, on the other hand, were not drilled in "martial exercises." Prior to the adoption of firearms as the main military weapon, Gold Coast warfare was based essentially on shock tactics. Hand-to-hand combat was the determinate element in armed conflict, hence the majority of an army was composed of those skilled in close-quarter fighting; all others who fought were auxiliaries. The strength of an army was directly related to the number of combatants who could skillfully wield close-quarter weapons. The effective handling of such weapons, especially in formations of coordinated units, required training and discipline. The commoners had neither the appropriate weapons nor the requisite training in their use, hence their level of military participation was minimal. The personal guards of the nobles and the militiamen were furnished with the necessary arms and equipment and were systematically instructed in the proper execution of "martial exercises." Understandably, their levels of mobilization always remained comparatively high. Indeed, it is doubtful that they ever constituted less than 75 percent of the total strength of an *oman*'s army.

THE MATERIAL BASIS OF ELITE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Prior to the general adoption of firearms and the introduction of the *levée en masse,* the armies of the coastal and forest polities comprised the armed retainers, or personal guards, of the rich and powerful and the militiamen of the principal towns. Commoners such as peasants were of relatively little importance as fighting men during this period.

The weaponry of the retainers and the militiamen can be classified, using Müller's terminology, as *arma offensiva* and *arma defensiva.* The offensive arms included long and short javelins, long and short bows, swords of different kinds, knives, daggers, hatchets, and axes. Among the defensive arms were shields, gorgets, helmets, and wide leather or cloth belts.[115] The defensive and offensive arms were manufactured by local craftsmen. Firearms became major weapons of war only after 1660. They were obtained through trade with European factors and, as far as is known, were not manufactured locally.

On the basis of the weapons they used the armed retainers and the militiamen can be divided into two categories of fighting men: the heavy-armed infantry and the light-armed infantry. The first included the javelinmen, who were equipped with defensive arms; the second included the archers, who had no defensive arms.[116] Each central township and each *ohene* and *obirempon* had a body of heavy-armed and light-armed fighting men. Impressed commoners were not incorporated into either of these units. The only weapons they carried were hatchets, axes, clubs, and, occasionally, knives and wooden javelins.[117]

Unlike peasants, fishermen, and craftsmen, the armed retainers and the militiamen were not subject to any form of taxation based on production activities. They were not revenue producers, nor did they form self-sustaining

social groups. They depended on others for their means of subsistence, money, and weapons. Although the militamen and the armed retainers were urban-based for the most part, they received material support from quite different and separate sources. In other words, the economic basis of the militias (the military organization of the towns) was distinct from that of the armed retainers' military associations (the military organization of the *abirempon* and *ahene*).

The militias were responsible for the *Policey-Ordnung* of the towns; hence they formed a component part of the corporate municipal organization of the urban centers.[118] The militiamen, or *asafo,* were maintained by revenues generated in the towns. The revenues were derived from taxes levied in the town markets, from fines imposed in the town courts, and from tolls and customs duties exacted from brokers, merchants, and European factors.[119] These revenues constituted the towns' main source of income. The payments received by the *asafo* were generally made in gold and allowed them to purchase food and drink, clothing, weapons, and other necessities. Townships with large annual incomes—Axim, Takoradi, Elmina, Cape Coast, Mouri, Anomabo, Kormantse, Small Accra, and Osu—could afford to support militias of 150 or more men each. Less prosperous towns had fewer than 50 militiamen each.

In the later seventeenth century nine coastal towns had militias with a total of about 7,000 men.[120] The maintenance of such a large body of soldiers represented a considerable outlay in cash. Thus, if each militiaman received an average of 32 dambas in gold per month, the combined annual expenditure of these towns on militias would have amounted to more than 2 million dambas (or 3,500 bendas) in gold. Without a concentration of money in the urban centers the town militias could not have been maintained. Villages of fishermen and peasants did not have the financial resources and the organizational supports required to keep permanent bodies of full-time militiamen; hence the villages lacked militia associations.

As the *asafo* were usually paid in gold, they obtained their subsistence and other needs through monetary transactions. From the town markets they purchased food and drink (palm wine and beer) which were sold by peasants; the artisans' workshops supplied them with weapons, and at the residences of merchant-brokers they could buy imported merchandise such as textiles. The social condition of the militiamen was dependent upon the specialization of productive functions within the townships and their hinterlands: the commercial agricultural production of peasants, the petty commodity production of craftsmen, and the commercial operations of merchant-brokers. The towns were the foci of these activities. The concentration of functions and of wealth in the towns was determinant in the development of seventeenth-century militia associations. Like the craftsmen and the merchant-brokers, the militiamen were "products" of the urban development of labor and the development of corporate urban administration and organization.

In contrast to the militia associations, the associations of armed retainers were not paid by town treasurers from town revenues. They were maintained

by their masters, the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon,* who resided in the central townships.[121] Through the political-judicial system, which they dominated, the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon* received land rent, taxes, court fines, and the like. The nobles possessed large numbers of slaves and bonded freemen engaged in agricultural production; they also had artisan clients engaged in craft production. State landed property and agriculture formed the economic basis of the political-judicial system and of the social relations of servitude and clientage. The associations of armed retainers were "products" of the system of landed property; they gave the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon* power over the peasantry and the servile cultivators.

The armed retainers were consumers of the economic surplus (social wealth) appropriated by their masters. Unlike the militiamen, they were not obliged to meet their subsistence and other needs through monetary transactions. Thus they received food and drink from the farms worked by the slaves and bonded freemen and from the farms worked by peasant corvée labor; they obtained weapons from craftsmen in clientage to the nobles, and they received imported merchandise from their masters, who traded at the European trading establishments and in the major commercial centers. Around the mid-seventeenth century the number of armed retainers in the principal coastal and subcoastal towns exceeded 15,000 men.[122] These soldiers consumed a sizeable quantity of the social surplus drawn from slave and peasant villages.

The economic basis of the militia organization was the urban concentration of functions and wealth (or capital); that of the retainers' military association was landed property, agriculture, and land rents. Historically the retainers' associations emerged first; the militias developed later, following the formation of towns.

During the seventeenth century the heavy-armed and light-armed soldiers, whether retainers or militiamen, were based in the towns, not in the villages. Warfare meant essentially conflicts between towns and the attempts of armies to occupy and destroy towns, the centers of military power. Villages lacking heavy-armed and light-armed fighting units were not the targets of military campaigns.

TACTICS AND COMBAT FORMATIONS

Various accounts of the period indicate that the main stratagem in warfare was the surprise attack, that is, ambushes and sudden night attacks on towns and villages. One observer reported that "they do not always come to a pitched field, but sometimes endeavor to destroy one another by surprises and inroads, by burning [and] pillaging . . . their enemy's towns and taking all prisoners they meet."[123] Nevertheless, pitched battles were quite common during the period and may be said to have constituted a principal military stratagem.

The battle order and combat tactics of the coastal armies were virtually identical, and those of the forest armies seem to have been broadly similar. The order

of approach to the battlefield was a line of columns, either single files or columns of two. Brun, who had an opportunity to observe Accra, Asebu, and Fante soldiers in action, commented that the soldiers traveled single-file along narrow paths until they reached the battlefield (*Kampfffplatz*), where "they [were] very quick in placing themselves in correct order, always five of them to a rank (*Glied*)."[124] In the latter part of 1618 a combined Asebu-Afutu force of 1,000 men armed with swords and javelins and under the command of ten captains (*Hauptmannen*) arrived at Mouri prior to an attack on the Kormantse district.[125] If each captain commanded a "company" of 100 men, each company would have had twenty ranks with 5 men each, or five files each 20 men deep. The Asebu-Afutu force, then, would have consisted of ten companies, each organized in a close order or phalanx-type formation. As long as the javelin remained the principal weapon of war, ployed formations predominated.

In his description of the Afutu army's battle order Müller relates that the soldiers traveled to the field of combat in columns of two. They did not arrange themselves in an extended, or deployed fighting formation (*öffentliche Schlachtordnung*), but instead placed themselves as close together as possible.[126] Bosman made the same observation. Each officer, he wrote, "[has] his Men close together in a sort of Crowd, and he Keeps, in order to be well secured, mostly to the middle of it. . . ."[127] Among seventeenth-century coastal armies the close battle order was the main combat formation. The line of battle would, therefore, have consisted of a line of dense columns, or phalanxes—a ployed battle order with narrow frontage and deep files—a formation easily assumed from the column of approach.

According to one account, the combat formations of the coastal armies seldom exceeded two lines of battle.[128] The first line would have consisted of several ranks of javelinmen; the second of archers organized in a number of ranks. Brun observed that the soldiers arranged themselves very well: those carrying shields and javelins formed the front line, and the archers arranged themselves behind them.[129] The battle order would thus have conformed to the following pattern: (1) the first or front line of heavy infantry or javelinmen (*apeafo*), forming the shock units; (2) the second line of light infantry or archers (*agyantowfo*), forming the missile units. Behind the archers certain armies may have had swordsmen, without shields, who would have been utilized for "mopping-up" operations, that is, decapitating the wounded and dead of the enemy after the battle had been decided. They would not have been engaged in actual fighting. The Accra army of the 1670s appears to have been organized in this way. According to a mid-eighteenth-century tradition, the Accra army consisted of javelinmen (*assagay-* or *spyd-skyttere*), bowmen (*bue-skyttere*), and swordsmen (*sabel-huggere*: "decapitators").[130] Most armies seem to have had their share of *anihumanifo,* commoners, who were armed with axes or hatchets, knives, and clubs, but no defensive arms; they were used essentially to dispatch the wounded left in the wake of a retreating army. Like the swordsmen, they did not participate in the initial clash of weapons. Like the shieldless swordsmen,

they were not equipped for close-quarter fighting, or for fighting at a distance. Their "adversaries" were essentially the wounded and dead who were left behind by an army in retreat.

A tripartite division of combat formations was probably characteristic of battlefield organization on the occasion of important military engagements. Tentatively, this division may be represented as follows:

1. the *twafo* (first line, or main body): combatants equipped with close-quarter weapons;
2. the *adonten* (second line, or center) combatants equipped with missile weapons;
3. the *kyidom* (rear): noncombatants who dealt with the wounded and dead, and possibly, with the rounding up of war prisoners.

When two opposing armies met on the field of battle, the action was commenced by the archers, whose purpose was to provoke the enemy javelinmen to move to the attack and engage the front line. The archers were arranged in close-order formation like the javelinmen, so that each company would have had its shock power and firepower organized in dense columns. The front line advanced in close-order formation towards the enemy and stopped when fewer than fifty feet away. They hurled, at great rapidity, a shower of small javelins, while the bowmen continued to provide overhead fire: "Their arrows falling on [the enemy's] naked bodies made a terrible execution especially on those who have no shields."[131] Those without shields were to be found in the *adonten* and *kyidom* divisions of the army. After throwing their small javelins, the front-line soldiers moved forward and, at a distance of about twenty or fewer feet, threw their large javelins. If the enemy's first line broke under this assault, the javelinmen deployed as swordsmen. As the chief close-quarter weapon the sword tended to produce an attack in skirmish line with intervals and distances sufficient to permit an adequate degree of individual fencing. The battle, then, assumed the character of a large-scale fencing match. Should the large javelin be used like a pike, the fighting formation remained close in the manner of a phalanx. The javelinmen were able to fight in close-order formation as pikesmen or in skirmish line as swordsmen. Bosman refers to these two forms of assault: "They do not attack the Enemy all at once and together, but Man for Man [as swordsmen] or heap for heap [as pikemen]."[132]

While the javelinmen were engaged with the enemy's front line, the archers, employing high-angle shooting, maintained a steady overhead fire into the ranks of the enemy's bowmen and "irregulars." The combat units were not placed in echelon, but were directly behind each other: once the front line was broken, the units behind it were thrown into disarray. "They never rally again," one writer commented, "but either flee or are slaughtered."[133] Battles tended to be short and sharp, as hand-to-hand fighting could not be of great duration. One party had to eventually give ground, thus disrupting the rear ranks; in the confusion of a precipitate retreat casualties could be relatively high. The wounded

and dead were either decapitated or their lower jawbones were cut off; commanding officers who were captured were held for ransom, but common soldiers, who were seldom ransomed, were enslaved.[134]

Throughout the battle the drums (Müller: *tente;* modern: *otente, atente* in the plural) and horns (Müller: *abeng;* modern: *aben, mben* in the plural) played incessantly. Each commanding officer had his drummer (Müller: *kirrimah*; modern: *okyeremaa, akyeremaa* in the plural) and horn-blowers (*obenhyenfo, abenhyenfo* in the plural), and each had his banner or battleflag.[135] Officers generally placed themselves in the middle of their units, and were surrounded by slave attendants who held their offensive and defensive arms; the drummers, trumpeters, and banner bearers also formed part of this group.[136] The position of the commanding officer of the army is not known, but he is likely to have been situated between the first and second lines.

The javelinmen constituted the main body of the army. They were accounted the most experienced and bravest soldiers. Close-order battle formations determined that frontal attack was virtually the only form of assault used in pitched combat, and the shock of such an assault with its often bloody hand-to-hand struggle called for men of experience and stamina. The archers provided the "artillery," or long-distance fire-power, which the javelinmen lacked. Bowmen, basically, were support troops. They were not the actual winners of battles, for, lacking shields, they were totally ineffective in close-quarter fighting–the ideal culmination of all pitched battles in seventeenth-century coastal warfare. Because of its tactical limitations within the framework of shock warfare, the bow was relegated to a secondary military position subordinate to the javelin and sword. Socially and politically, the bow did not carry the esteem and prestige of the javelin, sword, and shield.

THE MILITARY REVOLUTION: AKWAMU AND DENKYIRA

The principal light-armed soldier in the seventeenth century was the archer; in the eighteenth century he was the musketeer. The javelinman, or the heavy-armed soldier, of the seventeenth century had no eighteenth-century counterpart. The tactical revolution of the seventeenth century culminated in the elimination of shock, or hand-to-hand combat, as the decisive element in war. The revolution was not due to the appearance of firearms, which, for the most part, were unavailable in the areas where the military innovations occurred, but rather to the changing tactical relations between javelinmen and archers. Until the end of the seventeenth century or, in certain cases, the early eighteenth century, political-military leaders in the coastal *aman* adhered to the principle of the primacy of heavy-armed infantry and shock tactics. Among some of the inland *aman,* however, army commanders began to rely more and more on the primacy of light-armed infantry and firepower, a development that may be provisionally dated to the period from 1650 to 1680. In tactical terms this

meant that certain forest armies adopted a deployed, or open, formation, a battle order with wide or extended frontage and shallow depth. The coastal armies continued to use a close order, or ployed, fighting formation. The victories of inland over coastal armies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be attributed, in large measure, to the superiority of properly organized missile tactics over shock tactics.

Traditionally, the military changes have been ascribed either to Akwamu or to Denkyira.[137] Contemporary source materials are not specific on this point. In the late seventeenth century both *aman* politically dominated the greater part of the southern Gold Coast. Bosman provides an interesting description of the wealth and authority of the Denkyira *ahenfo*:

> The Dinkiras possessed a great Wealth of Gold, not so much from what they had got out of their own Country, but more from loot out of other Countries and from their profit out of Trade; because at that time none of the other Blacks could be compared with them in the field of Trade. . . .
>
> Dinkira, which through its Wealth and Force of Numbers, had become so arrogant that [it] considered the Blacks of other Countries as less than nothing, treating them as if they were only their slaves; which rendered it the Object of their common Hatred, each impatiently wishing its downfall. . . .[138]

To the east the Akwamu *ahenfo* were equally rich and powerful, as Bosman's account indicates:

> Their King extends his Power over the Negroes of the Coast above twenty [Dutch] Miles; and not withstanding these are governed by several Kings, I shall venture to add them to his Territories, he equally exercising an unlimited Sovereignty over them and his own Subjects. His Arbitrary Despotick Powers occasions the Proverbial saying, that there are only two sorts of Men in Aquamboe, of which the King and his Friends are one, and their Slaves the other; hence he has no fear of being opposed by another faction outside his own House.
>
> The Aquamboe Negroes are very Haughty, Arrogant and War-like; their Power is also very terrible to all their neighbouring Countries, except Akim: The People who live under their Authority are miserably tormented by them, being daily robbed by the Aquamboe Soldiers, against whom they dare not undertake anything with violence, out of fear of the Aquamboe King, who would not hesitate to punish heavily those who were to mistreat his Soldiers, as they are all . . . his Relatives or Slaves.
>
> The King and his Grandees are so very rich in Gold and Slaves, that I am of Opinion that this Country singly possesseth greater Treasures [than all of the coastal states] taken together: The chief Employments of the Inhabitants are Merchandise, Agriculture and War; to which last they are particularly addicted.[139]

The late-seventeenth-century political hegemony of Akwamu and Denkyira presupposes the earlier establishment, in each state, of a military organization

and mode of fighting which were decidedly superior to those of other polities. This superiority can be ascribed to the wholesale adoption of missile tactics as the decisive element in warfare.

From Shock Tactics to Missile Tactics

One of the significant features of the military changes may be assumed to have been the establishment of fixed wing or flanker formations–the *benkum* and the *nifa nnawase* or *domtow* of the nineteenth century. It would have signified a tactical revolution between javelinmen and bowmen: the latter were moved from the second line of battle and placed to the right and left of the former in the first line. The archers ceased to be mere support or auxiliary units; they became, if not the main arm, at least the equal partner of the javelinmen. Archers now helped to decide the outcome of battles, for they could execute new battlefield maneuvers: flanking attacks, turning movements, and encirclement. At the same time the new battle order and the new combat methods relied more on firepower than on the charge of javelinmen. When archers were moved to the first line of battle, the heavy-armed soldier was no longer the decisive factor in combat.

There were tactical limitations to the number of ranks a close-order formation of javelinmen could have. Beyond a certain point the rear ranks would not have been involved in fighting even though the front ranks had committed themselves; hence continued extension in depth would not necessarily have been militarily advantageous. In contrast, extension in breadth had obvious tactical advantages, for the wider the first line of battle, the greater the chance an army had to encircle an enemy force. Furthermore, deployed formations depended on a constant barrage of missiles, and maximum firepower, like the maximum extension of the front line, meant that a larger number of men had to be utilized at the outset of the battle than was the case with ployed fighting units. During the actual fighting, the armies with flanker formations could bring more soldiers into action than armies with phalanx-type formations. Apparently the development of missile warfare based on the use of battle units in extended formation gave rise to the *levée en masse,* a form of military mobilization that in all likelihood appeared initially in Akwamu and Denkyira, whence it spread to other polities. The *levée en masse* meant that all males fit to bear arms were liable to conscription. Specifically, the manpower resources of the *anihumanifo,* who had been virtually excluded from participation in warfare based on shock tactics, were tapped. It would seem that they were conscripted as light-armed soldiers who received some training in the use of missile weapons.

Denkyira tradition maintains that certain early Denkyirahene were responsible for important military innovations: "[They] divided their people into three fighting forces: the Akumatire or Nifa, the Kyeremfem or Benkum, and the Agona Adontendom or the vanguard. Each of these divisions was under a *Safohene* or war commander."[140] These developments may have occurred between

1650 and 1670. Initially, the Akumatire and the Kyeremfem may have represented the right and left flanker formations respectively, each consisting of soldiers armed with missile weapons–initially bows and arrows, later muskets; the Agona Adontendom was, perhaps, the fighting unit of the javelinmen, who were eventually replaced by musketeers. The new military innovations may have been introduced into the area of modern central Asante in the 1670s.

Asante traditions stating that the bow was introduced there in the time of Obiri Yeboah may refer, in fact, to the new tactical uses of the bow rather than its actual introduction.[141] One traditional account relates that Agyaman Ampromfi, the Kokofuhene (late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries), was famous for his flanking movements in war, an indication that the new formation and tactics were already well established in the Asante army of the period.[142] Boakye Tenten, the Bonohene (1666 to 1674), is remembered in traditions because of his military reforms, which included the creation of flanker formations.[143] By the late 1680s the principal arm of the Ąowin army was the archer.[144] Reliance on missile tactics implies that deployed formations were employed in battle, and that the javelinmen either were not used or played a tactical role subordinate to that of the bowmen. In the Akwamu army of the 1690s the principal arms were the archer and the musketeer, and by the first decade of the eighteenth century the archer was no longer used.[145] In the armies of the principal forest states, the late 1670s or the early 1680s, probably, mark the last appearance of the javelin as a tactical military weapon; thereafter its importance was purely symbolic or cermonial.[146]

The seventeenth-century evolution of the armies of the principal *aman* may be briefly depicted in the following way. During the first half of the century the javelin, organized in close-order formations, constituted the main arm; the bow, also organized in ployed formations but behind the javelin, was tactically subordinate to it. Probably around the 1650s and the 1660s the bow was placed in deployed formations on the front line of battle, thus making it more combat effective than the javelin, which assumed the role of a support weapon. Between the 1660s and the 1690s the javelin was dropped as a military weapon, and the bow and musket, arranged in extended battle order, became the principal fighting weapons. During the 1690s and the 1700s (or 1710s) the bow was supplanted by the musket.

Expressed in tactical terms, three stages of forest warfare may be discerned. During the first stage shock tactics, or close-quarter fighting, predominated, supported by missile tactics. In the second stage missile tactics, or long-distance fighting, prevailed, to which shock tactics were auxiliary. During the third stage missile tactics were supreme, and shock tactics were completely eliminated; at this time missile weapons underwent a major change–from the bow to the firearm. These military developments had major political repercussions. For it was clearly the case that territorial expansionism on a hitherto unprecedented scale and the establishment of the first imperial forms of political and administrative control were carried out by certain of the forest *aman* (Denkyira and

Asante, for example) that had adopted the military organization and combat techniques suited to the waging of missile warfare.

The situation was otherwise among the seventeenth-century coastal armies. Through the first half of the century the javelin and hand-to-hand fighting determined the outcome of battles; the bow was an auxiliary weapon. Between the 1650s and the 1670s the musket replaced the bow in most coastal armies, and from the 1660s to the 1690s, or to the early 1700s in a few instances, the javelin and the musket served as the main arms in war. By 1710 the javelin was no longer a military weapon on the coast, although it retained its symbolic and ceremonial importance; the musket had become the premier military weapon. For the majority of the coastal *aman* close-order fighting formations and shock tactics remained decisive elements in the outcome of battles; however, between the 1660s and the 1690s the musket enjoyed an equally significant tactical role. The *levée en masse* does not appear to have been instituted until the very end of the century or at the beginning of the next. The military role of the firearm in the principal forest states thus diverged sharply from its role in the seaboard polities, where adherence to the javelin was not abandoned until a relatively late date.

THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF FIREARMS

Although firearms, principally harquebus and matchlock muskets, were to be found in some of the main coastal townships at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were used more for hunting than for warfare.[147] In the 1590s and during the first decade of the seventeenth century the Dutch sold small quantities of muskets (*roers*), gunpowder, and musket balls at the ports where they traded; however, between about 1607 and 1660 they did not sell any firearms on the coast.[148] Nevertheless, the Dutch director-generals were not adverse to lending firearms and other munitions of war to coastal rulers. In the 1620s, for example, the Asebuhene borrowed sixty or seventy muskets and two small cannons (*gootelingtins*) from the Dutch at Mouri. These arms were said to have been crucial in repulsing three separate invasions by an Etsi army.[149] The Asebu army of the 1620s was apparently the first coastal army to include a corps of musketeers as an integrated fighting unit. In 1633, following the threat of an Etsi invasion, the Asebuhene was "loaned" gunpowder, lead, and other arms of war by the director-general, and in 1646 Takyi, the Eguafohene, and Nkam, the Afutuhene, were given small quantities of gunpowder and lead when threatened by Abrem military forces.[150] The Abrem army had a relatively large body of musketeers at this time, and Abrem may have been the first inland state to incorporate musket units into its army. Abrem traders purchased firearms, gunpowder, and lead from the English, who are reported to have sold considerable quantities of muskets and gunpowder along the coast.[151] These arms were sold at Takoradi, Little Komenda, Kormantse, Winneba, and Small Accra,

places that were regularly visited by English vessels. Unfortunately, there is no information on the number of firearms traded annually. English merchants, on occasion, also presented guns as gifts to local dignitaries. In December, 1646, for example, they gave the *ahenfo* of Cape Coast two pounds weight of gold, thirty muskets, and some gunpowder in order to obtain permission to build a factory in the port.[152] Firearms were not readily accepted by everyone. In the early 1640s the *ahene* of Shama considered the gun a "cowardly" weapon, for powder and ball could kill, but, unlike javelins and arrows, could not be seen.[153]

Nonetheless, firearms grew in popularity, and by the 1650s they had become relatively common. In 1652 the Afutuhene "Bodema" had 300 to 400 musketeers among his household guards; in 1653 Adom, a Fante *ohene* resident in Mankessim, had about 50 musketeers among his retainers; in 1658 the Agonahene Kwaku Afutu ("Quacu Futu") had about 300 musketeers, who formed part of his armed retinue, as well as two cannon; in 1659 the *day* of Afutu, Acroissan Tay, commanded a force of 2,000 musketeers during the Afutu-Dutch conflict of that year; in the same year "Boubou," an Adom *ohene*, attacked the Dutch factory at "Abaqua" with a large body of soldiers armed with muskets.[154] In 1653 Akani merchants purchased small quantities of gunpowder and musket balls from Dutch factors, indicating that by this period firearms were in use in inland warfare, albeit on a small scale.[155] The firearms were sold either by English company factors or by interlopers. There was, however, strong opposition from some quarters to the sale of guns and gunpowder. In October, 1658, the chief factor at the English fort of Kormantse reported that the "waterside people" would not permit muskets to be carried inland, and that the captain of the Akani and other merchants of Kormantse as well as the "great men" of Fante did not want the English to land any more muskets and gunpowder, except what was needed for the defense of the fort. The factor continued that small-bore, or slender, muskets could be imported, because these weapons were not highly regarded as military arms, but that the large, heavy muskets that were used in warfare were not to be imported.[156]

In spite of a certain opposition to muskets there, arms continued to be sold by the English and the interlopers. The director-general Valkenburgh reported in 1658, probably with exaggeration, that in the interior thousands of men took the field with muskets.[157] Small cannon were also in demand. In February, 1659, to cite one example, the captain of the Elmina Akani requested from the director-general two small cannon, which were to be used against the Twifo.[158] It is uncertain whether the captain received the cannon, a weapon that seems to have been more popular in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth.

Between 1658 and 1661 English factors imported an annual average of about 1,800 matchlock muskets—known as "Guiney gunnes" or "Guinney muskets"—as well as great quantities of gunpowder.[159] The interlopers seem to have sold a great deal more of these arms. At the Kormantse fort English factors sold muskets at the rate of fourteen per benda (or 2 ounces gold), or twelve for a slave in 1658; in 1660 muskets were sold at eight for a benda.[160] Interlopers charged

lower prices; in 1658 they sold muskets at the rate of sixteen per benda, and in 1660 ten or twelve per benda.[161] During the 1660s Danish factors sold six or eight matchlock muskets for 8 bendas; in addition to matchlock muskets they also sold snaphance muskets and Scottish blunderbusses.[162] By the 1680s and 1690s the prices of the different firearms had fallen considerably.[163]

MUSKETEERS

The Coastal Armies

Firearms were recognized as important weapons of war in many of the coastal polities in the 1660s and 1670s. Among the Afutu *ahenfo* "a fully-loaded musket was regarded as the best and most useful weapon in war."[164] Nevertheless, the musket did not have the political and social prestige and authority of the sword, javelin, or shield. In this respect its status was more akin to that of the bow and arrow. The introduction of muskets into the armies of the coastal polities led to certain organizational and tactical changes in coastal warfare. De Bellefond reported that muskets were given to some of the "common soldiers": "They are looked upon as brave fellows, and placed in the front."[165] Musketeers were employed essentially as skirmishers. Their fighting formation was an extended or dispersed battle order: "In fight the Negroes don't stand upright against one another, but run stooping so that the bullets may fly over their heads. Others creep towards the enemy, and being come close let fly at them; after which they run away as fast as they can . . . get to their own army as soon as possible, in order to load their arms and fall on again."[166]

By the late 1680s and the 1690s the gunman had ceased to be a mere skirmisher and was placed in the front line of battle. The javelinman was moved to the second line, and the archer was, in most coastal armies, dispensed with. It is very likely that archers were retrained as musketeers. By the 1690s the coastal armies had two main arms: the musketeer and the javelinman.[167] In spite of the adjustment made to accommodate the gunmen, organization and tactics were still based on shockpower and the employment of javelin, shield, and sword as the decisive element in battle. After the musketeers ceased to be skirmishers, or a forward detachment, of the army, they came to function like a protective screen—an advance guard—for the javelinmen—the main body—whose shields were no defense against musket balls. The responsibility of the musketeer was to eliminate his counterpart in the opposing army.

The continued presence of spearmen in the coastal armies indicated that the deployed or wing formation had not been adopted for all fighting units and that the ployed battle order remained the principal combat formation.[168] Musketeers were ill suited for shock tactics, since they had no shields and many lacked swords. Like the archers of earlier times, they were employed as auxiliaries or support troops who were to prepare the way for the charge of the javelinmen

by disposing of enemy musketeers. In spite of the large-scale importation of firearms in the 1680s and the 1690s, the coastal armies did not follow the precedent of the inland armies by adopting the tactics and formations suitable for missile warfare.

The javelin and the musket were diametrically opposed weapons when employed together in formations utilizing shock tactics. Lacking defensive protection against javelins and swords, the musketeer could only be used effectively at distances ranging between 50 and 200 feet. The javelinman, on the other hand, fought best at close quarters, or, at any rate, at distances of less than 50 feet, while the musketeer was in the rear awaiting the outcome of the battle. Unlike the archer, the musketeer could not provide overhead or high-angle fire. Thus during the engagement either the musketeer or the javelinman was out of action. The coastal armies of the late seventeenth century never resolved the problem of proper distribution and coordination of these arms. Had bayonets been used, the musketeer might have become a kind of spearman armed for close-quarter fighting; however, muskets with bayonets were not in demand as trade items at the ports.[169]

In view of the low firepower of the javelinman, the use of the musketeer as a support arm, and the technical problems associated with the matchlock musket—for example, wet matches in rainy weather and the time required to load the musket—the firepower of the coastal armies very likely declined when archers were no longer used in war. The technical deficiencies of the matchlock were resolved when flintlock muskets were introduced. Already in 1680 there was a demand for these arms on the coast, and by the mid-1690s matchlock muskets were no longer desired.[170] The 1680s and the 1690s marked the period when coastal and inland armies changed from matchlock to flintlock muskets. As far as the coastal armies are concerned this change did not immediately affect the combat tactics of the musketeer, who remained subordinate to the javelinman until after 1700.

The Akwamu Army

In contrast the inland armies had, for the most part, made the transition to firearm warfare by the 1680s. The musketeer was the dominant fighting arm. The Akwamu army of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was an outstanding example of this new form of combat, for it was able to carry out a series of successful military campaigns against neighboring lands and peoples, all of which were brought under the jurisdiction of the Nyanaoase administration. The Akwamu, a Danish factor reported in 1730, "have always been and are excellent soldiers and a bellicose people here in this country"; an earlier account, dating from 1708 to 1713, relates that they were skilled in the use of weapons.[171]

The military manpower at the disposal of the Nyanaoase administration can be divided into three categories: (1) conscripts from the towns and villages of Akwamu proper, (2) conscripts from the tributary provinces and districts,

and (3) the household guards and armed retainers of the Akwamuhene and the Akwamu *ahenfo*. The first two categories comprised the tax- and tribute-paying subjects, who were organized in town and village militia units or *asafo*. The third category included those who were professional or semiprofessional soldiers, organized in court or noble military associations.[172] It constituted the nucleus of the army, around which the conscripts were arranged in times of war. While the conscripts were mobilized for a campaign and demobilized when it ended, the professionals, who provided cohesion and continuity within the military system, were always on call.[173]

In the late 1690s it was reported that the Akwamu ruler had the right to "the best and most experienced slaves in war" who could be found in the state. They, undoubtedly, were incorporated in the ranks of the "hereditary slaves" (*arve slaver*), who were extensively employed as soldiers.[174] The Akwamuhene Akonno (1702 to 1725) and his successor, Ansa Kwao (1725 to 1730), had a large body of "siccadings" (*sika den:* "black gold") who were employed as a police force, as raiders or marauders, and as soldiers in the army.[175] Their exact numbers are not known, but in the early eighteenth century they probably exceeded 3,000 men. The *sika den* in all likelihood were among the Akwamuhene's "hereditary slaves."

The king's soldiers were equipped with muskets and received systematic instruction in the use of these arms. In 1697 a Danish factor commented on their military training:

> [The Akwamu] are all a lot of coarse peasants so that those who understand their language well cannot help marvelling at the ignorant way they speak about everything with, however, the exception of military matters, in which they have, presumably, been trained and in which, furthermore, they continue to receive daily instruction from a number of Negroes who have served on the coast many years ago in the forts as well as in the towns, and who have since been residents in Quambu [that is, Nyanaoase].[176]

The principal *ahenfo* of Akwamu also had "hereditary slaves," many of whom served as personal guards. These guards received regular drill in weapons' handling and in military maneuvers, although their instruction was less intensive than that received by the king's soldiers.[177] There is no information on the training of Akwamu conscripts; however, in view of the importance of the *levée en masse* it is likely that they had some instruction in the use of firearms and in various "martial exercises"; such drilling would have been the responsibility of their respective *asafo* officers. Thus all men liable for military service received some form of military training.

The early-eighteenth-century Akwamu army was composed of musketeers; archers ceased to be used shortly after 1700. Members of the coastal militia units were generally armed with the buccaneer or the long-barreled flintlock musket; the militia units from the inland towns and districts preferred guns with short barrels such as the carbine and the short "fuzee."[178] In addition, the army

was equipped with light cannon, a weapon that seems to have been particularly popular in the seventeenth century.[179] Nothing is known, however, about the men who were responsible for this arm in battle. Most of the weapons, gunpowder and ammunition were supplied by the central and local administrations.[180]

Akwamu soldiers did not have uniforms in the full sense of the term; nevertheless they were uniformly dressed.[181] Each soldier wore a cloth six feet long and four feet wide wrapped around his upper body and a wide white leather belt around his waist. The officers wore straw hats with plumes; the rank and file had caps of different shapes made from animal skins. A pouch containing eighteen to twenty cartridges was carried over the left shoulder, and a pouch for musket balls was attached to the waist belt; each soldier also had a sword. Lead musket balls were used, but, as Rask noted, Akwamu soldiers preferred jagged or sharp-edged iron slugs on the grounds that they inflicted more serious wounds than musket balls. The use of such slugs, he continued, ruined a good gun and, at the same time, precluded long-range accuracy: "Indeed, they do not aim like we do, but shoot as soon as the target is in front of them."[182]

When war was officially declared the Akwamuhene called his principal men to arms: "Some of whom bring 200, some 300, some 400, and others more men to the field with their own arms and provisions. . . . Each caboceer has his special flag, and each detachment of troops its battle standard by which they recognize each other."[183] Slaves, who appear to have been the property of the king, served as porters, supplying the soldiers, principally the officers, with provisions and other necessities when the army was in the field, and they were also responsible for constructing the war camps. During lengthy campaigns the rank and file, as a rule, lived off the land.[184] For expeditions of relatively short duration the Nyanaoase administration maintained a supply system that provided food, arms, and ammunition for the army when it was encamped; the administration may also have maintained state granaries for military purposes.[185]

An extended or deployed formation was the characteristic order of battle, and the fighting formations included small and large combat, or tactical, units; the number of soldiers in these units ranged from a few hundred to several thousand.[186] As the soldiers did not take careful aim when they fired their muskets, success in battle depended upon heavy sustained volley fire by the different fighting units.[187] It is uncertain whether Akwamu soldiers employed the countermarch. Precise details concerning the deployment and tactics of the army on the battlefield are, for the most part, lacking. Nonetheless, the available information indicates that the fighting methods of the Akwamu soldiers were distinct from those of armies equipped with javelins and muskets.

Another and equally important distinction existed. With respect to military structure the Akwamu and coastal armies had combat elements, or fighting men, and command elements, or officers. A third feature of this structure included the service elements, whose organization in the coastal armies was rudimentary, but in the Akwamu army, comparatively speaking, highly developed. The service element in the Akwamu military comprised the porters, who were also

responsible for constructing field camps; the administrative personnel, who were responsible for the movement of supplies and munitions of war to the camps and for the transmission of reports and messages between Nyanaoase and the army in the field; and, finally, technical personnel such as blacksmiths, who repaired damaged guns and made musket balls. The service elements were under the direct control of the Akwamuhene and certain high-ranking *ahenfo* resident in the capital; they were the responsibility of a central administration and not of individual commanding officers, as was commonly the case in armies that relied on shock tactics. The new warfare, with its emphasis on missile tactics, new combat formations, the *levée en masse,* and so on, led to the development of logistics as an important component in military strategy and tactics. Concomitantly, this development allowed for a transformation in the spatial and temporal scale of war; campaigns could engulf extensive stretches of land—often entire districts and provinces—and could last for many weeks and months. The demography of war changed as well. Greater numbers of able-bodied men were conscripted, giving rise to armies that consistently fielded over 10,000 soldiers; thus the noncombatant, or civilian, population was affected on a larger scale than hitherto by the enlarged geographical scope of military campaigns as well as by the outcome of battles.

FROM ELITE ARMIES TO MASS ARMIES

The Socioeconomic Changes

The introduction of the *levée en masse* and the subsequent rise of the mass army operating over vast tracts of land indicate that greater numbers of fighting men were being mobilized by the central administrations of various Gold Coast polities. This development meant that for the first time peasants were fully incorporated into the military organization of the state as a major source of manpower. The earlier role of peasants as "irregulars" and noncombatants was superseded by their role as regular combatants in *oman* armies. The surplus labor time of the peasantry was no longer confined largely to farming and various forms of corvée labor; it was now devoted to a considerable extent to military training and fighting. The transformation of the military role of the peasant began in certain localities in the 1660s; by the 1720s the peasant soldier had become a sociopolitical reality throughout the region.

This development was not "caused" by the introduction of the musket as the principal weapon of war. The firearm did not determine the economic, political, and social conditions that led to the rise of the mass army with the peasant village as its main source of manpower. Its adoption was a result of these conditions. The peasant-based army marked new relationships between the political overlords and the peasantry as well as between town and village. Major changes in military and political organization resulted from these relations. In the early

eighteenth century some contemporary observers viewed the sociopolitical transformations that occurred in the southern Gold Coast polities as "revolutions."[188] These transformations represented the decline of the old seventeenth-century "order" and the beginning of a new era. The emergence of the mass army was thus the result of far-reaching changes that affected much of Gold Coast society.

Landed property and agriculture constituted the central category of social production, dominating all other categories (for example, trade and crafts). They formed the economic basis of the old elite armies; however, they also formed the basis of the new mass armies. The economic basis of the society did not change. The social structure associated with landed property and agriculture had three principal elements: a class of overlords (the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon*), a rent-paying peasantry, and slaves and bonded freemen engaged in various farming activities (for example, land clearance and cultivation). The social structure did not undergo radical transformation during this period; like the dominant system of production, it remained substantially unchanged. Change was generated at the level of social relations: the peasant village emerged as a semi-autonomous corporate unit. Peasants ceased to be the main producers of subsistence for townspeople and of economic surplus for the class of overlords. Slaves and bonded freemen, on the other hand, became the principal sources of subsistence for nonfarming urban dwellers and of social wealth for the dominant class. These developments occurred concomitantly with the growing military importance of peasants and the relative decline in the employment of slaves and bonded freemen as soldiers. They are clearly indicated by the changed nature of settlements located around the central townships. Thus around the mid-seventeenth century, Great Accra was surrounded by peasant villages, while at the end of the century Nyanaoase was surrounded by slave farming villages.[189]

The shift from peasants to slaves and bonded freemen as principal producers of agricultural surplus was directly linked to the change in the mode of land rent revenue. The money rent (gold) was replaced by rent in kind (produce).[190] For most of the seventeenth century peasants were under the pressure of land revenue demands to sell part of their harvested produce in the town markets for gold, a portion of which was handed over to the revenue collectors as rent. The peasants were obliged to live within easy walking distance to a market, hence the central townships were invariably surrounded within a radius of five to six miles by peasant farms and villages. The concentration of peasant communities around the towns was a salient feature of Gold Coast settlement patterns before the late seventeenth century.

This pattern changed when money rent was converted to rent in kind. Peasants were no longer compelled to sell part of their produce in the town markets for gold; hence it was not necessary for them to live near the towns. This development marked the beginning of the period of peasant village dispersion throughout much of the region.[191] Towns received less produce from peasant farms, and in some localities town markets declined. The bulk of the harvested

produce remained in the villages. Townspeople traveled to the villages with gold (or cowrie shells) and trade goods (including guns) in order to purchase foodstuffs; peasants were not obliged to travel to the towns with produce for the purpose of buying goods and acquiring gold. The decline, in certain areas, of urban markets as centers of food crop distribution led to the rise of periodic village markets as the main distributors of agricultural produce.[192] It was no doubt because of these circumstances that craftsmen and militiamen moved from the towns into peasant agrarian communities. This phenomenon culminated in the development of villages characterized by the unity of agriculture and craft manufacture and by militia associations. The economic self-sufficiency of peasant villages was greater during the era of mass armies than during the era of elite armies. At the same time the villages enjoyed a greater degree of military self-sufficiency: they had their own military organizations organized along *asafo* lines. During the period of elite armies the peasant armed with javelin, sword, shield, and helmet was a rarity; during the period of mass armies, however, the peasant armed with musket, shot, and cartridge belt was commonplace.

The new economic and military role of peasant farming communities coincided with the reorganization of these communities as corporate administrative and judicial units. Villages paid land rent as corporate bodies; state-revenue collectors no longer assessed peasant household heads individually. Evidently each village had acquired a common financial pool to meet common village expenses. Village household heads contributed to this pool, the amount paid by each being determined by the village council. The readjustment of the mode of land revenue payments no doubt meant that the land rent burden per peasant family was lightened and the family's economic situation improved. The produce appropriated by the political authorities as rent amounted to less than the produce left in the villages as subsistence. During most of the seventeenth century the situation had been reversed: the surplus extracted from the peasants was greater than the subsistence they kept.

The internal affairs of the villages came under the authority of village councils. The latter were composed of lineage heads who belonged to and represented prosperous peasant families and were responsible for the maintenance of village markets and the training of the village *asafo*. They were also responsible for the organization of agricultural production—land clearance, cultivation, harvesting, and storage. The political overlords were no longer directly involved in farming activities. Formerly the slaves of the overlords had been responsible for land clearance, and the cleared lands had been distributed among peasant families by the revenue collectors. Land clearance was now carried out by the peasants themselves under the authority of the councils. With this development village (or lineage) lands emerged as a prominent feature in the system of landed property. They constituted the material basis of peasant agricultural production.

The development of the corporate village organization was directly linked to the growing importance of slaves (and bonded freemen) in the production of agricultural surplus for nonfarming townsmen. From the late seventeenth cen-

tury on an increasing concentration of slave farming hamlets and villages around the central townships occurred. Slave agricultural production was highly commercialized; the produce was sold in the towns by agents of the slaves' masters. It is likely that in the auriferous districts large numbers of slaves were transferred from gold production to food crop production. At the same time slaves throughout the region ceased to be extensively employed in land clearance and in the military. These tasks devolved on the corporate village organization of the peasantry.

The Political Changes

The conversion of money rent to rent in kind and the emergence of the semi-autonomous peasant village community had a profound effect on the political-administrative structure of the *aman.* When the land revenue was paid in money, the peasants represented a major source of gold to the political establishment. Following the administrative principle of revenue sharing, the *oman* rulers (the only persons entitled to receive money rent) distributed the gold among the leading dignitaries. The *ahenfo* and the *abirempon* shared jointly in the economic surplus extracted from the peasantry. The money rent was concentrated at one level of government and was shared at other levels.

The mode of land rent distribution changed when land revenues came to be paid in kind. The kings did not distribute surplus agricultural produce among the principal men. This surplus was collected and received by the *ahenfo* who exercised authority over peasant subjects. Each *ahenfo* had exclusive jurisdiction over the rent received from his subjects; he did not share it with other dignitaries. The economic surplus appropriated from the peasants was no longer distributed among the majority of the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon;* for many of these nobles the peasants represented a source neither of gold nor of produce. Certain of them were doubtless impoverished by the new circumstances. Power and authority belonged to those who controlled rural areas with peasant villages.

It is likely that many *ahenfo* (and *abirempon*) could no longer maintain large retinues of unproductive retainers as house servants, attendants, and soldiers in the towns. Without access to rent (whether in the form of money or produce) they could not maintain their dependents. Lacking a regular source of gold many *ahenfo* found themselves in a deteriorating economic situation. The more fortunate among them were able to improve their social condition in one of two ways: either they employed their retainers as cultivators around the towns, or they settled in peasant villages with their families and retainers.[193] The first alternative led to the expansion of slave-based agricultural production in the hinterlands of the central townships. The second led to the dispersion of numerous *ahenfo* (and *abirempon*) over much of the region, which resulted in the ruralization of a substantial section of the dominant classes.

The changing economic and social conditions contributed to the gradual decline of the old "brotherhood of nobles" and to the complete disappearance of

this organization after about 1720. They also contributed to the cessation of the public ceremonies of ennoblement. In the seventeenth century these ceremonies were the institutionalized means through which wealthy and deserving commoners were formally admitted into the ranks of the noble estate. By the 1720s they had been discontinued. Henceforth rich commoners were no longer ennobled in the traditional manner, and they ceased to hold high positions in the political hierarchy in their capacity as *abirempon.*

During the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the military base of *oman* political hierarchy shifted from contingents of armed retainers concentrated around the central townships to peasants who were in the process of dispersing over a fairly wide area. The townships were no longer the main focal points of peasant settlement. Continued *ahenfo* dominance over dispersed agrarian communities resulted in the development of relatively large political-administrative divisions within several polities, particularly those engaged in extensive territorial conquests.[194] As the divisions served as units of military and political organization, a direct correlation existed between a given division's power and authority and the number of peasant communities under its jurisdiction. The dual organizational functions of the divisions reflected their structural links with the peasant-based mass army: the names of the divisions were the same as those of the army's fighting formations.[195]

The *ahenfo* who could mobilize large numbers of peasants for combat were the leading army commanders and dominated the political-judicial administration of the state. Their political seats were divisional capitals where land rent (rent in kind and labor rent) and other economic surplus were concentrated. These revenues (surplus product) were exchanged against the labor services (use values) of a large number of persons—functionaries, clients, and servants—who were attached to the divisional offices as "hereditary" dependents and not to the estates of the divisional officeholders. The direct exchange of revenues for labor services was essentially a nonmonetary transaction. This phenomenon reflected two important developments characteristic of the changing economic and social conditions during the first half of the eighteenth century: a relative decline in the quantity of gold which circulated in the political capitals and farming villages, and a demonetization of the economic relations between towns and villages on the one hand and persons within the political hierarchy on the other. In the same period conquering mass armies composed of peasant recruits were responsible for the increased "production" and circulation of slaves who became an important source of commercial and productive wealth to the great *ahenfo.*

Part Three

THE COMMERCIAL ORDER

5

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

The external trade relations of the Gold Coast formation were, quite clearly, continuous and extensive over a long period of time. Trade was a major stimulus to social change and hence an important element in the historical development of the society. John Barbot, who traded at a number of Gold Coast ports in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, specifies certain changes in his description of the historical relationship between the establishment of European trading stations along the coast and the development of the internal trade:

> Those near the sea embraced the commerce from the first coming of the French among them; buying their goods to sell again to the inland people nearest to them, who again carried those goods to others more remote; and so from hand to hand they conveyed them even beyond the river Niger, the prices . . . advancing the farther they were carried. . . .
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> In process of time . . . trade was well established among those people in every part of it, many of them applying themselves wholly to it, and the profit being considerable, many from the inland thought it worth while to come down to the coast, to buy European goods of the Portugueses and other Whites, to furnish the markets in their several provinces: others settling there with their families, as brokers and factors for their correspondents, residing in remoter parts, great numbers of which sort are to be found settled at many places under the European forts, especially at Comendo, Mina, Corso, Mouree, Cormentin and Acra. . . . Thus in process of time from generation to generation, the resort of trading Blacks has been greater and greater, as the several European settlements at the coast have increased the plenty of goods, and consequently lessened their prices; which has been a greater encouragement to those people to drive the greater trade in the remote inland countries, and by it many have been vastly enriched. . . .
>
> As the trade increased in the course of a century or more, the number of

> those factors or brokers has also multiplied to what they now are; as has the number of fairs and markets in many parts of that vast country.[1]

This account indicates in an explicit manner the role of expanding commerce in the sociohistorical evolution of the society over a period of nearly two centuries. Several phenomena were directly connected to this trade: the appearance of markets over an extensive area, the continued growth of imports of merchandise, the steady rise in the volume of market transactions and in the consumption of imported trade goods, and the emergence of broker and merchant groups in the different marketing centers. Clearly trade was not external to the economy. Indeed, this economy demonstrated a considerable capacity to accommodate expanding mercantile operations.

These and other related phenomena were, in one sense, particular "responses" to an expanding capitalist "world economy" emanating from the "core" countries of western Europe.[2] In this regard they might be viewed as developments induced solely by overseas trade and internal market expansion. Such an approach would necessarily see external trade as determinant in the process of historical change and would underestimate the importance of the structural composition of the socioeconomic systems in which this trade operated and change occurred. The composition and organization of these systems were fundamental and decisive; they determined the form and the character of trade. A number of questions can be posed to illustrate this point. What sociopolitical and economic conditions, for example, made the particular "responses" to expanding overseas trade possible in the first place? Obviously, the "responses" to this trade could not have created conditions necessary for their own initial occurrence. What conditions determined the operation, organization, and development of trade and the market? Or did trade and the market generate their own conditions of operation and organization? In what manner were trade and the market linked, at different periods, to the social organization of labor, the social relations of property, and the social organization of the means of administration? What was the relation of trade and the market to the *oman* organizations and the system of economic surplus appropriation? Was an expanding trade an expression of the class relations that characterized this system, or were these relations an expression of an expanding trade?

These questions serve to indicate that commerce, whether internal or external, cannot be divorced from its sociohistorical environment, and that it operated under conditions defined by this environment.[3] As a component element in a historically defined social formation, trading activities, by definition, had their own historical specificity. The Gold Coast social formations of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, can be aptly characterized as exchange oriented. The commercial order of the seventeenth century, however, was not of the nineteenth. The sociohistorical conditions that gave rise to the seventeenth-century order were significantly different from those that maintained the nineteenth-century commercial order. Thus between the earlier and

later periods there occurred a relative decline in peasant market production and a relative increase in slave agricultural market production; the ruralization of urban craft industries was a corollary of this development.[4] Again, while the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were characterized by migrations from villages to towns, the eighteenth century witnessed the reverse process, namely population movements from towns to villages. The patterns and forms of external and internal trade were important factors behind these changes, however they did not define them. These changes were determined by shifts and developments within the structure of material production.[5] The forms and patterns of trade—in short, the commercial order—were conditioned by the same structure. They were linked with and subordinate to processes of social production based on slave, peasant, and artisanal labor. Productive relations therefore had primacy over exchange relations.[6] It is from this viewpoint that the seventeenth-century commercial order is examined here.

SIMPLE COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Trading activities involved the exchange of commodities (products possessing exchange-value) by means of purchases and sales (circulation). Gold served as the principal medium of exchange in the process of buying and selling. The spatial condition of exchange (circulation) entailed the physical movement (transportation) of commodities between dispersed markets, the places where buyers and sellers met for the purpose of exchange. Markets established relations between different categories of producers, between merchants and producers, and between merchants and merchants. Exchange had two complementary aspects: the social distribution of commodities between persons by means of commodity circulation, and the spatial distribution of commodities by means of transportation.[7]

The commercial operations of the Akani *batafo* provide one example of the social and spatial distribution of commodities (and money) around the mid-seventeenth century. They involved the purchase, sale, and transportation of gold and imported merchandise: "The gold which is found within the boundaries of their country is no greater than that found in other inland polities, but they know which goods to buy on the coast for the interior markets; they are at all the distant places where gold occurs, besides, they have their market days for selling, which are held so that other people can purchase merchandise in the country of Arcania. They make great conquests because of their trade."[8] The daily town markets in the coastal *aman* furnish another example of commodity distribution. A wide variety of produce, craft products, and imported trade goods was sold in these markets. The buyers and sellers, one observer reported, "always have gold; if the merchandise has a low price they take gold with the finger, increasing or decreasing the amount as they deem necessary, but if the price is high they weigh the gold."[9]

The exchange of commodities implies two conditions: first, a division of social labor, that is, the division of production into different branches (for example, farming, fishing, mining, crafts, salt making, hunting, and stock rearing), each producing particular categories of products, and second, private ownership of the articles exchanged—that is, producers were owners of the products of their labor by reason of their ownership of the means of production. No single branch of production was completely self-sufficient; hence each producer was dependent, in varying degrees, on the productive activities of other producers.[10] The exchange of products between producers was an expression of this dependence. With the development of the division of social labor and the increased social importance of private ownership of products, production for exchange necessarily became more general.

The circulation of products among the different branches of production was realized through the market. Producers were engaged, at varying levels of intensity, in simple commodity production, or production for the market. The division of production into separate branches and the presence in society of different owners of the means of production (productive property) constituted the conditions necessary for simple commodity production. This form of production was characterized by the unity (or combination) of labor and the means of production: the producers owned their own tools (instruments of production) and the products of their own labor.[11] The petty commodity production process was defined therefore not by technological factors, but by the relations between persons and their means of production.[12]

Market production was an essential condition for the operation and functioning of the different branches of production between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. The reproduction of the division of social labor and of the units of production took place through the process of market production and the medium of commodity circulation. The expansion and intensity of trade were directly connected to the market production and exchange of the different categories of producers.

The separation of crafts and agriculture represented one aspect of the specialization of production. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries craft specialists were concentrated in and around urban centers. Earlier, they were to be found in dispersed peasant village settlements. The urbanization of crafts provided a basis for the establishment of exchange relations between town and village. These relations depended on market production and the circulation of commodities between urban and village producers. Agricultural production served as a base towards which the structure of craft industry was oriented: peasants, for example, provided a market for certain craft products (instruments of production) as well as a source of food (means of subsistence) and raw materials (means of production) for urban-based artisans.[13] Potters, smiths, leather workers, hatters, and other craftsmen sold their products in exchange for produce or money (gold). Other town dwellers were also dependent on the peasants, for it was peasant rather than slave agricultural production which provided the towns with

the bulk of their provisions in the seventeenth century. Exchange between urban and rural producers represented one important form of commodity circulation in the region.

Peasants were engaged in the production of both use-values and exchange-values. The crops they produced for their own consumption were not commodities; the surplus crops they sold were.[14] Peasant agricultural production was based on the creation of use-values. Only the surplus acquired exhange-value. It was quite substantial, for the towns were, generally, well supplied with provisions. Commenting on the late-seventeenth-century Afutu polity, William Bosman wrote: "I have seen it abound with fine well-built and populous Towns so aggreably enriched with vast quantitites of Corn and other Fruits of the Earth and Cattle, Palm-Wine and Oyl, that it was not a little pleasant to observe. . . ."[15] Apropos of agricultural production in the Adom *oman,* he stated that "the Soil is very good and fruitful in Corn and other productions of the earth; which it affords in such Plenty that, besides what serves their own necessities, they always expose large quantities to Sale."[16] Similar comments were made about food crop production and produce marketing in other coastal and inland polities.[17]

Peasant market production was a widespread and regular phenomenon. The provisions offered for sale in the town markets represented the transfer of surplus produce from the villages to the urban settlements. Peasants engaged in exchange not for its own sake, but in order to obtain money (gold), tools, and various necessary articles of consumption.[18] The production and trade of peasant households were geared to the structure of urban demand.

In contrast to the peasantry, independent urban craftsmen detached from the agrarian village community were commodity producers. They did not sell their surplus: production for sale was their main purpose. Urban crafts were therefore based on exchange and the creation of exchange-values. However, the main object of craft production was not enrichment, the accumulation of exchange-values, but the acquisition of articles of consumption. Although artisans had property in the instruments of production, they were required to sell on the market in order to acquire the means of subsistence.[19] Commodity exchange between peasants and artisans meant essentially a trade in use-values. Trade between these and other categories of free producers (for example, fishermen, salt producers, hunters, charcoal burners, rearers of livestock, and woodcutters) was of a similar character. Even though a large amount of what was produced was traded on the market, social production was dominated by the creation and acquisition of use-values. The predominance of use-values indicated that the prevailing social organization of production took the form of a combination of free labor and the means of production. The extensive commodity exchange in which free producers were involved represented trade between persons who had direct, nonmarket access to certain of the means of production and the means of subsistence.

The circulation of commodities in the towns and villages was fundamentally

different from trade in capitalist societies, where labor power (free wage labor) is effectively separated from the means of production and where exchange-value is predominant. Certainly at the level of the producers, precapitalist Gold Coast markets defy analysis in the terms used to characterize markets in capitalist social formations. The differences between them were qualitative.[20]

MERCHANTS AND MERCHANT CAPITAL

The separation of crafts and trade within the towns represented another aspect of economic specialization. This phenomenon was the socioeconomic basis for the emergence of the *batani,* or merchant. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were established trading groups in different parts of the region, an indication that the separation of production and commerce was well advanced.[21] Buying and selling as a full-time activity and wealth accumulation defined the social praxis of the merchant. Thus the merchant engaged in exchange for its own sake; he bought and sold commodities for profit.[22] The exchange relations of traders represented a second form of commodity circulation in the seventeenth-century Gold Coast.

The trade of craftsmen, peasants, fishermen, and other producers was directed essentially to the acquisition of use-values. Money served them as a medium of exchange (C-M-C′). Merchants, on the other hand, accumulated exchange values. Money served them as capital, that is, as a means of making more money (M-C-M′).[23] In petty commodity-producing precapitalist class societies "mercantile capital, or money as it presents itself as merchant wealth, is the first form of captial, i.e. of value which comes exclusively from circulation (from exchange), maintains, reproduces, and increases itself within it, and thus the exclusive aim of this movement and activity is exchange-value. There are two movements, to buy so as to sell, and to sell so as to buy; but the form M-C-C-M predominates. Money and its increase appear as the exclusive purpose of the operation."[24] Traders accumulated exchange-values within the sphere of circulation, not production. The scale of wealth accumulation and the volume of merchant market transactions were considerable. Commodity circulation was the source of great profits: "The Blacks of the Gold Coast are for the most part very rich, through the great trade they drive with the Europeans, both aboard the ships and ashore, bartering their gold for several sorts of European commodities, of which they make a vast profit up the inland; or through the large allowance they have out of the goods they buy of the Europeans, for the account of the inland Blacks, for whom many of these on the coast act as brokers, buying considerable quantities of goods of the interlopers, who resort thither in great numbers from several parts of Europe. . . ."[25] This trade was dominated by two distinct mercantile groups: the *batafo,* or merchants (*coopluijden, marquedorene, markedores*), and the *asanfo,* or brokers (*claploopers, klaploperne, makelaers, maseverne*).

Many of these persons had annual incomes in excess of 30,000 dambas' worth of gold and acquired considerable fortunes. In contrast, a significant section of the urban population earned less than 500 dambas a year.

For some members of the mercantile estate buying and selling operations took precedence over political-administrative duties in the *oman* organizations. Bosman, for example, commented that certain merchants and brokers "owe their advance only to themselves and their Money; [the] Port of Honour here being always open to him who is rich enough to bear the Expense. Besides, in other Places Nobility engages those honoured with it firmly in the publick Service of their King or Country; which these are the least concerned for, applying themselves to nothing but their Trade."[26] Others, however, were less averse to administrative tasks. They were, it was reported, "put into offices and places of trust, next after the king's relations, as occasion offers."[27] Members of the mercantile estate were of diverse social origins. New professional traders and landlord-brokers were drawn from different occupational groups—canoemen, fishermen, and peasants—as well as from the ranks of the political-military elite.[28] There is evidence that persons of unfree background could on occasion become important traders. Anthony Coroquo, born in Axim and of slave origin (*van liffeygen geslachte*), and Mena Sirma, born in the the district of "Choree," probably a political division in the Egwira *oman*, and also of unfree origin (*de captivyteyt subject is*), became brokers of the Swedish African Company's trading post at Cape Apollonia in the 1650s. Both men were also important notables in the Jumore polity.[29]

Wealthy traders and brokers were *abirempon*. The social world of the *abirempon* was not that of the day laborer or the peasant. In a reference to the *abirempon* of the Afutu *oman* Müller stated that "so long as they live [they] aspire after great authority, reputation, and wealth [*grosse Gewalt, Ehr und Reichtumb*]."[30] The *abirempon* of early-eighteenth-century Assini had similar social aspirations. Every morning, Loyer relates, an *obirempon* offered the same prayer to God: "My God [*anguiome*], give me rice, give me yams, give me gold and aggrey beads [*chicke occori*], give me slaves [*akaka*], give me wealth [*brembi*], grant that I be healthy."[31] Exchange for the sake of personal and family enrichment engendered its own social ideology. Wealth accumulation was an enduring social practice of the *abirempon*.

The wealth of the merchants was realized in two forms: profit and interest. The first represented merchant capital and the second money-lending capital. Market price differentials—price differentials in space—ensured merchants of a profit; the credit system—price differentials in time—ensured them of interest.[32] Profit and interest—the mercantile modes of wealth accumulation—were both dependent on the continued expansion of commodity circulation.

Under the system of simple commodity production there were two distinct commodity circuits. Commodities traded for consumption (use-values) constituted the producers' circuit, and commodities traded for profit (exchange-value)

the merchants' circuit. External trade was directly connected to the merchants' circuit, which, in turn, linked the producers' circuit to the external trade. The merchants' role in these exchange relations was crucial.[33]

As the different branches of production operated through commodity circulation, some of them were, in consequence, subsumed under merchant capital. The traders' monopoly control over the social and spatial distribution of particular categories of imported commodities that were essential in the functioning of certain production processes enabled merchant capital to acquire control over the conditions of production. Thus merchants supplied the gold-mining industry, which depended to a large extent on slave labor, with slaves, and they supplied blacksmiths with iron bars, a raw material used in the production of farming, mining, and other implements.[34] Commodities (slaves and iron bars) were used in the production of commodities (gold and tools). Merchant capital served to combine simple commodity production and the means of production. It did not, however, control them. Marx wrote:

> Money and commodity circulation can mediate between spheres of production of widely different organization, whose internal structure is still chiefly adjusted to the output of use-values. This individualization of the circulation process, in which spheres of production are interconnected by means of a third, has a two-fold significance. On the one hand, that circulation has not as yet established a hold on production, but is related to it as to a given premise. On the other hand, that the production process has not as yet absorbed circulation as a mere phase of production.[35]

Merchants were undoubtedly "a given premise" in the process of social production. During the sixteenth century, for example, they were largely responsible for the importation of more than 3,000 tons of brass and copper and the distribution of this material among metal workers.[36] Here merchant capital was able to exercise control over the conditions of the metalworkers' production.[37] However, merchants did not own the means of production associated with metal production, nor did they employ smiths as wage laborers. The means of production and the labor of the smiths were combined, not separated, from each other. The same applied to most other producers. With the exception of propertyless day laborers all free producers had direct access to their means of production, hence they did not have to sell their labor (to merchants, for example) in order to acquire means of subsistence.

Merchant investment in artisans' workshops, free labor-power, and other means of production for the purpose of generating profit (or, more accurately, surplus value) did not occur. Merchants did not promote technological innovations on a continuous basis, nor did they foster the social concentration of the means and units of production in the process and organization of production. They could and did exist "without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production."[38] Occasionally merchants bought land, and frequently they purchased slaves whom they employed in productive and other tasks. However, for

the most part their money investments were confined to the sphere of circulation, that is, the distribution of use values among the owners and possessors of the means of production.

This particular investment practice constituted a central feature of the merchants' and brokers' mode of operation. The expansion of trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created neither the conditions nor the pressures which could have transformed the forces of production and the social distribution of productive property. As long as the means of production in aggregate were not commodities, trade per se could not engender new modes of production or introduce a new sociotechnological order.[39] The structure and social relations of production limited the impact of commerce and mercantile groups as forces of social-historical transformation. However, they did not preclude it. Economic development and technological and organizational innovations did occur. These phenomena, however, were experienced within the context of an agrarian/gold-mining economy and within the structural limits of tributary and slaveowning relations of production. Thus, for example, the growth of trade, local merchant capital, and the mercantile estate, as well as the monetization of the economy, led not to a new mode of production but to the domination of the countryside over the town.[40] This process was one of the factors that differentiated the eighteenth century from the seventeenth. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the broker and the merchant were prominent figures who enjoyed the rights and privileges of the *ahenfo.* By the 1720s they were no longer accorded noble rank. They were simply commoners—although wealthy ones.[41]

MERCHANTS, PEASANTS, AND BANDITS: CONTRADICTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Under the conditions of expanding commercial activity two antithetical social groups emerged from early-seventeenth-century peasant communities: the *batafo,* or merchants, and the *adwowfo,* or bandits.[42] Both were the products of a single historical process: the growth of commodity circulation and simple commodity production. They constituted a unity of opposites. Both emerged from the *nkuraafo,* or peasantry, but with respect to their social functions they were mutually exclusive.

In 1618 a Portuguese factor commented on this development in his account of the relationship between the growth of Dutch trade on the one hand and social change in peasant villages on the other: "Because of the many commodities the Dutch have brought and are bringing, all have abandoned farming (*lavoura*) and have become and are still becoming merchants (*mercadores*). Those who cannot pay become robbers (*ladrões*) of other merchants. There are no farms (*roças*) and no agriculture, and all of the neighboring coastal kings are in despair and lament that they are lost and ruined, and that they will lose everything,

and they will die of hunger."[43] Although the decline in agricultural production was possibly overstated, there is no uncertainty about the two other striking and contradictory social phenomena: the "movement" of some peasants from agriculture into commerce, and the "movement" of other peasants from agriculture into banditry. The expanding external trade provided the necessary conditions for these developments. However, it does not explain why certain peasants became traders and others brigands. This particular form of social change among the peasantry implies the existence of villages with both prosperous and poor peasant households.

Implicit in the system of produce marketing was a process of economic stratification among free cultivators, some of whom became relatively wealthy, while others did not.[44] Prosperous peasants had greater stores of use-values (such as tools, household furnishings, and reserves of food) and larger families (and hence greater labor resources) than their poorer counterparts. With the growth of towns and the subsequent expansion of the market, thriving producers were in a good position to improve their social and economic situations. Because of their resources they could accumulate greater quantities of products, which could serve as an initial source of trading capital in a new career devoted to commerce.

The growth of trade exacerbated economic disparities within peasant village communities of the early seventeenth century. Wealthy peasants who became merchants moved from the villages to the towns, where, following the ceremony of ennoblement, they joined the ranks of the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon.*[45] They withdrew from the producers' commodity circuit and joined that of the merchants. The implication is that during the course of the early seventeenth century the growth of merchant capital was considerable.[46] Use-values accumulated in agricultural production were invested in commerce; social wealth was transferred from the agrarian communities to the towns. In consequence urban wealth grew considerably relative to the wealth of the countryside.

The new merchants probably bought slaves whom they employed in farming the land in which they had held, as peasants, traditional usufructory rights. These slaves would have produced subsistence for their masters' households and not provisions for the town markets.[47] This meant that a certain amount of farm land was withdrawn from market production and that the unfree family households that worked the land were a source neither of money rent nor of labor rent. The new merchants were obliged to pay customs duties and town taxes, but as *afahene* they were entitled to part of the local court fines, and every quarter they received a share of state revenues. The growing mercantile estate was able to receive an increasing share of the peasants' agricultural surplus.

Poverty was the prime source of banditry among the peasants. Undoubtedly most peasants had the wherewithal to maintain themselves, but they lacked the accumulated use-values that might have been converted to merchant capital and the gold that might have been used to pay the fee of ennoblement. Land revenue imposts and debts pressed heavily on them and were certainly two main

factors contributing to the impoverishment of numerous cultivators. Peasants alone could not stand against the organized military power of the towns and the *ahenfo,* hence mass rebellion was not a feasible form of protest. Some of the poorer ones abandoned farming and entered the towns, where they became militiamen, day-laborers, porters, and the like. The one recourse that was open to others was a career of brigandage as a full- or part-time pursuit. Barbot, for example, wrote: "There are few wealthy men among the Cotos [Ketas], and the generality being very poor, many of them turn strolling robbers about the country, and do much mischief."[48]

It has been remarked that banditry was a normal incident in the sociopolitical relations of agrarian-class societies, where it constituted a form of political rebellion. In times of pauperization and economic crisis and change it became epidemic.[49] At various times during the first half of the seventeenth century brigandage apparently reached near-epidemic levels in parts of the region, an indication of widespread social agitation and unrest. Several accounts of the period make it clear that bandits (*struickroovers*) were active over a wide area. They were to be found in isolated or relatively inaccessible places among "the rocks" and in "the woods," from whence they "pestered" the roads and attacked merchant caravans.[50] In 1703 two men who were presumably bandits were apprehended by the *brafo* of the Fante *oman.* Referring to this incident, the memorandum book kept at Cape Coast Castle relates: "Were sent by the Braffo Fanteen two blacks to be kept in irons for hindring Traders in the Way from coming hither."[51] Around the same time the Dutch director-general at Elmina hanged two men who had been found guilty of "violating the public roads."[52] Also during the early eighteenth century banditry was a persistent problem in the valleys of the lower Pra and lower Volta rivers.[53] Finally, Akwamu historical traditions refer to two bandit groups that plundered travelers on the main roads. Both groups, which originated perhaps in the early seventeenth century, eventually came to form the nucleus of two important military companies within the Akwamu *oman.*[54] This phenomenon—the conversion of *adwowfo* into *asafo*—draws attention to the close relationship between the brigand on the one hand and the mercenary and the soldier on the other. Banditry and soldiering flourished within the same sociohistorical environment.[55] The upsurge of banditry can perhaps be associated with the consolidation of tributary and slaveowning relations of production and the decline or transformation of social relations associated with the "lineage mode of production."

The social roots of rural brigandage lay in the agrarian settlements of revenue-paying cultivators. It was an expression of rural opposition to the economic and political domination of the towns. One feature of this domination was the systematic and regular transfer of social surplus from the villages to the urban centers.[56] Peasant banditry represented an attempt to moderate, if not alleviate, this relationship. Bandits intervened in the circulation of commodities between towns by forcibly seizing and then redistributing the goods and money conveyed by trading caravans.[57]

While rooted in peasant political opposition to urban dominance, rural brigandage was also a response to rising rates of surplus extraction and basic changes in the regional political economy.[58] The changing socioeconomic environment provided highly favorable conditions for the activities of a growing, urbanized mercantile estate; nevertheless, it promoted a situation in which banditry and other forms of outlawry could emerge on a significant scale.[59]

TRADE, SURPLUS APPROPRIATION, AND THE *AHENFO*

The expansion of trade and production—with its contradictory social effects—was not separated from the system of economic surplus extraction that was institutionalized within the framework of each *oman* organization. The *ahenfo* who dominated this organization were directly or indirectly involved in trade and production. Indeed, they were the principal market for a wide range of commodities derived from international commerce, and they actively promoted the expansion and development of both internal and external trade.[60] De Bellefond commented that "those who come to trade aboard the ships, are ordinarily officers or captains of villages, all of whom are merchants."[61] Nevertheless, the *ahenfo* as a whole did not form a mercantile estate: their social conditions were not defined by commerce. Most of them were not *batafo* by profession.[62] They were not dependent on trading profits for their own reproduction and survival as a class. They had direct nonmarket access to the means of subsistence and the means of production; they owned the land, received revenues, and had access to slave and corvée labor. Thus within each *oman* the *ahenfo* were able to exercise control over the allocation of economic resources and social labor among the different branches of production.[63]

Through the political-administrative systems of the *aman* the *ahenfo* controlled the peasants' access to the land as well as their access to the urban markets where produce was sold.[64] The relationships of the *nkuraafo,* or peasantry, and the *ahenfo* to the land were different. The peasants possessed the land: they had traditional usufructory rights to it and paid rent in the form of money and labor for these rights. The *ahenfo,* on the other hand, owned the land: they controlled the conditions of possession and the social organization of agricultural production. Olfert Dapper wrote, albeit with a certain amount of exaggeration, that "the Kings here have much authority (*viel gezaghs*) and rule over their small provinces with complete power (*volkomen macht*)."[65] Class relations between the dominant political authorities and the peasantry were defined by the institution of state landed property and the system of economic surplus appropriation. Land rent, a nonmarket form of social wealth distribution, was the mechanism by which a surplus was extracted from free cultivators. It was also one of the basic forms of social subordination in the *aman.*

In addition, surplus was appropriated from other free producers—fishermen, salt makers, and craftsmen—through the revenue system.[66] Moreover, the *ahenfo*

were the principal slaveowners. Slavery represented another basic form of social subordination, and like the revenues extracted from free producers, it constituted a necessary condition for the *ahenfo*'s mode of existence. Apropos hegemonic ruling classes Marx wrote: "Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working-time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working-time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production."[67]

The appropriation of surplus wealth by a privileged class was rooted in the social distribution of property, that is, in the relations of ownership-nonownership which persons and groups had to the means of production.[68] The surplus extraction relationship and property relations formed two distinct aspects of the social relations of production. The structural connection between the two types of relationships was not determined by trade: the *ahenfo* did not receive their means of subsistence as commodities (exchange-values) circulated through the market, but rather as revenues (use-values) collected through the *oman* organization and as labor services (use-values) realized through the institution of slavery.[69] The ownership of property in labor (slaves), land, and other means of production ensured the *ahenfo* of direct access to their means of subsistence.

Under the conditions of expanded reproduction the system of surplus appropriation remained virtually unchanged: the quantitative developments of the forces of production did not alter fundamentally the prevalent forms of property relationships and the system of surplus appropriation. State landed property continued to exist, and peasants and other producers continued to pay their revenues. However, the expansion of the productive forces, involving important changes in the techniques and organization of work, led to greater productivity in the different branches of production and promoted the growth of market production. Increased labor productivity and the subsequent growth of social production as a whole affected the quantity and composition of the economic surplus.

The expansion of external trade was a concurrent phenomenon. A wide range of articles became available, resulting in the generation of new needs and consumption habits among the different social classes. The steady growth of international (and domestic) trade provided conditions for the conversion of the economic surplus from products with use-values to products with exchange-values. As the greatest holders of social wealth, the *afahene* were the merchants' and the European factors' most important customers. The expanding productive forces were interrelated and interactive with the system of surplus extraction and hence with the *ahenfo*'s means of subsistence.

The appropriation of land rent as cash was indicative of these connections. It was directly linked to peasant market production. Without this form of commodity production the conditions required for the realization of money rent would not have existed. Prior to the sixteenth century, when simple reproduction was the "normal" form of social reproduction in the region, land rent was

probably paid in kind and in labor. If labor rent can be said to have represented the *ahenfo*'s "economy," rent in kind represented that of the *nkuraafo*. The substitution of rent in kind for rent in cash denoted the adjustment of the social surplus appropriation system to the expansion of the peasants' "economy," an expansion generated by the growth of the forces of production. The adjustment led to a change in the composition of the land revenue. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the peasants' relationship to the market was defined by the conditions of simple commodity production and by the payment of money rent. The money rent constituted, therefore, a major element in town-village exchange: from the agricultural surplus that the *nkuraafo* transferred to the towns a portion had to be sold for gold simply to meet the cash rent demand. Among other things the money rent ensured that the towns were well supplied with provisions, since large quantities of gold were available only in the urban settlements.

The gold that the peasants obtained from the sale of their crops was produced in part by slaves. Agricultural production and gold production were, therefore, closely linked: the gold in circulation had to be sufficient to support peasant market production on a scale consonant with the revenue demands of the *ahenfo*. However, most peasants could not accumulate gold or trade goods by growing only cash or commercial crops. The levies exacted by the *oman* authorities were too variable and arbitrary.[70] The best a peasant household could do was to grow its own subsistence crops and to satisfy revenue demands. In the long run it could not accumulate or retain gold, thus it would appear that the systems of revenue appropriation of the *oman* organizations were designed to produce an abundance of foodstuffs but not an increasingly wealthy peasantry.[71]

The gold in circulation had to meet the needs of market production. As the main export from the region it also had to meet the demands of an expanding external trade. The *ahenfo*, together with the *abirempon*, were the principal beneficiaries of international trade, hence they had to have large amounts of gold at their disposal. The evidence indicates that many *ahenfo* were able to accumulate large gold holdings (hoards) in the form of dust, nuggets, jewelry, and artifacts.[72] The increasing acquisition of gold implies that the rates of surplus extraction had been raised.

Growing trade, the development of money as a means of payment, and the elaboration of the credit system necessitated the accumulation of money on a large scale in the form of hoards.

Under the conditions of expanding market production and exchange an increasingly wide range of commodities were made available to those who could afford to buy them. As their desire and need of consumption goods grew, the *afahene* were impelled to augment their incomes or means of subsistence, that is, to raise the level and increase the rate of surplus accumulation.[73] They did not promote the generalization of technological innovations in production through "capital" investment in the means of production to achieve this. Their incomes therefore were not raised as a result of the systematic development of

the productive forces, a development that would have led to increased labor output and hence a larger product from which a surplus could be extracted.[74]

The *afahene* developed the techniques of production quantitatively rather than qualitatively, that is, by raising absolute rather than relative surplus labor. Methods of absolute surplus labor entailed appropriating a larger surplus either by lowering the subsistence of the peasants and thereby increasing the *afahenes'* share of the gold that the peasants obtained from market sales, or by increasing the peasants' output by making them work harder or longer. Increased absolute surplus labor meant, in effect, an extension of the working day, an intensification of work, and a relative decrease in the standard of living of the peasantry.[75] It induced changes in the techniques of agricultural production through the adoption of intensive methods of cultivation; it provided the growing towns with regularly increasing amounts of produce and the *afahene* with steadily increasing amounts of gold. No doubt the large hoards of gold and other stores of accumulated wealth which the *afahene* held derived from incomes substantially increased by extending the methods of absolute surplus labor.[76] These methods were imposed on individual units of production (such as the peasant household); however, they were also imposed on large labor collectives.

Utilizing the existing techniques and social forms of production, the *afahene* increased the productive forces by mobilizing and concentrating a large labor force in particular enterprises: gold mining, corvée farming, land clearing, construction, and road building.[77] All of these enterprises, which had the character of public works, contributed to the general increase of social wealth and to the expansion of the *ahenfo*'s economic base. However, with the exception of land clearance and mining, where large aggregations of people were a permanent feature in production, the public works enterprises were temporary, not sustained, activities. Once the work was completed the labor force was disbanded. The mobilization and concentration of relatively large numbers of people for public work projects was a regular phenomenon in the *aman.* Such projects represented the transformation of an *oman*'s surplus labor and surplus product into buildings, roads, settlements, mines, and farm land.[78]

Through the administrative practice of revenue-sharing the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon* received allotted portions of the economic surplus. The redistribution of the surplus was realized through the *oman* organization; the political institutions of the state secured and regulated the extraction and allocation of land rent and other revenues. A substantial portion of the surplus was used in the purchase of commodities. Generally speaking, the *ahenfo* traded in order to acquire articles of consumption (use-values); they did not trade for profit. Their pattern of trade corresponded to the producers' commodity circuit (C-M-C′) and not to the circuit of the merchants (M-C-M′). Commercial exchange was, therefore, one important means by which the *ahenfo* obtained a wide range of imported use-values.[79] The growing demand for these imports was directly linked to increased surplus appropriation and the extension of the methods of absolute surplus labor.

The trade of the *ahenfo* was directed largely to the maintenance of their social and political positions. Imported commodities were used to support their households and extended families and their retinues of retainers and, at the same time, to attract new followers and clients. They were used to "endow" political offices that in turn became "agencies" of social wealth accumulation; they were displayed and distributed on various ceremonial occasions and were frequently presented as offerings at major religious shrines. The continuous redistribution of large quantities of imported merchandise required the *ahenfo* to engage in trade on a regular basis. The external trade was clearly not external to their way of life; it developed as an expression of the sociopolitical dominance of the *ahenfo* class in relation to needs structured by this domination. In this respect it reinforced the society's social division of labor.

If the redistributed economic surplus served the *ahenfo* as a means to acquire imported goods, it served the wealthy merchants, the *abirempon,* as a means to buy merchandise that could be sold at a profit. Revenue-sharing was another important source of wealth for the merchants; it provided a basis for the formation of trading capital. The growth of the *abirempon* class during the course of the seventeenth century meant that more persons were entitled to a share of the appropriated surplus. No doubt this was one of the factors that accounted for the increase of absolute surplus labor. While the surplus constituted the *ahenfo*'s principal means of subsistence, it served the *abirempon* as a potential source of capital that could be invested in commerce. This division of the surplus reflected the two distinct modes of wealth accumulation which prevailed in the *aman* during the seventeenth century. Money, however, was a precondition of systematic wealth accumulation.

GOLD WEIGHTS AND THE GOLD CURRENCY

Throughout the period gold (*sika*) served as the principal currency in many parts of the region.[80] As currency, or universal money, it fulfilled several functions: it was a means of payment, a circulation medium, a measure of the value of commodities, and a means of accumulation or hoarding. Gold did not circulate as coin, although gold *mithqal* (or *dinar*) coins minted in such Sudanic centers as Jenne and Timbuktu may have been in use in certain inland markets. Such coins did circulate in early-fifteenth-century Egypt.[81] Generally speaking, gold circulated in the form of dust or nuggets. Quantities of gold were measured by weight, and gold weights were the standard measure of prices.[82] An elaborate gold weight system was developed in order to serve the needs of increasing market production and commodity exchange.

Gold, however, was a commodity money; that is, the creation of gold as money depended on the production of gold as a commodity. The circulation of gold was therefore dependent on the output of the mining industry. The circulation of trade goods and other commodities was, in turn, dependent on the

circulation of gold. The currency system and trade were directly linked to production.

Generally speaking, every adult who had anything to do with trade had to have a set of gold weights and the appropriate accessories.[83] Thus traders who purchased wares aboard the ships or at the forts and factories usually paid for them according to gold weight, that is, the value of gold to be used in money transactions was assessed by a series of standard gold weights.[84] Merchants, customarily, used up to thirty or more weights in their dealings, but peasants and fishermen, whose monetary transactions were more modest, probably had no more than five.[85] Several seventeenth-century sources give the names of a number of gold weights which were in use in the coastal towns: de Marees, for example, mentions nine weights, and Barbot lists twenty-two.[86] The weights, which were different shapes, were known as *abo* (*ebo* in the singular); the balance (or scales) was called *nsenia.*[87] According to de Marees, the weights were made of wood and copper; later accounts, however, state that they were made of copper, lead, or brass.[88] The seventeenth-century Akan gold weights represent the fusion of four distinct weight values into a single weight standard. These values included the following: (1) the Islamic *mithqal* standard; (2) the Islamic *uqiya,* or ounce, standard; (3) the Portuguese ounce standard; and (4) the troy ounce standard.

The earliest Akan gold weights were based on the *mithqal* and the *uqiya* weight values of the Western Sudan, in particular those of Jenne and Timbuktu.[89] These values were introduced into the Gold Coast, probably between 1300 and 1400, by Malian Dyula merchants who were extending their commercial operations from the middle Niger valley southwards to the gold fields in the Black Volta basin and in the forest zone. Until the early eighteenth century their main trading center in the area was the township of Bighu. Throughout the period the *mithqal* and *uqiya* standards were current in the town; the value of gold used to purchase slaves and merchandise there was assessed on the basis of these weights.[90] It is very likely that Bighu was the center from which the *mithqal* and *uqiya* weight values were diffused throughout much of the country. In the 1470s traders at the coastal towns of Shama and the later Elmina (*aldea dos duas partes*) used gold weights of the *peredwan* series in their dealings with the European merchants; this series was based on the *mithqal* weight standard.[91] The Islamic weight standards formed the basis of the Akan gold weight system, and the series of weights derived from these standards remained the most important of all the weight series.

During the sixteenth century another series of weights based upon fractions and mulitples of the Portuguese ounce standard was created. This standard was introduced in the late fifteenth century. Portuguese factors valued all the merchandise which they sold on the coast in *peso* weight; this weight formed the basis for a new series of weight values.[92] By the 1550s *peso* gold weights were used concurrently with those of Islamic values. Of the nine gold weights mentioned by de Marees at the beginning of the seventeenth century five formed a

series derived from the *peso* weight, the remaining four were based on the *mithqal* standard and belonged to the *peredwan* series of gold weights.[93] These weights were used both on the coast and in the interior.

The troy ounce standard was introduced by the Dutch at the end of the sixteenth century; probably in the 1630s the English troy ounce standard, a little heavier than that of the Dutch, was introduced.[94] By the mid-seventeenth century a new series of gold weights based on the Dutch or English troy ounce standard were in existence, but it was not until after about 1680 that they began to replace the gold weights based on the *peso*. After about 1680 many of the *peso* series of gold weights fell into relative disuse, being replaced by new weights based on the troy ounce standard. Until the end of the nineteenth century, when the gold dust currency was replaced by British currency, the Islamic and troy ounce weights were the principal gold weights.

The discovery in recent years of hoards of buried gold weights in different parts of modern southern Ghana provides concrete evidence of the evolution of the gold weight system between the late sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. Certain hoards contain a mix of Islamic and Portuguese standards, and they are assumed to have been buried in the late sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century, before troy ounces were common.[95] A hoard from modern Assin Attandaso contains ten Islamic, eleven Portuguese, and three troy standard weights, while another, of unknown provenance, had six Islamic, ten Portuguese, and five troy weight values. Both hoards were buried, perhaps, between 1620 and 1650.[96] Other hoards contain a majority of Islamic-derived weights and a minority of weights, in nearly equal proportions, of Portuguese and troy ounce standards. These weights were probably buried between 1650 and 1700.[97] A hoard of seventy-seven gold weights, dug up in the village of Nyinahin in modern central Asante, included thirty-four of *mithqal* and *uqiya* standards, thirty-two of troy ounce standard, and eleven of Portuguese ounce standard. It may date from the period 1670 to 1720.[98] From near Akwatia a hoard of forty-six weights was found. These weights comprise a mixture of Islamic, Portuguese, and troy standards; the troy ounce weights were more numerous than the Portuguese. The collection may have been buried in 1732.[99] All of these early hoards presumably represent sets of gold weights which belonged to traders. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the traders generally had a set of thirty-nine gold weights; nineteen Islamic (eight *mithqal* and eleven *uqiya*), ten Portuguese, and ten troy values. Different weights were used in transactions depending on whether the merchant was buying or selling: when buying he used the heavier weights, when selling the lighter ones.[100]

The gold weights together with the appurtenances (that is, scales, spoons, scoops or shovels, small boxes or chests, all made of brass) were made by the *sika-atomfo* (in the singular, *sika-otomfo*), or goldsmiths. The weights were remarkably precise.[101] Each goldsmith had several sets of gold weights—each set containing a series of sixty weights—as well as European nestweights and coin weights.[102] Goldsmiths were to be found in all of the urban settlements; they

tended to live on a single street or in a particular quarter of a town. In each town they formed a guild or corporate association of smiths. Some goldsmiths were not independent artisans but were attached to the courts of rulers or to the households of other dignitaries.[103]

With the exapansion of trade new daily and weekly markets appeared in the towns, and fairs, which were held in specified localities once or twice a year, were established.[104] The demands of this growing commerce contributed to increased gold production and to the increased use of gold as money in the place of other currencies.[105] Greater numbers of gold weights had to be manufactured in order to meet the requirements of the new mercantile developments, and in consequence greater numbers of goldsmiths were necessary for the smooth functioning of the gold-based economies of the *aman.* The establishment of markets and fairs was directly related to the spatial and numerical expansion of the gold smith occupational group throughout much of the region.

In spite of its wide geographical dispersion, the gold weight system did not break up into a large number of localized systems linked to particular towns, localities, or *aman.* Weight standards remained the same from one part of the Gold Coast to the other—from Assini to Accra or from Elmina to Bighu—over a period of several centuries.[106] One of the functions of the professional merchants, whose activities allowed them to travel over considerable distances, was the maintenance of these standards.[107] In the coastal polities control over the maintenance of standard weight values appears to have been in the hands of functionaries who were town or state treasurers. Certainly the political authorities regulated the quality, or purity, of the gold that circulated in the areas of their jurisdiction. Persons guilty of trading with false, or bad, gold (*sika mu*)—gold that had been mixed with either base metals, such as brass, copper, tin, iron, or lead, or with silver or sand—had to pay a heavy fine in gold.[108] If the offense was continually repeated, the offender was enslaved.[109] As a rule, such penalties were not imposed on those who traded with the Europeans. In August, 1646, for example, the ruler of the Accra state prohibited all trade with the Dutch at Small Accra, because the Dutch factor there had severely reprimanded a trader for attempting to sell him false gold.[110]

Gold circulated as currency in several forms. It circulated as gold dust, which, Bosman remarked, "is almost as fine as flower, and is the best," and it circulated as nuggets or "Mountain-Gold." The nuggets were of different sizes: "Some being hardly the weight of a farthing, others weighing as heavy as twenty or thirty Guineas. . . . The Negroes indeed tell us, that in the country Pieces as heavy as one or two hundred Guineas, are found; . . . but the multitude of small stones which always adhere to 'em, occasion a great loss in the melting; for which reason Gold-Dust is most esteemed."[111] Both the gold dust and the nuggets were frequently falsified and counterfeited for sale at the various European establishments. Gold mixed with copper or silver also circulated in the form of small pieces known as *kakraa* ("caceras," "kakeraas," "gagara").[112] *Kakraa* gold pieces were regularly used as currency in the town markets. They

were a kind of "small change," and the market women, Bosman relates, "know the exact value of these bits so well at sight, that they never are mistaken; and accordingly they [sell] them to each other without weighing, as we do coined Money."[113] In spite of its alloyed quality *kakraa* gold was regularly received at the forts and factories. Should the factors refuse to accept it along with good gold, Bosman reported, the traders would "undeniably take back all their pure Gold."[114] Finally, unalloyed gold fashioned into jewelry of fairly large size was used by the wealthy in their monetary transactions. The different kinds of jewelry had their customary gold weight values. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this jewelry was sold, according to weight, to Portuguese factors in exchange for merchandise.[115] In the seventeenth century jewelry was seldom sold, but was rather used by the *batafo* and others as securities in their credit transactions with each other as well as at the European mercantile establishments.[116] All gold in circulation—whether it circulated as dust, nuggets, *kakraa*, or jewelry, and whether it was alloyed or unalloyed—passed through the workshops of the goldsmiths, since these artisans were ultimately responsible for maintaining the gold weight standards of the monetary system.

For purposes of trade the European factors established exchange or currency equivalencies between their respective currencies and weights and the Gold Coast weights. For the factors as well as for the *batafo* and others who traded at the *ntontofro* the goods offered for sale had their particular gold weight values. Similarly, the produce and wares vended at the markets and fairs and in the homes of landlord-brokers had their specified values. Several seventeenth-century sources provide lists of gold weights. The earliest known list is that of de Marees, who traded on the coast in 1601. He lists nine local weights and their European weight equivalents:

1 benda	= 2 ounces
1 benda affa (*benda fa*)	= ½ benda or 1 ounce
1 assuwa (*osuaa*)	= 2½ pesos
1 eggeba (*gwega* or *dwega*)	= 2 pesos or ½ ounce
1 sirou (*suru*)	= 1½ pesos
1 ensanno (*nsano*)	= 1 peso or 1 loot
1 quienta (*quinta*)	= ¾ peso
1 agiraque (*agyiratwe*)	= ½ peso or ½ loot
1 mediataba (*medio oitava*)	= ¼ peso

The first two and the last three gold weights were based on Portuguese ounce values, the remaining four on the *mithqal* standard.[117]

In addition to the Portuguese benda, a benda based on the *uqiya*, or Islamic ounce, was used at Small Accra and "Chinka"; the Islamic benda was lighter.[118] De Marees mentions two other weights, *kakraa* (*kakraven*) and *testoen*. *Kakraa* gold pieces weighed from ½ *aas* to 1 *aas* (.024 to .048 grams) and were the principal currency in most of the coastal markets. The Portuguese called it *deniere en pey*, or *dinheiro en peça*.[119] One *kakraa* was worth about ½ damba, and 1 *testoen* was valued at a little more than 12 dambas. It was known as *begue*

guave, following de Marees's transcription of the local name, and was the amount paid by inland traders for free passage to the coastal ports.[120]

Accounts at the forts and factories were kept in weights based on local and European weight standards. These weights (or units of account) were divided in the following manner:[121]

2 dambas	= 1 taku
12 takus	= 1 ackie
1 peso	= 4 ackies
16 ackies	= 1 ounce troy
1 benda	= 2 ounces troy
8 ounces troy	= 1 mark gold

Danish trading-company records covering the period from about 1660 to 1680 provide a fair amount of detail on the gold weights. One list, reportedly drawn up by two Danish factors, Christian Cornelissen and Johan Conraad, gives the following weights with the corresponding Danish weights and currency:[122]

1 metabta	= 1 angle
1 jamita	= 2 angles
1 sanna (*nsano*)	= 3 angles
1 seron	= 4 angles
1 exybkas	= 5 angles
1 ossorou	= 10 angles or 8 *reichsthaler*
1 ossuanon (*asuanon*)	= 1 ounce 4 angles or 16 *reichsthaler*
1 ossuchian (*asuaasa*)	= 1 small benda, or 1 ounce 14 angles or 24 *reichsthaler*
1 ta or peredwan	= 1 great benda, or 2 ounces 8 angles or 32 *reichsthaler*

Possibly all of these gold weights, with the exception of the first two, were based on Islamic weight values; the *metaba* and *jamita* weights were very likely derived from the Portuguese *peso* weight standard. All of these different gold weights were in use throughout much of the region in the seventeenth century.

At the Danish fort of Fredriksborg an inventory of the gold on hand was drawn up on January 23, 1674. It indicates the different forms of gold received by the factors and gives the value of the gold according to the troy ounce standard. A summary of the inventory appears in table 5.1. The gold dust would have been sold to the factors according to weight. The wire, neckrings, "fetities," and so on were probably unclaimed pawns. Their monetary value was also determined by weight.

The gold weights listed in table 5.2 represent those that were commonly used by the *abirempon* and the *ahenfo* in their various monetary transactions, whether in commercial or other affairs. The majority of these weights, however, were not used by the commoners, the *anihumanifo* or *adofo.* The gold that came into the hands of the lower class was measured in terms of *kokon, esa, kakraas,* dambas, and takus, that is, the smallest gold currency denominations, and not in terms of

Table 5.1 Gold Inventory, Fredriksborg, January 23, 1674

Form of Gold	*Marks*	*Ounces*	*Angles*
Ten sacks of gold dust, each with 20 marks troy weight	200	0	0
Gold dust found in miscellaneous bags, together weighing	17	1	2
Kakara (*cacras*) gold found in miscellaneous bags, together weighing	1	5	4
Three gold neckrings, together weighing	2	3	8
Drawn gold wire weighing	1	4	1
All kinds of *fetisies* (*or fetities*) and loose *kakara* gold, weighing	1	1	12
"Worked" (gemaeckt) gold: hatbands, buttons, knobs, *fetisies*, etc.	13	6	2
TOTAL:	237	5	13

SOURCE: Rigsarkivet, Vest Indisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Inventarium der naargelatene goederen van de salig Heer Bartholomeus van Groenenstein, dd. Fredriksborg, Jan. 23, 1674.

nsano, suru, dweba, or other large-weight units. The fact that the economies of the *aman* were monetized meant that virtually all sections of the population were engaged in monetary transactions of one sort or another, transactions that required the use of gold weights. The scale of involvement in such transactions differed between social classes. The concentration of sizeable quantities of gold and other forms of social wealth in the ranks of the upper class meant that this class dominated the commercial sectors of *oman* economies. Members of the upper class were largely responsible for the distribution of the heavier gold weights, which served them in their trade at the *ntontofro* on the coast and at the *nkramofokrom* to the north of the forest.

Gold weights were the products of the *sika-atomfo*'s workshops; gold was the product of unfree (and free) workers employed in the gold fields. In view of the importance of gold as a currency and as the principal export of the region the gold-mining industry was a key sector in the regional economy. The expansion and development of this industry was, therefore, crucial.

GOLD PRODUCTION AND GOLD EXPORTS

Until the early eighteenth century gold was the main export of the Gold Coast. Gold was exported to Europe and to various West African markets such as the Ardra kingdom, the Kwakwa coast, and, via the Dyula (or Wangara) trading networks, to the Muslim commercial centers of the western and central Sudan. During a period of expanding external trade a steady increase in gold production was essential. The output of the gold-mining industry had to meet the growing demands of international markets. Thus in 1618 a Portuguese factor reported that the quantity of gold sold annually at the ports was three times the

Table 5.2 Seventeenth-Century Gold Weights

Gold Weights	*Danish Equivalent*	*Dutch Equivalent*	*English Equivalent*
Kakraa	2–8 skilling	1 stuiver	1–3 farthings
Damba	1½ stuber	1½ stuiver	2½ d.
Taku	½ mark or 2½ stuber	2½ stuiver	4 d.
Asse	10 skilling or	7½–10 stuiver	1 sh. 3 d.
Kobon	10 stuber or 1½ marks		
Essurbima	1 rigsdaler or	1 guilder	2 sh. 6 d.
Kokon	20 stuber		
Metaba (or metabta or medratabba)	2 rigsdaler	2 guilders	5 sh.
Eggrauque Hierowqui Emsayo Jamita	4 rigsdaler	4 guilders	8–10 sh.
Sanna (or Ensanne) Sirow	6 rigsdaler	6 guilders	11–12 sh.
Egwasurre Exybkas	8 rigsdaler	8 guilders	14–16 sh.
Perresurre Eggiwa Assuwa (or Osserou)	10 rigsdaler	10 guilders	17–20 sh.
Asjan	12 rigsdaler	12 guilders	20–24 sh.
Egguba	16 rigsdaler	16 guilders	26–32 sh.
Osschiwa Ossuanon	20 rigsdaler	20 guilders	£1 12 sh.
Egguba abien Benda afan	32 rigsdaler	32 guilders	£3 12 sh.
Osuachian (or Ossuarchian)	40 rigsdaler	40 guilders	£4 12 sh.
Eggwa abiessan	48 rigsdaler	48 guilders	£5 4 sh.
Benda	64 rigsdaler	64 guilders	£7 4 sh.
Benda ta (or peredwan)	80 rigsdaler	80 guilders	£9 4 sh.
Benda abien	128 rigsdaler	128 guilders	£14 8 sh.
Benda abiessan	192 rigsdaler	192 guilders	£21 12 sh.
Benda anan	256 rigsdaler	256 guilders	£28 16 sh.
Benda aoqui	512 rigsdaler	512 guilders	£57 12 sh.

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 8, 1659; Rigsarkivet Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagnie. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680: Munt in Guinea, n.d.; Rigsarkivet, Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagnie. Dokumenter vedk. skibsekspeditioner til Vestindien og Guinea I, 1671–81: Erklärung des Guineische Gewigten, dd. 1680; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), chap. 11; John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 234.

NOTE: All equivalencies are approximate.

yearly amount that these ports had received in the later sixteenth century.[123] By the second half of the seventeenth century the quantity of gold sold yearly at the European trading establishments exceeded the 1618 amount by a factor of four. The auriferous districts of the Tano basin represent one example of increased production in the gold-mining industry. In 1645 Dutch factors purchased a total of nearly 49,000 dambas' worth of gold at the ports of Assini and Abine, the main maritime outlets of the Tano gold fields. However, by 1679 these ports could export over 120,000 dambas in gold in only two weeks.[124] Other coastal towns registered similar increases during this period. In addition, the gold trade to Bighu and other commercial centers situated north of the forest also expanded. This commerce was no less important economically than the gold trade at the European trading establishments.[125]

Under the conditions of an expanding external trade the gold-mining industry of the forest zone developed considerably. Prospecting was systematically carried out, and newly discovered reefs were quickly brought into production. In 1572 the captain-general of São Jorge da Mina refers briefly to this activity: "There is a lot of gold in this land. Almost everywhere the blacks have set out to locate it they find it."[126] Increasing exploitation of gold-bearing lodes required the large-scale investment of labor in the extractive industry: land had to be cleared, and mine shafts, pits, and open-cut trenches had to be dug.

The external demand was not the sole factor behind the growth of gold production and the technical and organizational development of the mining industry. Increased commodity production and exchange, both associated with developments in the division of labor, led to the monetization of the economy and hence to a greater demand among the population for more means of exchange. A relationship of correspondence existed between the circulation of money and the circulation of commodities (merchandise, produce, craft products, and the like). The increasing circulation of exchange values necessarily meant an increasing circulation of the means of exchange. It was within this context that a currency based on a system of standard gold weights evolved. The mining industry had to meet the needs of an expanding economy as well as the demands of a growing foreign trade.

Exact data on annual gold production for the period between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries are lacking. However, a geological report of 1935 estimated that between 1471 and 1750 Gold Coast mines exported a total of 11,900,000 ounces.[127] The yearly export would have been about 46,200 ounces, or, converted to dambas, around 17,740,800 dambas. It exceeds the known Portuguese annual gold purchases for the period from the 1480s to the 1590s. These purchases ranged in value from a high of about 10 million dambas (1502) to a low of about 650,000 (1588).[128] The average value of yearly purchases fell between 2 and 4 million dambas.

Dyula merchants from the Niger valley commercial centers conducted a considerable trade at Bighu, Baya, and other large towns located in the Black and White Volta basins. Their annual gold purchases exceeded those of the Portu-

guese. One account, dating from the early sixteenth century, relates that once a year Dyula ("ungaro") merchant caravans conveyed Saharan salt from Jenne to the "gold-producing pits" in order to exchange this salt for gold. The trade of the wealthiest Dyula merchants, the account continues, amounted in value to 2 or 3 million dambas (60,000 *mithqals*) per annum.[129] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the total yearly value of Dyula gold purchases at such towns as Bighu probably exceeded 10 million dambas. The combined value of Portuguese and Muslim Dyula yearly gold purchases very likely averaged between 16 and 20 million dambas in value.[130] These purchases would have approximated the 1935 estimate of per annum gold exports from the Gold Coast.

During the seventeenth century annual gold exports from the coastal ports were substantially higher than late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century exports. Estimates of annual Dutch exports range from 11 million to 19 million dambas in gold.[131] From the 1620s to the 1660s Dutch gold exports averaged between 6 and 8 million dambas in value a year.[132] According to various contemporary estimates combined European gold exports in the 1680s and the 1690s ranged between 21 and 47 million dambas in value annually.[133] In 1688 a French trader, du Casse, gave estimates of the yearly gold exports from the principal Gold Coast ports. The ports and the value of their exports (in dambas) are listed below:[134]

Three Assini ports	4,070,400–4,608,808
Cape Apollonia (Ajomoro)	460,800
Axim	921,600
Little Enkassa (Cape Three Points)	921,600
Butri	460,800
Takoradi	460,800
Sekondi	1,536,000–1,843,200
Shama	1,075,200
Little Komenda	3,072,000–4,070,400
Elmina	3,072,000–7,680,000
Cape Coast	2,457,600
Amanfro	921,600
Mouri	921,600
Anomabo	614,400
Egya	307,200
Kormantse	1,075,200
Senya Bereku	307,200
Three Accra ports	4,608,000

Unfortunately there is no information on the annual value of gold exports to the Ardra and Kwakwa coasts during the seventeenth century or on the amount of gold received yearly by the commercial centers located in the forest hinterland. In view of the heavy canoe traffic between the Gold Coast ports and the Ardra and Kwakwa ports, and the considerable caravan trade conducted at

Bighu and other urban centers in the Black Volta basin, annual gold exports to these places probably exceeded 15 million dambas in value.[135] The 1935 estimate of the average value of annual gold exports as between 17 and 18 million dambas does not apply to the seventeenth century.

While precise information is lacking, it is likely that within the region itself the yearly value of gold in circulation during the seventeenth century exceeded 100 million dambas.[136] In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries 50 to 75 million dambas' worth of gold may have been in circulation in a given year. To meet both foreign and domestic demands the mining industry had to produce many millions of dambas of gold per annum.

According to various sources of late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century date, the daily earning of a goldminer ranged between 48 and 72 dambas; however, a particularly rich lode could yield up to 1,152 dambas in a single day.[137] In contrast, a person engaged in washing beach sands and gravels along the coast did well if he or she earned 3 dambas in gold a day.[138] Thus the 500 slaves who were employed in washing the beach sands around Mouri in 1618 could produce an estimated total of 1,500 dambas' worth of gold after a day's work.[139] Over a 200-day work period they could have conceivably produced a total of 300,000 dambas in gold. The same number of slaves employed in one of the inland auriferous districts could earn between 24,000 and 36,000 dambas' worth of gold in one day.[140] In 200 days they could produce between 4 million and 8 million dambas in gold. This production would have been equivalent to annual Portuguese gold exports in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The total gold production of 5,000 miners employed over a 200-day work period would have ranged between 40 and 80 million dambas in value. It would have exceeded the total amount of gold which the European traders and factors exported every year in the late seventeenth century.

The expansion of gold production required that mine-owners have regular access to a large and disposable labor supply. It also required other conditions: accumulation in the means of production (like new mines and greater quantities of tools) and the development of the productive forces (like the employment of new mining techniques and the adoption of new tools and new modes of organizing the labor force). The availability of mining tools on an ever-increasing scale depended on developments in craft production. One aspect of this development involved the concentration of craft industries in and around the towns. The separation of craft production and agricultural production led to the urbanization of craft industries. This process was already well established in certain parts of the country in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Miners and craftsmen were not engaged in food crop production. Feeding them, as well as other segments of a growing nonfarming population, made it necessary to expand agricultural production. This process was carried out by systematically increasing the area of land under cultivation ("surface in production") and thereby making more arable available for use. Agricultural output was a function of the amount of land in production. Cultivable land was made

available as a result of large-scale forest clearance in and around the gold-producing districts.[141] Both labor and tools, or instruments of production, were needed for land clearance and farming. The land put into production was a function of the accessible and disposable supply of labor on the one hand and of the accumulation of farming implements on the other. The growing demand for tools was met by urban-based craft specialists; the growing demand for labor was met by the employment of slaves.

In the fifteenth century slavery emerged as the principal form of social labor in such labor-intensive activities as gold mining and forest clearance. The use of slaves in land-clearing operations allowed the peasant population to concentrate largely on food crop cultivation. Expanded reproduction in gold and agricultural production was based, therefore, on the extensive use of unfree labor. The introduction of large numbers of slaves into the working or laboring population promoted economic growth in the extractive industry. When increasing numbers of laborers were employed in this industry "the real working day was simultaneously multiplied instead of only lengthened."[142] Thus if 1 slave was added to a work force of goldminers, the labor of the work force was increased by 1 working day. If 500 slaves were added, the labor of the work force was increased by an additional 500 working days. This process—"the multiplication of simultaneous working days"—was dependent on the use of slaves rather than on the labor services of free commoners. The demand for labor in the major gold-producing districts provided the basis for the importation of slaves in the region between the fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries.

SLAVE IMPORTS INTO THE GOLD COAST

In the 1470s Portuguese traders were actively involved in transporting slaves from different parts of West Africa to the main Gold Coast ports. Eustache de la Fosse, who traded at Shama and Elmina ("Laldee duos partz") in December, 1479, reported that two Portuguese caravels purchased a total of 400 slaves in the "Slave rivers" ("rieu des Esclaves"). The slaves were sold at the two ports for substantial sums of gold. He related further that he and other traders aboard his ship bought women and children on the Grain ("Manighette") coast and resold them at Shama and Elmina at the rate of between 2,160 and 3,120 dambas each.[143] The merchants who bought the slaves came from the interior of the country and were known as *berrenbucs,* according to de la Fosse. *Berrenbucs* no doubt, was a transcription of *abirempon.*[144]

Between 1485 and 1540 Portuguese slave imports into the Gold Coast ranged between 150 and 700 slaves a year. From 1475 to 1540 more than 12,000 slaves were imported.[145] Most of the slaves were bought by the gold merchants who traded at São Jorge de Mina. The merchants included the Enkassa ("Cacres") and the Ahanta ("Andeses" or "Souzos") from coastal and subcoastal towns west of the Pra River, the Abrem ("Bremus") and the Etsi ("Atis") from south-

ern forest towns, the Tafo ("Borees") from the upper Birim valley, the Akani ("Hacanys") from the Pra-Ofin basin, and the Malian Dyula ("Mandinguas") from commercial centers lying north of the forest.[146] The price of a slave ranged from about 672 dambas in gold to about 2,304 dambas during the first half of the sixteenth century. Around 1530 proceeds from slave sales at São Jorge and the Axim fort of São Antonio represented 15 percent of the total trade of the two stations.[147]

After 1540 Portuguese slave imports declined considerably. Slaves continued to be brought to Elmina, but only in small numbers and on an irregular schedule. Probably fewer than 100 slaves a year were imported.[148] Occasionally there were larger consignments. In 1622 a Portuguese vessel en route from São Tome to Elmina was seized by a Dutch ship anchored off Kormantse. It had a cargo of 150 slaves.[149] No doubt these slaves were destined for sale at São Jorge and Axim.

The Portuguese factors represented one source of slaves. The Dyula (or Wangara) traders represented another. Early-sixteenth-century sources indicate that they sold slaves as well as textiles and other goods to merchants and *ahenfo* of the coastal and forest towns in exchange for gold.[150] Unfortunately there is no information on the number of slaves they sold annually; however, the evidence suggests that the Dyula were closely associated with Malian cavalry units that were frequently engaged in raiding the rural farming settlements situated in districts north of the forest.[151] Over a period of two centuries or more several districts between the Black and White Volta rivers were depopulated as a result of the marauding activities of these horsemen. Thousands of captives were transported southwards, and after a series of market transactions many slaves eventually found themselves employed as inter alia laborers in the gold-mining areas. Twifo traders were apparently among those who bought these slaves. A 1659 Dutch report relates that Twifo caravans traveled to "the innermost parts of Guinea" in order to trade.[152] The presence of "Donko" slaves in the seventeenth-century Twifo capital is attested by archaeological evidence; the slaves originated in the savanna districts to the north of the forest, and were apparently purchased by Twifo traders.[153]

Slaves entered the Gold Coast ports in appreciable numbers from coastal lands to the west. In 1548, for example, a Portuguese report relates that it was customary for Elmina dignitaries to employ slaves they had bought on the Grain Coast ("Costa da Malagueta") in various tasks. No reference occurs to the sale of Grain Coast slaves to inland merchants; however, in view of the high demand for slaves the likelihood exists that Elmina merchants and *ahenfo* conducted an active slave trade with the inland towns.[154] The trade in slaves between Elmina and the Grain Coast probably continued until the end of the century.

Like Elmina, Axim was an important slave market. A Portuguese report of 1572 refers to Kwakwa traders (the *Olandes*) who sold slaves and a variety of trade goods (textiles, ivory, alligator or lizard skins, and dogs) to Axim merchants in exchange for aggrey beads, manillas, and other merchandise.[155] The

report provides no information on the number of slaves sold; however, it does state that the *Olandes*-Axim trade was fairly substantial and that it was conducted on a regular basis. The sale of slaves at Axim continued until at least the middle of the seventeenth century.[156]

The port of Winneba was a major slave market in the early seventeenth century. In 1601 de Marees noted that only women were sold at this market and that they were bought by traders from neighboring towns and districts.[157] He gives the impression that the market was a large one, but says nothing about the number of slaves sold. An account dating from June, 1660, estimated that between fifteen and twenty slaves (men, women, and children) were sold monthly at Winneba; hence between 180 and 240 slaves could be purchased annually in the town.[158] The buyers of these slaves, the account continues, included traders from Kormantse, Elmina, and Little Komenda, as well as the English factors at the Winneba fort. Irrespective of age or sex the slaves were sold at the rate of 768 dambas (or 1 benda) each, payment being made in gold or trade goods.[159] Unfortunately, nothing was said about the slaves' places of origin.

Great Accra, the capital of the Accra polity, was also a market for slaves. In 1660 a Dutch factor remarked that canoes heavily ladened with merchandise arrived daily at the port of Small Accra "from Cormentijn and other places" in order to trade in gold, slaves, and other commodities.[160] The trade in slaves was conducted at Great Accra or Abonse. Some of these slaves were purchased at Little Popo, probably by Great Accra merchants who traded there. The slaves were sold to traders from Kormantse, Mouri, and other windward ports, probably at the rate of 768 dambas each. Around the middle of the century about 300 slaves a year were sold at Great Accra.[161]

Throughout much of the century various Slave Coast towns served as a source of slaves for the Gold Coast labor "market." A Dutch report of 1659 refers to Gold Coast merchants who conducted an important and profitable trade at Lay ("Ley"), Afraa, Great and Little Popo, and along the Ardra coast.[162] Aggrey beads and textiles were among the main purchases of these traders; however, slaves were also bought. Thus in the 1660s, for example, many of the *afahene* of the Afutu *oman* owned Ardra slaves.[163] Most of these slaves were bought from merchants who traded in Popo and Ardra towns. The remainder were obtained from Danish factors.[164] Gold was the principal export to the Slave Coast. On occasion factors of the Dutch company also sold slaves to Gold Coast traders. At a council meeting held at the Elmina Castle in October, 1656, they resolved to sell 104 slaves purchased in the Bight of Benin and along the Angola coast to traders in the Gold Coast ports.[165]

The traffic in slaves between the Gold and Slave coasts continued to flourish during the latter part of the century. In the 1680s Anomabo traders sold slaves to Akani merchant-brokers (at the rate of 720 dambas in gold for an adult male).[166] Nothing was said about the origins of these slaves. However, the likelihood exists that they were bought at Popo, Whydah, and the Ardra ports. At Whydah, for example, there were resident brokers of Cape Coast, Elmina,

and Kormantse origin.[167] They had evidently settled there as correspondents of Gold Coast-based traders. The brokers probably frequented the weekly Aplogoa market, where slaves (men, women, and children) were publicly sold. According to report the market was attended by 5,000 or 6,000 persons.[168] No doubt the Whydah-based Gold Coast brokers were among them.

During the second half of the seventeenth century slave prices were substantially lower than those in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Danish and English trading-company records for the period from 1660 to 1690 indicate that prices ranged from 480 dambas in gold for a boy to 768 dambas for both adults and children.[169] At these rates only wealthy individuals could afford to purchase a slave, since the annual earnings of many commoners in the coastal towns did not exceed 500 dambas in gold.[170]

Prior to 1550 an adult male slave, producing 48 dambas in gold a day, could reproduce his own market "price" in one and half months, and during the course of a year he could produce enough gold to buy four or five adult male slaves. By the seventeenth century an adult male slave, producing the same daily amount, could reproduce his own market "price" in less than a month, and within a year his production would have been sufficient to buy at least sixteen adult males. The monetary or mercantile rate of reproduction of slaves was greater than the natural demographic growth of the slave mining population. This situation would have allowed for the continued expansion of the slave trade.[171] At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a great demand for slaves among the *ahenfo,* who, in fact, were prepared to buy them from the Dutch.[172] In the 1690s slaves purchased at, for example, Anomabu and Tantumkwerri were being "taken up into the country" to be resold, and in the 1730s Akyem was still importing slaves.[173]

The acquisition of slaves and the reproduction of the system of slavery were not linked to militarized political formations engaged in territorial expansion. On the contrary, they were linked to commerce, merchants, and to the formation and growth of merchant capital. The continued demand for slaves was rooted in the *afahene*'s concomitant needs for personal servants and attendants and a disposable productive labor force.

In the absence of suitable data it is not possible to offer a precise quantitative assessment of the volume of slave imports into the coastal and forest districts. Undoubtedly slave imports fluctuated considerably from one year to the next. However, if the number of slaves brought into the ports yearly ranged between 200 and 400, then 40,000 to 80,000 slaves entered the region via the coastal towns. If Dyula traders sold comparable numbers at inland commercial centers during the same period, it would mean that the different *aman* absorbed between 80,000 and 160,000 slaves. Little is known about the ultimate destinations and the territorial distribution of imported slaves. However, the mining districts of the Pra-Ofin basin were the leading gold producers throughout the period, hence it may be assumed that the majority of the slaves were taken to these territories. Other important mining districts–Tafo in the upper Birim valley, Wassa

in the upper Ankobra valley, and Aowin in the lower Tano valley—very likely received an important share of the slave imports. Minor gold-producing places, such as the Afutu and Eguafo *aman* and the lower Ankobra valley polities of Ankobra and Abokro, probably employed comparatively few slaves. They would have relied more on the labor of free goldminers and, possibly, on peasant corvée labor. Unfortunately there is no information on the total number of slaves employed in the gold-mining industry. During the seventeenth century it is doubtful if servile miners amounted to less than 10,000, given the dometic and international demand for gold and the prevailing techniques of gold production. If each slave produced an average of 60 dambas' worth of gold a day, a labor force of 10,000 could produce 120,000,000 dambas during a work period of 200 days. Whatever the actual production figures, it is evident that the contribution of unfree labor to the development of the gold-producing industry was substantial. By the amount of labor it employed the extractive industry was probably the chief form of nonagricultural production in the region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

THE ORGANIZATION OF GOLD PRODUCTION

The development of the gold extractive industry predates the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. From this period onwards increasing quantities of gold (and kola nuts) were exported northwards to Jenne and other Niger valley cities as well as to the trading centers of Hausaland and Bornu.[174] A significant portion of this gold was transported across the Sahara to North Africa and the Middle East.[175] The regional economy was thus linked to international trading circuits by at least the early fourteenth century.

One of the earliest descriptions of labor organization and mining techniques in the auriferous districts in the central forest zone is provided by Valentim Fernandes, whose account refers to the last decade of the fifteenth century. He writes: "The mines of gold number seven. They are divided among seven kings each of whom has one. The mines are driven very deeply into the ground. The kings have slaves whom they put in the mines and to whom they give wives, and these the slaves take with them; and they bear and rear children in these mines. The kings, also, furnish them with food and drink."[176] The gold was sold to Muslim merchants in exchange for slaves, Saharan salt, metalware, and various other trade goods.[177]

Additional information on the organization and structure of gold production is to be found in a Portuguese report of 1572. Addressing itself to the feasibility of Portuguese settlements in the region, the report explains how colonists should organize the exploitation of gold-bearing reefs once they settled there:

> Once you find mines you should make a fortress (*fortaleza*) there or a house capable of housing whites and for the blacks make a stockade (*cerca*) of large timbers called *rochoada* near which and near the house they can put up

> cottages where the blacks who will work [in the mines] will live. In addition to the blacks who will dig in the mines you should also have blacks who will clear the land around them, and sow *milhos,* and yams, and draw palm wine, *caroucos*[?], and anything else to sustain themselves, and, also, to provide sustenance for the miners. You should also have blacks to rear cattle for the whites.[178]

The proposed methods for organizing gold production, food crop production, and cattle-rearing evidently followed local practices. Specifically, these methods were based on the existing systems of material production which were to be found in the gold-producing coastal polities of Afutu and Eguafo and in different inland *aman* (Tafo, "Aboros," "Elephante Grande," Egwira, "Agri," and Abokro), all of which were well known to the Portuguese factors.

Both accounts indicate that the structure of gold production had several distinctive features, which can be summarized as follows:

1. a central political administration as represented by the "kings" who lived in fortified settlements and who extracted surplus from free and unfree producers;
2. a labor force of unfree gold producers who were settled in their own stockaded villages or hamlets;[179]
3. a labor force of free and/or unfree land clearers, cultivators, and cattle rearers who had their own (possibly unfortified) settlements; and
4. a developed mining technology as represented by deep pits or underground excavations.[180]

In addition, artisans were closely associated with gold production. They supplied the laboring force with tools and other necessities.[181] Free gold producers received their tools via local marketing networks or directly from craftsmen's workshops.[182] Slave producers probably obtained their tools from the "kings," who appropriated part of the artisans' production in the form of a craft tax or who depended on the production of craftsmen in their personal service.[183] Finally, merchants obtained gold from the "kings" and their agents in exchange for slaves and a wide range of imported and locally produced commodities. The structure of the extractive industry was based on tributary and slaveowning relations of production as well as on widespread market production and the circulation of merchant capital.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century large-scale mining operations did not depend solely on slave labor. Free petty commodity producers, who possessed their own instruments of production, had become an important complement to unfree labor in the extractive industry. In 1601 de Marees learned from local merchants that in certain gold-producing territories the mine workers (*arbeyders*) kept one-half of their daily winnings, which he termed *dach-huyr,* or "wages," and the remaining one-half was "for the profit of the King or owner (*eyghenaer*) of the mines."[184] However, the miners did not receive wages from the king, who, in fact, was not a buyer of labor power, but rather the king re-

ceived a tax from the miners. This tax was comparable to the peasants' land tax (rent) and the fishermen's fish tax. It was another form of surplus appropriation based on tributary relations of production. According to de Marees, the tax on gold production amounted, on average, to 24 or 36 dambas per worker per day. It was a source of income for the ruler of the state and, through revenue-sharing, the higher-ranking *afahene.* It was transformed into merchant capital, hoards, personal ornaments, retainers, and the like. The miners' "wages" were transformed into basic means of subsistence: shelter, household furnishings, provisions, cloths, and so on.

Free gold producers apparently formed their own distinct settlements of full-time or professional miners. Such specialized settlements were comparable to the villages of craftsmen which developed around the urban centers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Communities of full-time miners possessing their own instruments of production were well established in early-seventeenth-century Wassa where, according to one report, many of the inhabitants devoted themselves exclusively to gold production. They were dependent on neighboring farming districts for their provisions.[185] The development of large-scale gold production in Wassa was one factor that promoted farming in the middle and upper parts of the Ankobra valley.[186] Both phenomena were rooted in the spatial extension of the division of social labor and increasing territorial specialization of production. Settlements of free mining families were to be found in other *aman* as well. De Bellefond indicates their presence in the upper Birim polity of Tafo, and other references imply their existence in Adom, Afutu, Eguafo, Axim, Abokro, Ankobra, and Egwira.[187] Gold production in these places was also associated with commercialized food crop production.[188]

While it is likely that free mining families engaged in a certain amount of farming, they were largely dependent on the marketed surplus of peasant family household production for their provisions. Gold production seems to have been virtually a year-round pursuit.[189] Slave mining families did not depend on local markets for their subsistence. It would appear that in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries they depended on the redistribution of produce extracted from the peasantry in the auriferous districts as rent, and, after about 1550, on the surplus appropriated from slave cultivators.[190]

While many gold fields were state property in the sense that they were attached to one or another political office, others were apparently in the hands of individual proprietors. De Bellefond, for example, reported that in the Akyem and Afutu *aman* any person who discovered auriferous lodes and then proceeded to work them was obliged to pay the ruler of the state one-half of the daily winnings.[191] Evidently this payment represented a tax on gold production. The remaining one-half was kept by the proprietor of the mine or mines. The private owners of gold fields were, in effect, mining concessionaires, that is, individuals to whom an *ohene kese,* or king, granted prospecting and proprietary rights over particular tracts of land.[192] Most concessionaires would have been *abirempon* rather than peasants, hunters, charcoal burners, fishermen, or black-

smiths. The *abirempon* had the requisite resources to employ a large labor force of slaves, pawns, and clients; hence they would have been able to engage in gold production on a significant commercial scale. The emergence of mining concessionaires among the *abirempon* very likely occurred during the sixteenth century and was probably linked to the formation of the *mmusua-kese* and to the establishment and consolidation of patrimonial domains in the gold-producing districts.

In his description of mining techniques in the Akyem *oman* Rømer relates that a mine (or pit) which was 20 to 30 feet deep required a minimum work force of 40 persons and that one from 70 to 100 feet in depth could have a work force of 100 or more persons. The team that worked a mine or pit was divided into four groups: diggers or miners; fillers; carriers; and crushers and washers.[193] Each team had its overseer.[194] Both free and unfree producers employed the same mining techniques and were similarly organized.

Although the precise number of persons employed in gold production is not known, it is likely that the extractive industry employed the largest number of people outside of agriculture. In view of the heavy concentration of old workings in particular auriferous localities it would appear that in these places many hundreds, or even thousands, of people were directly engaged in gold production.[195] A single miner took perhaps 15 to 20 working days to dig a pit to a depth of sixty to seventy feet.[196] Certain gold fields had more than 100 pits per acre; one miner would have needed 1,500 to 3,000 working days to excavate 100 pits. There is no evidence that the extractive industry experienced a continuous and uninterrupted development of the productive forces. Expanding gold production did not depend therefore on a regular series of technological innovations, and hence a regular increase in the rate of a miner's daily productivity. However, the growth in overseas gold exports and the commercialization and monetization of the regional economy indicate that production in the auriferous territories increased substantially over time to meet rising demands.

Higher levels of production were achieved through the greater quantitative application of labor in the production process, or, in other words, through the "multiplication of simultaneous working days."[197] If one gold producer represented a single working day of, say, 8 hours, a team of forty would have represented a working day of 320 hours (or 40 working days) and ten teams of forty 3,200 hours (or 400 working days). Thus a single working day, regarded spatially, became many working days alongside one another when the number of persons (whether slave or free) involved in the production process was increased.[198] Although the available data are lacking, it can be assumed that, at least in the main gold fields, the single working day was multiplied by a factor of ten or more through the expansion of the laboring force, an expansion that was manifested both by slave imports into the region and by the emergence of settlements of free mining families. Expanding reproduction in the extractive industry required regular inputs of labor. A shortage of labor in the eighteenth century inevitably led to the decline of the industry.[199]

The development of this industry between 1400 and 1700 was closely linked to the development of the consumption habits of the *afahene.* Socially determined consumption requirements and the perpetual need to adjust the level of income to rates of consumption were the primary determinants that drew the *afahene* into trade. Participation in trade presupposed possession of gold and possession of gold presupposed access to sources of revenue and the means of surplus extraction. For the *afahene* commercial activities and the acquisition and accumulation of the means of subsistence were not separate, opposed aspects of their social practice as a class.[200] With vast holdings of gold at their disposal the *abirempon* and the *aheńfo* could promote internal and external trade in a big way.

6

TRADE AT THE PORTS
The Afahene *and Its Commercial Operations*

THE RECORDS of the European chartered companies indicate that the trade conducted at the different coastal towns was both regular and intense. A wide range of commodities was bought and sold for ready cash (gold), or else goods were advanced against future payment. Credit transactions played an important role in the commercial life of the ports. The ports were involved in several distinct but connected trading circuits: (1) the overseas trade, (2) the coasting trade, (3) the Sudanic trade, and (4) the local and intraregional overland trade. Throughout the period commercial activity at the ports expanded.

The external and intra-regional trade was dominated by the *afahene*—brokers, merchants, political authorities, and the like. These persons had the necessary wealth to engage in trade on a large scale. In contrast, many of the *adofo*, or commoners, lacked the economic resources that would have allowed them to participate in the import-export trade in a big way. Moreover, until the second half of the seventeenth century non*afahene* were prevented by law from engaging in trade with the Europeans. The social basis of the external trade was conditioned by the class structure of production, for large-scale trade was dependent on access to the economic surplus of free and unfree producers. The class structure of production was rooted in a socioeconomic system based on tributary and slaveowning social relations. The trading-company records not only provide detailed information on the commercial transactions of the *afahene*, they also throw light on particular aspects of the social basis of trade.

THE IMPORT TRADE OF THE PORTS

International trade constituted a significant sector of the region's economy. Until the eighteenth century gold was the principal export.[1] It was exchanged

for two categories of imports: personal goods (means of subsistence) and producer goods (means of production). During the seventeenth century different European trading companies maintained mercantile establishments in various coastal ports. The personnel of the establishments included Europeans and locally employed persons, both free and slave. The establishments were often engaged in bitter competition as each company sought to undermine the trade of its rivals.[2] At the same time the companies competed with noncompany, or private (interloper), ships that traded at the ports.

Most of the company and private ships visited the ports between the months of September and March, that is, during the period that roughly corresponded to the dry season.[3] The company ships disposed of the bulk of their merchandise at the main commercial establishments of their respective companies: Dutch ships at forts Nassaw (from 1612 to 1637) and São Jorge (from 1637 onwards); English ships at Fort Kormantse (from 1632 to 1665) and Cape Coast Castle (1665 onwards); Danish ships at Fredriksborg (from 1660 to 1684) and Christiansborg (1684 onwards); and so forth. Private vessels, on the other hand, traded at one port and then another, until their wares were sold. The private traders sold their trade goods at prices up to one-fourth or one-third lower than the prices offered at the forts and factories.[4] From the main trading establishments goods were sent to the factors at the outforts and outfactories; the company factors were as a rule forbidden to buy goods from interlopers.

A wide range of goods was offered for sale at the European establishments. One Dutch factor, referring to late-seventeenth-century market demands, remarked that more than 150 different commodities were needed in order to conduct a proper trade at the Gold Coast ports.[5] Of all the trade goods, textiles and metalware were in greatest demand during the period. The cargoes of the more than 200 Dutch ships that traded on the coast between 1593 and 1607 included the following merchandise:[6]

Textiles:
thin silk cloths or taffetas (*armesij*);
nap or pile cloths (*noppen*);
narrow cloths (*smallen*);
linens (*lijwaet/linnenwaet*);
Leiden and Spanish blankets;
woolen cloths of different kinds (*saijen, baijen,* and *laecken*);
carpets;
Metals and metalware:
iron bars;
axes and hatchets;
spades;
copper basins of different forms and sizes;
copper pots and buckets;
tinware (pots, pans, etc.);

Cutlery and weapons:
matchlock and firelock muskets;
gunpowder;
knives of different sorts;
cutlasses;
Miscellaneous:
beads and coral (*corael*);
earthenware;
mirrors;
hats (*hoeden*) and shirts (*hemden*);
leather bags.

All of these goods were brought from Europe and were retailed at the ports of Assini, Takoradi, Little Komenda, Cape Coast, Mouri, Kormantse, Great Bereku (or Sanya Bereku), and Small Accra. Until 1637 and 1642 the ports of Axim, Shama, and Elmina were under Portuguese commercial jurisdiction and hence were closed to Dutch trade.

Dutch ships also brought commodities from different parts of the western Africa coast to the ports. A Portuguese account of 1612 related that the Dutch bought redwood, elephant tails, and palm cloths at Loango for the Gold Coast market.[7] Another Portuguese account, dating from about 1618, referred to Dutch trade at Benin, Ijebu ("Jabu"), Rio Forcado, and Rio do Camarão, where the Dutch bought "many cloths [*panos*], cotton [*algodao*], fowl [*polhos*], *coril* and other stones of value for the Mina coast trade." All of these items were exchanged for gold.[8]

The West African coasting, or cabotage, trade remained an important aspect of Dutch commercial activity along the Gold Coast littoral throughout the seventeenth century. In the second half of the century Dutch traders purchased aggrey beads ("accory"), javelins, and different kinds of knives at Rio del Rey. They also brought a wide variety of textiles from many places: Cape Verde, the Kwakwa coast, Rio Forcado, and the Ardra, Benin, and Warri kingdoms. At Gabon they bought elephants' tails and "the skins of thornbacks and seawolves or dogfish," and at Sierra Leone elephants' tails and finely woven mats. All of these commodities were sold "at a good profit" in the Gold Coast ports.[9]

Most of the imports—whether they came from Europe, Asia, or from various parts of the western African coast—were personal goods, which generally accounted for 60 to 80 percent of a vessel's cargo. Textiles were the most important item among these goods. They frequently represented 40 percent or more of the total value of a ship's cargo. Between 1593 and 1607 each of the 200 or more Dutch vessels that traded along the Gold Coast littoral carried 150,000 yards (200,000 ell) of sletia linen (as well as four or five other types of cloths). Thus during this period a total of about 30 million yards (or 40 million ell) of linen were imported.[10] In the ensuing decades the quantity and

variety of textiles sold steadily increased. In the second half of the century company and private ships brought annually tens of thousands of cloths of European and Indian origin to the ports. The cloths comprised over forty different types.[11]

Throughout the century European traders imported great quantities of West African manufactured cloths, of which there were more than ten distinct varieties. From 1644 to 1647 English and Dutch ships sold more than 38,000 Benin cloths in the Gold Coast ports, and from 1645 to 1647 Dutch vessels sold about 2,500 textiles brought from Ardra.[12] Between 1653 and 1659 the Dutch imported more than 10,000 Ardra and 12,000 Benin cloths; in addition, several thousand Kwakwa cloths were imported.[13] During the 1650s agents of the Swedish African Company and the English Guinea Company traded in Ardra and Benin cloths.[14] In January, 1685, the Dutch had 19,000 Benin textiles in stock, and in March, 1687, the Cape Coast Castle warehouse had more than 8,000 Benin cloths on hand. This cloth trade still flourished in the early eighteenth century.[15] In addition, the forest and coastal markets received Mandinga cloths from textile-producing centers located north of the forest.[16] The Mandinga cloth trade was already in evidence in the early sixteenth century and continued to flourish until at least the early eighteenth century.[17] The Mandinga, Benin, and Ardra cloths were consumed in the households of the *afahene.* The commoner households consumed only the cheapest textile imports, namely coarse linens, plain woolens, and Kwakwa cottons. Many commoners, however, could not afford even the cheapest imported cloths; they wore locally produced bark cloths.

Dutch *facturas* of the 1630s and 1640s give detailed lists of the trade goods sold at the Dutch company's trading establishments. The prices of the goods were expressed in units of gold weight. In February, 1634, the chief factor of Fort Nassaw drew up an account of the trade goods and their prices that were in regular demand at this time (see table 6.1).

The coastal prices of these goods, around 75 percent of which constituted consumer goods, ranged from a low of 12 dambas (½ angle) to a high of 1,104 dambas (46 angles). A substantial portion of the population lacked the means to buy these wares. Indeed, goods costing more than 400 dambas exceeded the amount of gold which many *anihumanifo* (for example, day laborers, mat-makers, charcoal-burners, and militiamen) could expect to earn in a year.[18] The structure of social wealth distribution severely limited the extent of direct commoner participation in the import-export trade. Persons who possessed large gold holdings could, however, buy imported means of subsistence and means of production on an impressive scale. Monthly sales at the Dutch company's trading stations show how much gold the rich and powerful were prepared to expend on imported merchandise. In 1645 and 1646 monthly sales fluctuated between a low of 366,000 and a high of 1,029,000 dambas in value; in 1661, between 10,000 and 3 million dambas; and in 1673 and 1674 between 32,000 and 327,000 dambas.[19] During the period from 1645 to 1673 Dutch factors received

Table 6.1 Trade Goods Prices, Fort Nassau, 1634

Commodity	*Unit*	*Price (in angles)*
Leiden say	piece	36
Turkish carpet	piece	46
Colored *rappijn*	piece	1½
Yellow and red say	piece	2
Harlem cloth	piece	1
Rouwhessen	piece	11
Half-bleached hessen	piece	12
Large "anneba"	piece	3½
Small "anneba"	piece	2
Coarse cannekijn	piece	4
Fine blanket (*tijckte*)	piece	2¾
Coarse blanket	piece	2½
Benin cloth (three-band)	piece	½–1
Kwakwa cloth	piece	1½
Sletia linen	92–122 pieces	32
Cotton cloth	16 pieces	32
Slaaplacken	20–22 pieces	32
Large neptune	45 pounds	32
Small neptune	50 pounds	32
Armring	4	32
Small copper	1	2
Copperware	55 pounds	32
Copper bar	45–50 pounds	32
Iron bar	1	2
Large Solingen boatman's knife	20 dozen	32
Burnt-haft knife	32–40 dozen	32
Beads and corals of diverse kinds	14–45 pounds	32

SOURCE: Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634.

more than 73 million dambas' worth of gold. The *afahene,* who sold the greater portion of this gold, received in exchange tens of thousands of trade goods. The ports with Dutch forts and factories were, understandably, prosperous.

Kormantse was one of the leading ports on the coast. In the 1650s the English factors there had a brisk and regular trade in gold. The factors sold linens, sheets, Flemish *says,* Guinea cloths, *niccanees,* "tapseeles," Benin cloths, paper brawls, brassware, iron and copper bars, pewter basins, knives of different sorts, and so on.[20] In December, 1658, the chief factor at Fort Kormantse loaded "380 marks [1,167,360 dambas] of good gold and 1,823 pounds of ivory" aboard an English vessel, and in June, 1659, he reported that "we now have in cash upwards of 100 marks [367,200 dambas] of gold and daily take good quantitites for the gold we have. I hope we shall have 200 or 300 marks [614,400 or 921,600 dambas] in cash when the next ship arrives at the fort."[21] Prices for a select range of trade goods sold to the merchants and brokers who traded at the Kormantse fort during the period from 1658 to 1664 are shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Trade Goods Prices, Fort Kormantse, 1658–1664

Commodity	*Unit*	*Price (in angles)*
Slaaplackens	24 pieces	32
Benin cloths	22 pieces	32
Linens	piece	14
Says	piece	36
Iron bars	1 (64 pounds)	1½
Iron bars	15	32
Copperware	60 pounds	32
Brassware	150 pounds	32
"Gedreeven wercken"	56 pounds	32
Boatsman's knives	24 dozen	32
Burnt-haft knives	36 dozen	32
Muskets	14	32

SOURCES: India Office Library and Records, E/3/25. Letter from (James Conget), dd. Kormantse Castle, May 1, 1658; India Office Library and Records, E/3/28. Letters from Tho. Hendra, dd. Kormantse Castle, Nov. 13 and Dec. 12, 1664; Koninlijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden msc. H 68. Resolutie Boeck: entries dd. Oct. 23 and Dec. 1, 1658.

The Danish priest Müller mentions the wares sold at the Danish African Company's establishments in the 1660s. The merchandise included:

blue and black English and Dutch *says* (a woolen cloth);
blue, green, and red serges,
linens,
cotton cloths,
Turkish cloths,
Turkish blankets,
carpets,
rugs,
silk cloths and ribbons,
East Indian printed cloths,
schleper,
copper or brass armrings,
blood-red corals,
small and large corals of every color,
large brass basins,
copper bars,
axes,
knives,
cutlasses,
large and small fish hooks,
large nails,
bells,
mirrors, small locks,
spirits,
tobacco pipes,
muskets, and
gunpowder.[22]

In addition, Benin, Ardra, Cape Verde, and Kwakwa cloths and aggrey beads were retailed at the Danish trading posts. The accounts journal of the Danish commandant van Groenestein (from 1667 to 1673) indicates that more than forty different trade items were sold.[23]

During the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries the volume and variety of imports increased. Around the 1650s the number of ships which traded along the seaboard averaged more than 50 a year; by the early 1700s over 150 ships visited the area annually.[24] It is evident that the urban economy and

local merchant capital were capable of accommodating a steadily increasing volume of trade.

TRADERS AND BROKERS IN THE PORTS

While the majority of the company and private ships traded on the coast between September and March, brokers and merchants resident in the ports and trading caravans from the inland towns conducted business at the forts and factories throughout the year. Only occasionally did the inclement weather of the rainy season prevent caravans from visiting the ports.[25] Commercial and other activities were scheduled according to the "forty"-day, or *adaduanan,* calendar. Commenting on this, a factor at Cape Coast Castle wrote,

> We have not observed any particular seasons or time of the year ye Negro merchants have of coming down, for when countries are in peace and the passages open and free the traders are continually coming and going; they have indeed a distinction of good and bad days, and will not set out on a journey or undertake any business of consequence on the latter, which are only five days intervening between their great boon days that are thirteen; but if they set out in the good days the bad ones succeeding are no let or interruption to the prosecution of their journey. . . .[26]

The cyclic succession of "good days" (*adaye*)—the time when all matters of importance were dealt with—and "bad days" (*adamū*)—the time of rest when little business was transacted—largely determined the periods when the *batafo* and others traded at the European establishments.[27]

Persons who traded aboard the ships and at the forts and factors purchased goods either "for their proper account" or "by commission." Those who traded "for their proper account" bought goods for their own personal use or for the purpose of selling them at particular coastal and inland markets; those who traded "by commission" bought merchandise on behalf of others for whom they served as brokers.[28] De Bellefond, who traded at various ports in the early months of 1667, related that Antony, a prominent young Elmina gold dealer, frequently transacted trade aboard the ships with between 30,000 and 40,000 dambas' worth of gold.[29] Evidently Antony was a broker conducting trade on behalf of a number of clients. De Bellefond also mentions brokers who regularly sold over 10,000 dambas in gold on behalf of twenty different persons, each of whom required four or five kinds of trade goods. From each person the broker received a fixed commission and a "dash."[30] During the course of a day's trading activities at one of the forts it was not unusual for brokers to sell to the factors gold to the value of more than 100,000 dambas.[31]

As a rule brokers who bought merchandise aboard the ships during the *harmattan* season kept them in storage. During the rainy season, when relatively few ships were on the coast, the trade goods were sold to trading caravans from the interior.[32] Brokers' houses served as "inns" (*herbergen*) where visiting traders

could be boarded and as warehouses where goods could be stored.[33] In a number of coastal towns brokers were organized in mercantile guilds or corporations.[34]

Various contemporary accounts indicate that the brokers and traders carefully inspected the quality and quantity of their purchased merchandise. Akan-speaking merchants identified trade goods in terms of their Akan names and bought them according to local units of weight and measure.[35]

Merchandise was bought either in small quantities, representing the purchase of a few items, or in large quantities, that is, an assortment of many items was purchased or bulk purchases of a few or of many trade goods were made.[36] Peasants, fishermen, militiamen, and the like usually purchased only a small number of goods when they traded at the forts and factories. The *ahenfo* and the members of the mercantile estate usually made large purchases; they possessed the means to engage in extensive commercial operations. The documents of the period provide considerable information on these operations.[37]

In June, 1646, for example, a trader of Kormantse bought thirty-two iron bars at the English fort there. At 72 dambas each the total cost of the bars amounted to 2,304 dambas in gold.[38] The trader made this bulk purchase apparently in his capacity as a broker for inland customers. On July 26, 1646, traders sold a total of 61,440 dambas in gold to the Dutch at São Jorge, purchasing mainly tinware and knives.[39] One- or two-item purchases were quite common, as examples from later in the century show. In June, 1683, a group of traders visited the English fort at Soko and "laid out" 3,840 dambas in gold for sheets and one barrel of gunpowder.[40] In September, 1687, a merchant bought 1,536 dambas' worth of pewter basins, each weighing three pounds, at Fort Royal in Amanfro, and in April the following year several traders purchased a large quantity of knives at the same fort.[41] In April, 1694, an Adom *ohene* ordered from the English factor at Sekondi "sixteen or seventeen ounces coral.[42] John Kabes of Little Komenda ordered from Cape Coast Castle, in December, 1694, 11,520 dambas' worth of perpetuanas. He stipulated that if the perpetuanas were not in stock, pewter basins of one-pound weight and sheets be sent instead.[43] A caravan of Wassa traders arrived at the English factory at Sekondi on October 15, 1683, with 76,800 dambas in gold. The gold was to be expended on two items, gunpowder and brass basins, both of which, the factor noted, "are a great commodity amongst the Wassas. . . ." Five days later another caravan, comprising "a great many Wassas and Addoomes," arrived at the factory in order to buy a somewhat wider assortment of goods: perpetuanas, sheets, brass basins, and gunpowder.[44] Similarly, in May, 1697, a number of Denkyira merchants bought an assortment of wares at the English fort in Little Komenda: perpetuanas, iron bars, knives, tallow, and gunpowder.[45]

Assortment trade was also practiced earlier in the century. In August, 1645, following two days of heavy trade at Elmina and Mouri, the Dutch received a total of 525,312 dambas in gold, having sold substantial quantities of says, lakens, knives, iron bars, and neptunes.[46] In such transactions specific amounts of gold were sold for particular quantities of goods. Thus in February, 1696, the

captain of Kwaman left over 6,000 dambas in gold with the English factor at Anomabo. The captain ordered the following items: 2,304 dambas' worth of knives, 1,536 dambas' worth of four-pound brass basins, one-pound brass basins to the value of 480 dambas, and 2,304 dambas' worth of gunpowder. The rest of the gold was to be spent on blue perpetuanas; if gunpowder was not available, it was to be replaced by blue perpetuanas.[47] It is likely that the captain purchased these items for himself, his family, and his retinue of retainers. Finally, in January, 1699, Kwanso ("Quansa"), the ruler of Tantumkwerri, informed the English factor that he had a "pretty considerable quantity of money" with which to buy merchandise. Specifically, he requested 4,608 dambas' worth of the largest brass pans and over 6,000 dambas' worth of two-pound, three-pound, and four-pound pewter basins; in addition, he had gold for six chests of sheets, one bale of Welsh plains, and twenty iron bars. Kwansa probably ordered these goods on behalf of traders from the interior, probably from the Esikuma-Breman towns of Breman, Adumangya, and "Mangamong."[48]

Trade negotiations varied considerably in terms of the quantity of gold and goods that were exchanged. A trader of relatively little means might sell only a few dambas' worth of gold aboard a ship, or a group of traders, like the one that visited the Royal African Company fort at Anomabo in early September, 1695, might purchase no more than 480 dambas' worth of two-pound and four-pound brass basins.[49] Modest purchases of this sort were fairly common. However, it was also common for persons to expend a great deal of gold. In July, 1653, "Asimakoe," the *marini grande,* or state treasurer, of the Fante *oman,* and an *ohene* of Egya together purchased 3,000 to 4,000 dambas' worth of merchandise at the Dutch lodge at Egya.[50] In 1686 a certain captain John of Anomabo (or Kormantse) traveled to Cape Coast Castle with more than 18,000 dambas in gold in order to buy goods, and in November, 1693, a large group of Twifo traders bought merchandise to the value of 31,680 dambas in gold at Cape Coast Castle.[51] The rulers of states also expended gold at the trading establishments on a scale commensurate with that of the merchants and brokers. In April, 1696, for example, the Afutuhene, "Ahencoco Dey," bought at Cape Coast Castle four cases of spirits, ninety-six-pounds weight of brass basins, thirteen says, one boysado, and one red perpetuana for the total sum of 7,895 dambas in gold.[52] These items were apparently purchased for the benefit of the royal household.

There were great merchants who also held important political-military posts. Through their agents they engaged in trade for profit as well as to meet the needs of their large households. The brothers Jan Ahenekwa and Jan Acroissan Tay (Jan Claasen or John Cloice) were two outstanding examples of political officials who were also prominent traders. Ahenekwa (who died in 1656) served as *brafo* of the Afutu *oman* from the 1630s to about 1654, and during this time he conducted an important trade with the Dutch at Elmina; he abandoned his trading activities only after he succeeded to the Afutu kingship around 1654. Acroissan Tay (who died in 1662) was the *day,* or state treasurer, of the Afutu

polity, and from the 1630s until his death he, too, was a leading merchant.[53] In the 1640s the two brothers could sell jointly over 60,000 dambas' worth of gold to the Dutch at Elmina during a single transaction.[54] Details of their purchases at the Elmina fort are lacking, but a 1646 transaction involving the sale of nearly 85,000 dambas in gold could have been expended on the assortment of merchandise shown in table 6.3. Regular purchases on this scale were not beyond the means of Ahenekwa and Tay, both of whom were very wealthy. Neither was atypical, for persons of comparable wealth were to be found in other towns.

Table 6.3 A 1646 Price List of Select Goods (in marks, ounces, and angles)

Commodity	*Unit*	*Price*
1,000 iron bars	2½ angles a bar	17 4 10
20 blue says	24 angles each	3 6 –
20 kannekiens	5 angles each	– 6 4
20 ettecons	5¾ angles each	– 7 4
24 perpetuanas	22 angles each	4 1 –
4 nopies	8 angles each	– 2 –
	Total:	27 3 2

SOURCE: K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 240, entry for Oct. 3, 1646.

Inland merchants, who were organized in caravans for their trading expeditions to the ports, conducted a particularly large trade at the European establishments, often bringing more than 200,000 dambas' worth of gold to sell.[55] With this quantity of gold they could have purchased the list of wares shown in table 6.4 at the Dutch factory at Egya in January, 1655. Throughout much of the century Akani merchants, the most important of the gold traders, regularly made purchases of this magnitude.

Table 6.4 A 1655 Price List of Select Goods (in marks, ounces, and angles)

Commodity	*Unit*	*Price*
882 el lijwaat	160 el per benda	1 3 –
1,980 slaaplakens	32 pieces per benda	15 3 12
170 wirrijs or rouwhessens	4½ angles each	5 7 13
108 says	30 angles each	25 2 8
1,310 pounds copperware	70 pounds per benda	4 5 7
550 iron bars	2¼ angles each	10 6 14
194 pounds "lavendel"	¼ angles per pound	2 6 9¼
529 pounds "olivetten"		
280 kwakwa cloths	1 angle each	2 1 8
	Total:	68 5 7¼

SOURCE: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652: entry for Jan. 7, 1655.

Growing international trade, as represented by the European mercantile establishments, played an increasingly important role in the structure and organization of the *afahene*'s social conditions of existence. It contributed significantly to the expansion of their incomes.[56] The exchange relations between the *afahene* and the European factors ultimately depended on the productive relations between the *afahene* and the free and slave producers. The "impact" of European trade on the social formation was not absolute: it was conditioned by the internal organization of the productive system.

THE COASTING TRADE

The European Factors

Most company and private ships traded on the coast during particular months of the year. However, there existed another important aspect of this trade, namely the year-round coasting trade in merchandise. Goods from the main forts were regularly dispatched by sloops, canoes, and other small vessels to the outforts and factories.

Examples of this traffic with respect to the Royal African Company's trading stations are numerous. On September 20, 1683, the English factor at Anomabo requested from Cape Coast Castle perpetuanas and says, "for here is a great deal of gold in town." The following day ten cases of perpetuanas and five bales of says were received by the factor, and by the twenty-second he had sold these goods for a total of 30,720 dambas in gold.[57] On July 27, 1687, the factor at Little Komenda received from Cape Coast Castle by a seventeen-hand canoe 240 paper brawls, 100 broad black bafts, 23 blue perpetuanas, 50 half-firkins of tallow, 100 two-pound pewter basins, 12 whole barrels of gunpowder, 160 Benin "mundee" cloths, and 2 ankers of brandy. Because of the demand for Benin cloths (at the rate of 34 cloths per benda) he requested an additional 200 or 300. Two days later the factor received 240 paper brawls, 400 Benin "mundee" cloths, and 47 gallons of rum.[58] On February 7, 1688, the English factor of Egya received by an eleven-hand canoe 40 coarse sletias, 50 white blankets, and 8 whole barrels of gunpowder; in addition, he requested 200 iron bars, a case of fine sletias, and 40 gallons of rum. On the twenty-third of the same month he received from Cape Coast Castle 50 blue perpetuanas, 25 green perpetuanas, 20 says, 10 boysados, 6 green and 6 blue Welsh plains, and 100 bars. At the end of April he anticipated "a good trade" and ordered from the castle 80 chests of sheets, 150 Guinea cloths, 50 lead bars, and 10 cases of spirits.[59] In early March, 1696, the Egya factor reported, "Here are traders that enquire much for goods; the perpetuanas and pewter [basins] are all sold for gold. Send 290 iron bars, 200 or 300 perpetuanas, 600 one pound and 300 two pound [brass] basins."[60] In April, 1688, the factor at Anomabo requested sheets, knives, says, blue and green perpetuanas, Guinea cloths, and fine sletias,

because "daily people come to ask for them."[61] At Dixcove the factor ordered in September, 1694, a substantial quantity of trade goods from Cape Coast Castle—"traders being come down to several crooms"—and there was much gold available, it was reported. By an eleven-hand canoe he received 100 three-pound pewter basins, 350 one-pound pewter basins, 50 blue perpetuanas, 130 sheets, and 20 Welsh plains.[62] A period of heavy trade could seriously deplete the stock of merchandise at an outfort or factory. In April or May, 1681, James fort at Accra had virtually no goods as a result of the large trade conducted at the fort. The factor requested sheets, brawls, carpets, blankets, perpetuanas, fine and coarse sletias, long cloths, ginghams, "tapsells," "allejars," pintados, "longels," brandy, yellow beads, pewter jugs, muskets, and other wares.[63] Between 1681 and 1699 the outforts and factories sent a total of more than 24 million dambas in gold to Cape Coast Castle.

The Dutch coasting trade was as brisk and regular as that of the English. Dutch accounts dating from the 1630s frequently refer to the constant movement of sloops, yachts, and canoes between São Jorge (or St. George) and the different ports where the Dutch company maintained commercial establishments.

Three examples from 1655 give an indication of the kinds of merchandise sent from São Jorge to the satellite trading stations. At the beginning of April the Dutch factor at Egya received a large consignment of goods. It included: 32 Harlem cloths, 197 pounds of large neptunes, 325 pounds of burnished kettles or pots, 750 pounds of copper bars, 61 iron bars, and 62 pounds of orange "past."[64] On the twenty-first of the same month the Dutch director-general, in expectation of a good trade, sent the following wares to Leggu: lijwaets, slaaplakens, says, blankets, perpetuanas, red Negro cloths, Benin cloths, large neptunes, and iron bars.[65] On February 16, 1655, a large quantity of trade goods was sent to the Dutch fort at Small Accra: 14 chests of lijwaet, 100 blankets, 1 chest of Harlem cloths, 1 chest of burnt-haft knives, 1 chest of says, 2,900 pounds of large neptunes, 152 pounds of lead bars, and 800 iron bars.[66] A final sample, dating from June, 1660, refers to a substantial shipment of goods sent to the Dutch factor at Accra. The factor evidently expected a very heavy trade at the fort. The *facturas,* or invoices, list the following items:

7,255 to 8,255 ell Silesia (sletia) lijwaet,
60 to 70 slaaplakens,
35 blue says,
50 Harlem says,
100 says,
99 pintador,
50 white blankets,
50 green or red blankets,
200 East India,
50 red Negro cloths,
60 tymon cloths,
66 caldes cloths,
50 cotton lijwaet,
100 broad kannequins,
100 iron bars,
50 dozen boatsmans knives,
50 dozen burnt-haft knives,
200 pounds of medium-sized tin pots,
100 muskets,

300 pounds of gunpowder,
200 pounds of yellow "past,"
200 pounds of white "past," and 2 to 3 "mas" of fine coral, "extraordinarily large."[67]

During the 1660s and the 1670s the Danish African Company maintained three trading stations on the coast: Fredriksborg, the main fort, a lodge in Cape Coast lying about one-fourth of a mile to the west, and an outfort (Christiansborg) in Osu, located about ninety miles to the east. The accounts journals of van Groenestein, the Danish commandant, furnish precise detail on the commercial traffic between Fredriksborg and its two subordinate stations from 1668 to 1673. From October, 1668, to January, 1669, the chief factor at Cape Coast received goods to the value of 166,182 dambas in gold.[68] In the month of January the goods on hand at the factory included:

360 tapseals (tapsiels),
5 Turkish cloths,
82 tambenins,
39 nantebas,
40 fottas,
24 says,
10 lakens,
124 linens,
8 perpetuanas,
2 chests of slaaplakens,
867 iron bars, and
573 dozen knives.[69]

On the first of January, 1671, the wares at the trading station were limited to 1,311 iron bars, 9,509 copper bars, and 3 Dutch Turkish cloths; however, the station was usually stocked with a much wider variety of merchandise.[70]

The Danish factor at Osu received goods similar to those received by his counterpart at Cape Coast. Between September, 1668, and February, 1669, he received the following: 94 linens, 37 Harlem cloths, 60 Dutch says, 161 broad ettecons, 32 kwakwa cloths, 13 pounds of brown earthenware. and several ankers of brandy.[71] At the end of December, 1669, the goods on hand at Christiansborg included: 41 says, 28 perpetuanas, 38 sletia linens, 114 large and small ettecons, 10 kwakwa cloths, and 7 barrels of gunpowder, each barrel weighing 64 pounds.[72] From January to May, 1670, the outfort received the following items from Fredriksborg:

on January 22, 44 English sletias;
on January 29, 44 glazed linens;
on February 4, 86 halfsletias and 400 iron bars;
on March 4, 160 tapseals and 598 iron bars;
on March 7, 30 English sletias and 59 linens;
on April 23, 64 broad tapseals and 64 iron bars; and
in May, 76 broad linens and 40 ettecons.[73]

At the end of June there were trade goods to the value of 41,124 dambas in the Christiansborg warehouse. The wares included: 23½ says, 10 perpetuanas, 51 linens, 114 large and small ettecons, and 10 kwakwa cloths. On the thirtieth

of June the Christiansborg factor sent 149,214 dambas in gold to Fredriksborg. This amount was received after about six months of trade at the outfort.[74]

In terms of both volume and local monetary value the coasting trade in merchandise and gold was quite clearly a considerable one. However, other commodities also formed an integral part of this traffic. The accounts journal provides detailed information on this aspect of the coasting trade, particularly in the personal accounts of Conrad Crull, the chief factor at Christiansborg, and Claas Brand, the chief factor at the Danish company's Cape Coast lodge.

Crull's credit entries indicate that his commercial and monetary transactions with van Groenestein amounted to around 153,600 dambas. Slaves and livestock (cattle, sheep, and goats) were the two most important items he sent to the commandant. The monetary value of the sixty-two slaves mentioned in the account came to 37,416 dambas, and the value of the more than 100 head of livestock was 28,848 dambas, giving together a sum of 66,264 dambas, or a little more than 40 percent of his total credit.[75] As far as the livestock is concerned, Crull would have bought it from local traders who had purchased it at Great Accra or at Lay or Great Ningo, the two leading livestock markets on the coast. These places received their supplies of livestock either overland or by sea from the livestock-rearing districts of the Popo and Ardra polities.[76] Some of the slaves Crull sent to Fredriksborg came from Popo, suggesting the possibility that the livestock dealers combined their trade in cattle with a trade in slaves. The remaining slaves were probably bought from Great Accra brokers, who purchased them at Abonse, the market of Great Accra where merchants from the interior conducted their trade. Most of the animals received at Fredriksborg would have been sold to local buyers, the remainder being kept for the maintenance of the fort's personnel. Of the slaves sent to van Groenestein some were sold to Afutu dignitaries, others were employed as laborers at the fort, and the rest were sold aboard the ships that traded at Amanfro.

A few entries refer to the gold Crull sent to the Danish commandant. The value of the gold was between 58,000 and 62,000 dambas. The remaining credit entries refer to transactions involving merchandise of different kinds, cowries (*boesiens*), fish and salt, the payment of wages and salaries to factors and canoemen, and so on. The Osu-Amanfro trade was clearly a multifaceted activity.

Most of Brand's credit entries refer to his trade with Fredriksborg and Christiansborg. His credit balance with the commandant amounted to 209,316 dambas. Of this sum 184,320 dambas were represented by gold, 122,880 of which were received from Osu. The remainder would have been purchased from Akani and other merchants, or brokers, who conducted trade at the Cape Coast lodge.[77] The cattle he traded in would have come from Osu, although one entry mentions a cow brought from Bereku. The value of the cattle was 2,760 dambas, and the value of the produce (*millie*) amounted to 4,488 dambas. A single entry indicates that Brand received ten chests of *millie*, about 50 bushels, from Osu. Most of the other produce he dealt in—amounting to more than 300 bushels—

was bought from different Afutu *ahenfo* in exchange for trade goods, but also, perhaps, in exchange for cattle and slaves. A small proportion of *millie* would have been sold by local *nkuraafo,* or peasants, in exchange for merchandise or gold. Many of the *ahenfo,* it should be noted, possessed slaves who worked their farms, for slaves constituted a significant labor force in the farms of the upper classes.[78] These farms supplied a considerable portion of the produce supplied to the Danish factors. Although suitable quantifiable data are lacking, it would seem that the *ahenfo* purchased slaves at Fredriksborg and the Cape Coast lodge.[79]

To the commandant Brand sent gold, cattle, produce, and, occasionally, slaves as payment for the trade goods van Groenestein advanced him. To both Brand and van Groenestein Crull sent gold, cattle, produce, and slaves in return for the merchandise he received from the Amanfro and Cape Coast trading establishments. Data from the accounts journal show that, in addition to the interport traffic in gold and trade goods, the coasting trade had another important mercantile dimension, one that entailed a fairly sizeable and, apparently, lucrative commerce in livestock, produce, and slaves. This aspect of the coasting trade was directly linked to agricultural production in the coastal polities: cabotage was the principal means by which slaves were transported, often over distances in excess of 100 miles, from ports of supply to places where there was a demand for servile labor, and it was the means by which food crops, some of which was produced by slaves, were distributed from one port to another. At the same time cabotage served as the main distributional link between the livestock-producing and marketing centers east of Winneba and the livestock-consuming towns to the west.[80] Dutch and English factors were also actively engaged in this trade, particularly in the traffic in produce and livestock. The scale of their trade in these commodities was much greater than that of the Danish factors.

European involvement in the coasting trade was not restricted to the Gold Coast littoral, that is, to the coastal stretch between Assini in the west and the Volta River in the east. The trade extended beyond these limits to the Kwakwa coast and Sierra Leone and to the Bight of Benin and the Gabon and Angola coasts.[81] At the ports along the western African coast many commodities were bought for the Gold Coast market: textiles, mats, weaponry, aggrey and other beads, copper, elephants' and horses' tails, hides, skins, raw cotton, produce, livestock, ivory, and slaves.

The Merchants and Brokers

Gold Coast merchants and brokers resident in towns on or near the coast were active participants and investors in the cabotage trade between Assini and the ports on the Ladoku coast.[82] They transported an extensive range of trade items between the ports. Among the most important of the traders were the wealthy produce and livestock dealers who conveyed produce and livestock

from one port to another.[83] Several ports were food- and livestock-exporting centers: Axim exported rice; Boutri and Takoradi exported palm wine, yams, *millie,* and palm oil, Mouri *millie,* potatoes, and lime juice; the Fante ports (Kormantse, Anomabo, Anashan, and Egya) *millie* and palm wine; Winneba *millie,* poultry, and livestock; and Bereku *millie,* beer, poultry, and livestock. The Accra ports, Lay, and Great Ningo were major livestock exporters.

The coasting trade in produce was substantial. Bosman, for example, reported that 100 canoes traded at Mouri daily in order to buy provisions for the Axim and Accra markets.[84] If these were large trading-canoes, each of which could have carried a cargo in excess of 5 tons, this would have meant that more than 500 tons of produce were exported daily from Mouri. Anomabo, Anashan, and Egya exported great quantities of *millie* to other places, such as Axim, Elmina, Cape Coast, and the Accra ports.[85] The wholesale produce dealers could expect at times to earn a gross profit of 96 dambas or more per chest.[86] Annual profits from this trade amounted to several hundred thousand dambas in gold in value. In addition *millie* was sold in large quantities to European factors and aboard European ships. The yearly value of this trade exceeded 100,000 dambas.[87] The traffic in produce (and livestock) was a major component of the coasting trade.

Other items were also traded along the coast. The Accra ports, Labadi, Takoradi, "Chinca," and Great Ningo were leading salt-exporting centers. Axim, Akoda, Takoradi, Shama, Little Komenda, and Winneba were the main markets for canoes–from the two-hand fishing canoes to the large trading-canoes–which were sent to other towns. Assini was an exporter of produce, redwood, and bark cloths; the Accra ports exported aggrey beads, and Bereku and Takoradi were the most important metalworking towns on the littoral, exporting tools, weapons, and ornaments to other places. Winneba was a major slave market, the slaves being sold to persons from Elmina, Kormantse, Little Komenda, and other towns.

Merchants also transported imported goods along the coast for purposes of trade. In the sixteenth century Elmina traders sold textiles, metalware, and other merchandise imported by the Portuguese at different coastal towns.[88] By the seventeenth century other traders participated in this traffic in a big way. In 1660, for example, a Dutch factor at Small Accra remarked that canoes "loaded with all kinds of useful merchandise" (*beladen met allerly dienstig cooppmanschapen*) arrived daily at the town from Kormantse and other ports.[89] One of those involved in this commerce was Akoda ("Accoda"), the *brafo,* or ruler, of Mouri from the 1650s to the 1670s. He conducted a large trade in imported goods at both Small and Great Accra.[90] His purchase at these places would have included pottery, tobacco pipes, aggrey beads, gold, livestock, and, possibly, slaves. Another person who traded regularly at Small Accra was Ampa, the brother of the Asebuhene "Abedon Intin." He conducted this trade through his own agents and bought mainly cattle.[91]

Dutch factors at Small Accra found the trade of Akoda, Ampa, and others

so competitive that in 1660 they proposed to give the Accra sovereign, Okai Koi (who died in 1677), 3,072 dambas' worth of merchandise each time he forbade these persons from trading in his state.[92] The Accra ruler did not accept the offer: commercial relations between the Accra towns and the windward ports were too important and intense to be broken by royal edict.[93]

During the second half of the century some brokers and merchants established their own factories, or trading stations. In January, 1683, for example, "Bonishee," an *ohene* and trader of Anomabo, set up a factory at Tema ("Allampo") with a certain James Mills serving as his factor there.[94] Trade goods brought from Anomabo were to be exchanged for slaves. In 1692 "Dommine," an Anomabo *ohene,* together with other wealthy persons, maintained a factory at Anomabo where interlopers could buy gold, slaves, and produce in exchange for trade goods.[95] These goods were sold to merchants from inland towns and districts who traded at Anomabo. In 1699 a prominent Akwamu *ohene* named Asameni established *handelspladser,* trading stations, in the coastal towns of Labadi and Great Ningo. The stations were probably established in order to tap the expanding trade in livestock and salt and the growing interloper traffic along the Akwamu-dominated coast.[96]

The merchants and brokers of the ports maintained an active trade at the ports west of Assini and east of the Volta. Axîm traders, for example, traded at Cape Lahou and other towns on the Kwakwa coast. Their purchases included elephants' tails, ivory, textiles, produce, and redwood; these items were retailed at Axim and other Gold Coast towns. The Kwakwa goods were exchanged for gold, aggrey beads, Ardra cloths, and European imported merchandise.[97] Elmina merchants also traded on the Kwakwa coast. According to a 1548 report they even traveled as far as the Grain Coast in order to buy slaves.[98] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Kwakwa merchants maintained an important trade at Cape Apollonia, Axim, Cape Three Points, Shama, Elmina, and Little Komenda. This trade was conducted between September and May.[99]

Commercial relations with Slave Coast ports were well established by the middle of the seventeenth century. In September, 1659, it was reported that for a number of years Gold Coast merchants had conducted a profitable trade at the towns of Afraa, Great and Little Popo, and Ofra, the principal port of the Ardra kingdom.[100] In February of the same year seven Elmina merchants with a combined trading capital of 2,688 dambas' worth of merchandise traveled by sea to Ofra in order to trade.[101] In 1669 the Cape Coast trader Jantie Snees went to Ardra with nearly 15,000 dambas' worth of goods to sell.[102] During the 1680s and 1690s Elmina and other Gold Coast traders conducted "a great trade" at Whydah, Little Popo, Ofra, and Jakin.[103]

The main exports to the Slave Coast ports included gold (in the form of dust, bars, and ornaments) and merchandise bought from the factors in the Gold Coast ports. Other exports may have included swords with gilded handles, Mandinga and Kwakwa cloths, and brass "Accanisten" basins.[104] In exchange

for these items the traders obtained aggrey beads, textiles, produce, livestock, horses' tails, and slaves.[105]

Around the middle of the century trade between the Gold and Slave Coast ports appears to have intensified. This development can be linked to the commercial growth of the Gold Coast urban economy and the expansion of the Akani trading organization.[106]

Some merchants traded beyond the Ardra kingdom. According to one late-seventeenth-century report "Mina Blacks venture in large canoes to the Bight of Guinea and even the Coast of Angola." The canoes had sails made "from Rush-mats or Bark Cloth" and crews of twelve to eighteen men. Copper and ivory were the main purchases at the Angola ports.[107] Earlier accounts do not refer to Elmina traders on the Angola coast, however in the 1650s it would seem that some Elmina and other Gold Coast merchants traveled by sea to the Benin kingdom in order to buy textiles.[108] Unfortunately, detailed accounts of the scale of this trade are lacking. The trade to the Ardra-Whydah and Kwakwa coasts was much more important.

The coasting trade of the European factors and of the trading groups based in the ports was an essential component in the commercial traffic that existed between the littoral and the inland marketing centers.

CAPTAIN QUACOUNOE ABRACON OF LITTLE KOMENDA

Detailed information concerning the trading activites of particular individuals is provided by a fairly wide range of documents dating from the second half of the seventeenth century. One such individual was "captain Quacounoe Abracon," who served as the chief broker of the Royal African Company's factory at Little Komenda from 1681 until about 1683. Although references to his commercial dealings are relatively numerous, there is, in contrast, practically no information on his family background and connections. Nevertheless, his title, "captain," indicates that he was a person of prominent social and political status. The assumption is that he was a member of a high-ranking *ofahene* family. A single reference relates that he was a "cousin" (possibly a maternal nephew) of a certain unidentified Takyi ("Taggee").[109] In the 1680s and 1690s there were five Takyis among the Aguafo *ahenfo* who are mentioned in the sources of the period. They included the following: Ofori Takyi ("Afferij Takij"), the *okyeame-ehene* of the Eguafo state; Amo Takyi ("Amo-Tecki") a *brafo*, that is, a commanding officer, in the Eguafo state army; Ampa Takyi ("Ampa Tagee"), an *ohene* resident in the capital, Great Komenda; and the brothers Abe Takyi Panyin (or "Great Tagee") and Takyi Ankan (or "Little Tagee"), both of whom served as Eguafohene—the former from about 1689 to 1698 and the latter from 1698 to 1704. Presumably Abracon was related to one of the above Takyis. He would have belonged therefore to one of the important office-holding families of the state. However, there is no information on the political post he held.

Abracon was one of the wealthiest men in Little Komenda. He owned a large house, a section of which was used as a warehouse for storing not only his own merchandise, but also that of the Royal African Company. He had a large number of household servants and slaves, substantial gold holdings, one or more trading canoes, and one or more farms located in the immediate hinterland of the port.[110] From the company he received a monthly payment (*akatua*) of 96 dambas in gold (or 1,152 dambas a year) and a broker's fee, or commission, on each sale he transacted on behalf of the factory. In addition, he was an important trader in his own right.

Abracon also served as the factory's spokesman, or representative, in its dealings with the king and political authorities of Great Komenda and with the three municipal "establishments" of Little Komenda. The "establishments" comprised the political-military "establishment" (the ruler of the port, the ward heads, the royal tax collector, and the militiamen), the mercantile "establishment" (the association of Little Komenda brokers and traders, the captaincy of Akani merchant-brokers, and the factor and the chief broker of the Dutch factory) and the religious "establishment" (the port's priests and priestesses). Abracon's duties were both commercial and political in nature.[111]

As chief broker Abracon was able to realize a large trade for the factory. His annual trade turnover amounted to well over 400,000 dambas in value. Most of his trade seems to have been conducted with traders from Abrem and Twifo rather than with Adom, Ahanta, Akani, and Wassa merchants, all of whom traded at Little Komenda. He kept the company factor informed about the goods in demand at inland markets, the arrival of caravans, the prices traders were willing to pay, and various matters relating to the security of the arterial routes that linked Little Komenda and the inland marketing centers.[112] The factor supplied Abracon with trade goods when needed. Merchandise was usually ordered from Cape Coast Castle, but was occasionally obtained from ships that anchored in the Little Komenda road.

Information relating to his commercial activities covers mainly the first five months of 1683. Only a few scattered references are to be found for the years 1681 and 1682. It is clear, however, that for Abracon the chief brokership was a full-time pursuit. One of the earliest accounts of his brokerage activities refers to the month of January in the year 1683. On the twenty-fourth of January he sold 36 perpetuanas (at 240 dambas each) to merchants who had recently arrived in Little Komenda, receiving in exchange 8,640 dambas in gold. Two days later more traders arrived, and the factor therefore consigned to him 60 perpetuanas and 10 chests of sheets, but, apparently expecting heavy trade, Abracon requested an additional 100 red and blue perpetuanas, 40 says, and 10 barrels of gunpowder.[113] All of these transactions were evidently conducted with Twifo traders. Some of these traders probably served as brokers for merchants from Denkyira, Adanse, and other inland polities.

During the months of March and April Abracon conducted a brisk trade on behalf of the Royal African Company's Little Komenda factor. On the ninth of

March he ordered from the factor 12 barrels of gunpowder, one-half of it in half rather than whole barrels. On the thirtieth of the month he received the following consignment: 195 sheets (at 28 per benda), 9 says (at 350 dambas each), 169 four-pound pewter basins (at 288 dambas each), and 4 barrels of gunpowder (at 576 dambas per barrel). The total value of the merchandise came to 18,120 dambas. The same day he sent 18,624 dambas in gold to Cape Coast Castle, and he had a further 15,360 to 18,432 dambas which he intended to send after making up his accounts. On April 21 Abracon sent 8,229 dambas "in good gold" to the castle. This sum represented the sale of 3 chests of sheets (sold for 5,349 dambas) and 12 perpetuanas (sold for 2,880 dambas). On that day the factor handed over to him 10 chests of sheets.[114]

On each sale Abracon received a commission of 2 angles (48 dambas) per mark (3,072 dambas).[115] Details of his annual earnings from this source are lacking; however, the available evidence indicates that they were considerable. On the thirtieth of March, for example, his commission came to 1,572 dambas, representing sales that amounted to 98,688 dambas in gold. On the sixth of April he received 1,407 dambas as commission; this fee represented sales of between 89,000 and 93,000 dambas' worth of gold.[116] His yearly income from broker's fees is likely to have exceeded 15,000 dambas in gold. By the standards of the time this income was considerable: it was comparable to the combined yearly earnings of between fifty and eighty day laborers or boat and canoe guards.

The sources provide little information on Abracon's personal trade. In January, 1683, for example, the company factor at Little Komenda advanced him 50 perpetuanas so that Abracon could "gain some profit by them for himself." On various other occasions he received other trade goods on credit, all of which he sold at inland markets through his trading agents. By May of that year he was in debt to the factory for 10 chests of sheets, 13 perpetuanas, 15 says, and 4 barrels of gunpowder.[117] In addition to the inland trade Abracon was probably involved in the coasting trade. He had one or more trading canoes which were no doubt used in port-to-port commercial traffic. Indeed, it is plausible that he traded to windward as far as the Kwakwa coast and to leeward as far as the Ardra coast, however there is no information on this aspect of his commercial operations.

The merchandise that passed through Abracon's hands was sold for gold, most, perhaps all, of which came from the auriferous districts in the Pra-Ofin basin. As chief broker he did not deal in ivory and slaves, although he may have done so in his capacity as a private trader. Like other members of the local mercantile estate, he had his own scales and weights, which were different from those used by agents of the Royal African Company. In his role as broker Abracon found the use of two distinct gold-weight systems inconvenient. Thus on the ninth of March, 1683, he requested from the company factor at Little Komenda "an account of company scales and weights, for he finds himself a loser by taking money with his smaller scales and weights."[118] Abracon's weights were

based on Islamic and Portuguese values and not upon the heavier English troy weight standard. Thus, for each parcel of gold sent to Cape Coast Castle, he was obliged to add "two angles gold to it."[119] The size of the gold parcels was not specified, but each was probably one ounce troy weight (384 dambas). In his transactions with the company Abracon appears to have used gold weights based on Portuguese values. Barbot, for example, observed that if local weights were used to make up four bendas (a mark troy weight), "there will fall short almost an ounce of the due weight of a mark."[120] Four bendas, or eight Portuguese ounces, weighed slightly more than seven ounces troy (2,688 dambas), and nearly one ounce was needed to bring the 4 bendas up to one mark troy weight. To each Portuguese ounce Abracon added two angles, or one-eighth of an ounce of gold (48½ dambas); eight Portuguese ounces plus the additional two angles per ounce would have corresponded to eight ounces troy standard.

In his dealings with inland traders Abracon probably employed weights based on Portuguese values to weigh the gold he received; the traders very likely used weights based on Islamic standards. The Islamic were the most commonly used gold weights in the Gold Coast over a period of several centuries. With regard to his dealings with the Royal African Company's agents, Abracon apparently stopped using Portuguese-derived weights and decided to use only English scales and weights, "whereby he may both take and pay his money, otherwise he says his commission will not make the difference of ye weights of the money good betwixt what he receives and pays."[121] It was during this period, from the 1670s to the 1690s, that troy weight standards began to supplant Portuguese weight values, a development that first manifested itself among the *asanfo* and *batafo* of the ports.

TRADE AT FREDRIKSBORG

Van Groenestein's Accounts Journal

Information pertaining to other persons who had commercial dealings with the European trading stations is provided by Danish source materials from the period between the 1660s and 1680s. One source of particular importance is the accounts journal of the Danish *oberhaupt,* or commandant, van Groenestein. It provides a wealth of data on trade at the Danish establishments in Osu, Amanfro, and Cape Coast between 1660 and 1673.

The journal is essentially a chronological record of individual transactions classified under the accounts of more than twenty persons, each of whom had business dealings of one sort or another with the commandant. About one-half of these persons were brokers, traders, and political officials. Each transaction comprised two elements—debit and credit. Debit entries were entered on the left-hand folio of the journal and indicated what a given individual received from the commandant. The debit entry was formulated thus: X is debtor to the commandant for Y. Credit entries were entered on the right-hand folio and specified

what a particular individual gave to the commandant. The credit entry was formulated thus: X is creditor to the commandant for Y. Each entry had three features; the date, the reason for the entry (a narrative, or description, of the transaction), and the amount, which was generally given in units of gold weight (monies of account).

The narratives were either highly abbreviated and thus lacked informational value, or they offered fairly detailed statements about the transactions. Two types of entries can be distinguished: the simple entry, which denoted a transaction between one debtor and one creditor: and the complex entry, which referred to a transaction involving either one debtor and two or more creditors, one creditor and two or more debtors, or several creditors and several debtors.

The importance of the accounts journal derives from the fact that it provides a wealth of information on debt-credit relations as they obtained at the Danish commercial stations. In addition, the journal furnishes a good deal of data on the kinds of trade goods which the Danish company sold, together with their prices and quantities, on the means of payment (whether in cash or kind or on credit), on wage and tax payments and fines, and so on. The journal does not cover all aspects of economic activity at the Danish establishments; certain commercial and financial matters were included, but others were left out. A complete picture of this activity as well as an understanding of the precise function or purpose of the journal requires an examination of the company's accounting system. Although the journal is not comprehensive in its treatment of the Danish factors' mercantile activities, it is useful for the light it throws on the transactions of various *ahenfo, batafo,* and others at Fredriksborg and the Danish trading posts at Cape Coast and Osu.

One example of the kinds of transactions recorded in the accounts journal is provided by the personal account of "Fitero Ahen." Ahen, the son of Jan Ahenekwa (who died in 1656), served as the *brafo* and later as the *fetere* of the Afutu state. An entry on the debit side of his account is given as follows:

Date	*Description*	*Amount* M. O. A.
October 2, 1968	1 say	– 1 10
	1 anker corn spirits	– 1 12
	20 black mirrors, number 5, fetched by his cousin	– 1 –

The corresponding entries on the credit side read:

Date	*Description*	*Amount* M. O. A.
October 2, 1668	Received from his cousin	– 3 –
December 2, 1688	Received from his cousin, and returned to him the gold pawn of 2 marks 1 ounce 9 angles in the presence of Abrij	– – 6

These entries represented transactions involving a single debtor and a single creditor. Ahen purchased from the commandant at Fredriksborg merchandise to the value of 1,296 dambas; his cousin conducted the trade on his behalf. The cousin paid 1,152 dambas in gold and left a gold pawn as security for the balance of 144 dambas. Two months later Ahen's cousin paid off the balance and redeemed the pawn in the presence of a witness named Obiri ("Abrij"), one of the trading servants at Fredriksborg.[122]

Ahen also appears under the personal account of Joost Cramer, commandant of Fredriksborg from 1660 to 1662. Probably in 1661 or 1662 Cramer advanced Ahen two *rapijnen* cloths which cost a total of 671 dambas in gold. The debt was not settled until July, 1672, by which time both men were dead. Ahen's heirs paid von Groenestein the amount due on the cloths.[123]

Other examples of recorded transactions are provided by the entries which refer to Obiri and Aduaffo, both of whom were employed as trading servants by the Danish company. The debit side of Obiri's personal account has a single brief entry: "October 16, 1668, 2 mas *olijfiens,* 10 angles." On the credit side the following appears: "November 9, 1668, Received, 10 angles." Auduaffo's personal account is identical. Under *debit* there is one entry: "October 16, 1668, 2 mas green *olijfiens,* 10 angles," The credit side of his account has the following entry: "November 9, 1668, Received in gold, 10 angles." On the basis of this limited information it is not possible to determine whether the two trading servants bought the *olijfiens,* on their own account or whether they bought them in their capacity as brokers.[124]

An entry dated October, 1668, indicates that Obiri and Aduaffo received on behalf of van Groenestein 4 *cabes* of green *olijfiens* from the chief Danish factor of Christiansborg at Osu.[125] Evidently the *olijfiens* were to be taken to Amanfro where either the Danish commandant or the two trading servants were to sell them to traders who visited the fort there. Other entries, however, refer not to commercial transactions but to what would seem to have been payments for services rendered. On the ninth of December, 1668, for example, the Danish factor at Cape Coast gave Obiri a light-blue say on the commandant's orders, and on another occasion, in February, 1673, Obiri received from the same factor 10 chests of *millie* (each chest valued at 24 dambas in gold) and 72 dambas in gold dust. The total value of this apparent payment amounted to 312 dambas.[126]

Finally, two entries depict Obiri and Aduaffo in a somewhat different light. In August, 1669, Aduaffo was placed in pawn at Fredriksborg as security for Jan Claessen Cutta's debt of 6,144 dambas. And in October, 1671, Obiri was panyarred, or seized, while at Kormantse by a trader named Ofori ("Afferij") on the grounds that van Groenestein was in debt to Ofori for 20 linen cloths as well as other trade goods.[127]

The accounts journal references to "Fitero Ahen," Obiri, and Aduaffo give some idea of the kinds of commercial relations these persons had with van Groenestein. The journal provides rather more information on the commercial activities of other individuals. These include Ando Wassa, "the captain of the

Mores of Fredriksborg," that is, the Amanfrohene (about 1661 to about 1674); Jan Claessen Cutta, the *day* of the Afutu *oman* (1663 to about 1675), and Jantie Snees (who died circa 1675), a leading merchant of Cape Coast and the chief revenue-collector (*marini*) in the town.

Ando Wassa of Amanfro

Wassa's personal account covered the period from October, 1668, to December, 1670. Wassa received a monthly allowance from the Danish company, hence, in addition to his personal account, he had what was termed a "subsistence account" (*broot reekening*). This account covered the period from October, 1668, to December, 1673.

Through his mother Ando Wassa was related to the ruling family of the Afutu state. His father, Ofori ("Affre" or "Afferij"), was a leading Kormantse merchant and a brother of Jan Cabbes (who died in 1665), the ruler of Kormantse.[128] In the late 1640s and the early 1650s Wassa appears to have been a merchant. In 1653 and 1654 he resided at Little Komenda; earlier he had lived at Mouri and Elmina. In 1654 the Eguafohene appointed him to negotiate with English traders on the establishment of a trading post at Little Komenda.[129] He probably moved to Cape Coast or the Afutu capital in the late 1650s. Around 1661 Aduafo, the Afutuhene, appointed him ruler of the new port of Amanfro, and Wassa gave up his career as a full-time merchant.[130]

Nearly all of Wassa's recorded purchases consisted of relatively expensive textiles, mainly says and Turkish cloths. Together with the other goods he bought, these items were intended for his personal use or for the use of his household, and not for trade. However, some may have been used to pay the Amanfro town tax.[131] Most of the merchandise he received was advanced him against future payment. On October 23, 1668, for example, he received one say on condition that it be paid for within thirty days. No pawn appears to have been left as security. Payment for the say was received by van Groenestein on the fifth of December.[132] Another example is provided by an entry dated December 21, 1668: Wassa was credited one say against the security of a female pawn. A third example is provided by an entry of February 14, 1670: he was advanced one say against the security of his "subsistence account."[133] Wassa's allowance, which ranged between 140 and 240 dambas a month, gave him a permanent surety, a kind of standing credit account, at Fredriksborg, and he often used it as a security against any advances in merchandise. Thus, on the twenty-eighth of February and the thirty-first of October, 1669, and on the thirty-firsts of May and December, 1670, parts of his allowance were credited to his account.[134] Wassa also sold produce to the Danish commandant: on January 28, 1669, he sold 700 yams for 436 dambas; on October 31 he sold 100 yams and 4 chests of *millie;* and in November, 1670, he sold 1,000 yams for 624 dambas.[135] These items were credited to his account at the fort. Many of the other entries indicate that he paid for his purchases with gold and not with

ivory and slaves. The gold that he sold no doubt came from court fines and taxes and also from his share of the state revenues that the Afutuhene periodically distributed among the notables of the kingdom.[136] The agricultural produce that Wassa sold at Fredriksborg came either from his family farm (or farms), which was (or were) worked by Ardra slaves, or from the farms attached to his office, these being cultivated by peasant corvée labor.[137] Wassa also pawned gold jewelry at the fort. In 1674 this jewelry was valued at 408 dambas.[138]

Nearly all of the entries which refer to Wassa's transactions were simple ones, that is, they denoted one debtor and one creditor. Only one complex entry involving Wassa is given. Dated the twentieth of August, 1669, the entry reads: "Received in *millie* from captain Ando on behalf of Jem's account 3 ounces 3 angles [1,224 dambas]." This entry appears under the personal credit account of the Danish commandant, Henning Albrecht (1662 to 1667).[139] The transaction suggests that Wassa was in debt to "Jem," who may have been an Akani broker resident in Amanfro. "Jem" had a personal account with Albrecht, to whom he was in debt, and Albrecht, in turn, had a personal account with van Groenestein, to whom he was in debt. Payment on two of the three debts was achieved by means of credit transfers. Wassa paid off his debt to "Jem" with *millie* valued at 1,224 dambas in gold; this credited payment was transferred to "Jem's" debt account with Albrecht and from thence to Albrecht's debt account with van Groenestein.

Unlike captain Abracon of Little Komenda, Wassa was not a broker. He rendered other services to the Danish fort; for example, he provided the guards who were employed there, and he supplied it regularly with water and firewood. For these services he received a monthly allowance that was paid in the form of gold, textiles, muskets, and/or cattle.[140] His annual income from the fort can be valued at between 1,600 and 2,900 dambas in gold. This income was considerably smaller than that of Abracon, but it was much greater than the 144 dambas a year which a woodcutter received and only marginally higher than the 1,152 dambas that was the annual income of a blacksmith. Wassa had other sources of income: court fines, a share of state revenues, and the labor services of slaves and peasants.

Jan Claessen Cutta of Afutu

The personal account of Jan Claessen Cutta covered the period from September, 1668, to June, 1672. Cutta also had what was designated a "custom's account" (*costuijm reekening*), which is given for the period from October, 1668, to January, 1672. The "custom's account" was in fact a rent account; it specified the monthly ground-rent payments that the Danish commandant made to the Afutu *day*. Cutta did not have a "subsistence account."

There is no information on the career of Cutta before he succeeded to the *day*ship in 1663. It is possible that he was a younger brother or a son of Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay, who served as *day* from about the mid-1640s until

his death in August, 1662. Cutta may have been employed as a broker or trading servant at the Swedish African Company's Cape Coast fort in the 1650s.[141] As *day* Cutta was in charge of all European trade conducted in the state, and he had overall responsibility for the trading stations in the ports.[142] He also appears to have been the political overlord, or governor, of the towns and villages situated on and near the coast.[143]

According to the accounts journal Cutta purchased relatively few goods at Fredriksborg or at the Danish company's Cape Coast factory. Most of his trade seems to have been conducted with the English at Cape Coast and with the Dutch at Elmina. His only recorded purchases at the Danish fort were made in the months of September and October, 1668. They totalled 4,464 dambas in value.[144] It is uncertain whether the merchandise he bought was acquired for his personal or household use or for the royal court and household.

Several entries refer to the loans he contracted with van Groenestein. These loans were in all likelihood official state loans rather than personal ones. In August, 1669, for example, he borrowed 6,144 dambas in gold from the Danish commandant, and in May, 1671, he obtained a loan of 12,288 dambas in gold. The second transaction was negotiated by Obiri, one of the Danish company's trading servants, and Jan Lentse, an Akani broker resident in Amanfro. No surety was left to cover the second loan; however, several pawns were kept at the fort to cover the first. One of the pawns included Aduaffo, a trading servant of the company; he was pledged for 768 dambas.[145] The other pawns were not mentioned, but they may have included gold ornaments and jewelry. In Februray, 1674, the *day*'s gold pawns at Fredriksborg were valued at 27,168 dambas. Some of these had probably served as surety for the August, 1669, loan.[146]

On one occasion the Danish commandant borrowed gold from Cutta. On the fifth of March, 1669, he received a loan of 18,432 dambas in gold from the *day*. The debt was not repaid until March, 1671.[147] No interest seems to have been charged. In June, 1672, the commandant settled a debt of 1,536 dambas with Cutta. The debt probably represented a loan van Groenestein had received from the *day* between March, 1671, and June, 1672.[148] The loans granted to the commandant were no doubt disbursements from the state treasury. In his relations with the Danish fort the *day* was not only a customer to whom merchandise could be sold and loans granted, he was also a moneylender from whom money could be borrowed.

The rent that the Danish company paid to the *day* exceeded 1,000 dambas a month. The entries in the accounts journal indicate that it was paid in gold. Only a single entry shows that Cutta received textiles instead of gold as rent.[149] Cutta also used the "custom's account" as a standing credit account. The "custom's account" was the means by which he settled his debts with several different persons: the commandant, the Danish factor at Cape Coast, and Akuma ("Ancema"), the captain, or chief broker, of the Akani trading community of Amanfro. Akuma, one of the principal traders of the town, had outstanding debts with

van Groenestein; Cutta, on the other hand, had outstanding debts with Akuma. To settle his debts with Akuma Cutta had part of the monthly rent payments transferred to Akuma's personal credit account at the fort, and the payments were then used to settle Akuma's debts with the commandant.[150] These credit transfers represent one example of the complex monetary transactions in which the *day* was involved.

Other entries indicate that such transactions were not uncommon. An entry dated July 18, 1669, relates that Jan Claessen Acroissan, former *day* of Afutu (who died in 1662), owed the Danish commandant Joost Cramer (who died in 1662) and two Akani merchant-brokers, Akuma and Ansaku ("Ensacon"), a total of 13 marks, 2 ounces, 12 angles (40,972 dambas). To ensure payment of this debt the brokers panyarred "several peasants" (*een deel boeren*) and placed them in Fredriksborg, where they remained for six months. Cutta settled part of the debt by handing over slaves, trade goods, and gold valued together at 27,648 dambas. On the eleventh of December of that year Cutta settled a debt that "captain Dumfan and Offemin at Cong" owed Cramer; this debt amounted to 16,032 dambas.[151] He also assumed responsibility for paying off various debts that a certain Akumani ("Accomanij") owed to Cramer, Albrecht, and van Groenestein. One entry pertaining to Akumani is of particular interest. Dated the first of July, 1671, this entry refers to a transaction that involved the sum of 1 benda (768 dambas) in gold. A certain J. Cassio (who is unidentified) handed over the gold, which came from Kwakubu ("Quocubu"), probably the *marini* of Amanfro during the 1660s and 1670s. Kwakubu paid this sum on behalf of Cutta, however, the gold was intended for Akumani's account at the fort and not Cutta's.[152] It appears that Akumani had purchased a slave, named "Adj," from the commandant, and that 1 benda in gold was sent as payment. Kwakubu therefore settled his debt with the *day* by paying on the latter's debt with Akumani.

Abracon and Wassa traded at the commercial establishments in their respective ports. They were primarily interested in purchasing merchandise either to sell to merchants, as in the case of Abracon, or for personal consumption, as in the case of Wassa. To Abracon and Wassa the trading stations were a source of personal income: the former received a monthly salary and monthly broker's fees and the latter a monthly subsistence allowance. Jan Claessen Cutta conducted trade at Fredriksborg and other trading posts. However, his transactions were more financial than commercial in nature. For him Fredriksborg was more significant as a money-lending agency than as a place where goods could be bought. At the same time Cutta did not perceive the fort as a source of personal income, but rather as taxable, revenue-producing unit that paid ground rent as well as customs duties and other imposts. Fredriksborg and the other trading establishments were incorporated into the state's system of revenue collection. Cutta's relations with the trading establishments were therefore quite different from those of Abracon and Wassa.

Jantie Snees of Cape Coast

The third person who figures prominently in the accounts journal is Jantie Snees (also referred to as "Abee Coffu Jantie Seniees," "Jan Snees," "Janque Senece," and "Johan von Sinesen") of Cape Coast. His personal account extended over the period from September, 1668, to April, 1672. He received no allowances or tax payments from the Danish fort and therefore had no "subsistence account" or "custom's account."

While Abracon, Ando Wassa, and Jan Claessen Cutta were men of social distinction by right of birth, Jantie Snees came from a commoner background. He is perhaps to be identified with "Jantie van roeye," or Jantie, son of the canoeman, who lived in Kormantse in the 1640s and was employed by the Dutch company at that time as a trading servant.[153] Whatever the case, Snees was an eminent person by the late 1650s. He was one of the signers of the 1659 Eguafo-Dutch West Indies Company treaty, and in 1660 he was referred to as one of the leading merchants of Little Komenda.[154] By the mid-1660s he had moved to Cape Coast. No reason was given for this change of residence.

In 1667 it was noted that he was a son-in-law of Aduafo, the Afutuhene.[155] Possibly his marriage into the Afutu royal family led him to move to Cape Coast. As a result of this marriage he became an affine of Ando Wassa. Snees was very likely appointed the *marini* of Cape Coast by the Afutuhene shortly after he moved to the port. He was responsible for collecting imposts of various kinds (rent, fish tax, market tax, court fines, tolls, and so forth) and transmitting them quarterly to the *day* in the state capital.[156] He may have served as chief broker of the Danish company's Cape Coast lodge on an irregular basis.

Snees's trade at Fredriksborg was much greater than the trade that Ando Wassa and Jan Claessen Cutta conducted there. Between September, 1668, and May, 1672, his accumulated debts at the fort amounted to 58,464 dambas.[157] During approximately the same period Wassa's debts came to 5,064 dambas and Cutta's to 18,432 dambas. Snees's trade with the English at Cape Coast and the Dutch at Elmina was undoubtedly greater than his trade with the Danish factors.[158] The total value of his commercial activity at the European establishments very likely exceeded 150,000 dambas a year. Whatever the actual value of his annual trading operations, it is clear that Snees ranked as one of the great merchants on the coast.

Many of the entries relating to Snees refer to the pawns he deposited at Fredriksborg. When Albrecht was commandant, Snees left a gold pawn worth 2,832 dambas and a pledge of thirty textiles, which were pawned for a total of 17,664 dambas' worth of merchandise. The entries fail to specify the commodities advanced against these securities. By the time van Groenestein assumed charge as Albrecht's successor Snees had not redeemed his pawns. To enforce payment of the loan Albrecht panyarred (*paniaren*) persons and property belonging to Snees, but without the desired effect. In 1673 van Groenestein was obliged to sell the thirty cloths, for which he received only 10,680 dambas in

gold instead of the 17,664 dambas that had been advanced Snees.[159] The gold pawn was probably sold as well.

On the twentieth of February, 1671, Snees placed the following pawns in the fort: one female and five male slaves, nine chests of *millie,* a drum, and 384 dambas' worth of gold. The pawns were valued at a total of 4,608 dambas. Snees deposited them on behalf of three persons: Aggrey ("Agrij"), an *ohene* and trader of Cape Coast, Osei ("Saij"), who is unidentified, and Ayisi ("Eijsie"), one of Snees's wives. The trade goods that were credited against these pledges were not listed.[160] An entry dated April 12, 1672, relates that on the twentieth of February of that year Snees had pawned twenty slaves for a total of 9,884 dambas, and beads for 1,563 dambas–together, 11,520 dambas. One of the slaves, a boy, stood as security for an advance of twelve chests of *millie.*[161]

Finally, an entry dated May 17, 1672, shows that he had a gold pawn, valued at 1,248 dambas, and "12 false copper beads" (*valsche coper corallen*), valued at 1,728 dambas, deposited at the Danish fort. On the basis of these pledges the commandant advanced him twelve chests of *millie* which Snees was to use for the "maintenance of his people."[162] The latter probably included the 100 or more slaves Snees is said to have possessed.[163]

While Snees seems to have been delinquent in meeting some of his debts with the Danish company, he settled other debts without apparently difficulty. On the second of November, 1668, he settled part of his debt at the fort by paying the canoe-hiring fee which the Danish commandant owed "the Ladische"; payment was made in the form of a linen cloth valued at 168 dambas.[164] On the twentieth of February, 1672, he offered in payment eight slaves, gold dust and gold jewelry, a ring (possibly also of gold), and an anker of spirits; and on April 12 of that year he handed over seventy ounces of silver, valued at 2,496 dambas in gold, as payment on his debts.[165]

That Snees's trading operations extended well beyond the Cape Coast-Amanfro district is indicated by the thirty cloths he had pawned during Albrecht's commandantship. Five of the cloths were designated Ardra ("Arda," "Arders") textiles, and four were Mandinga. Some of the other cloths were, perhaps, of Benin origin.[166] It is uncertain whether Snees's commercial activities carried him to the Benin kingdom; however, an entry in the accounts journal indicates that he participated in the cabotage trade to the Ardra coast. A transaction dated November 9, 1669, relates that van Groenestein advanced him merchandise to the value of 14,592 dambas "for the Ardra journey" (*over Ardersche voijage*); in addition, Snees was credited 2,040 dambas in goods and/or gold in order to pay the three canoemen (*roeijers*)–Adow ("Adau"), Kwodwo ("Quadia"), and Takyi ("Tacquine")–he had hired.[167] Textiles would have been one of Snees's main purchases in the Ardra port of Ofra. Other purchases there would have included aggrey beads, horses' tails, agricultural produce, and slaves. Gold and trade goods would have been exchanged for these items. Throughout the 1660s the Cape Coast-Ofra trade flourished. There seems little doubt that Snees was actively engaged in it.

Snees's Mandinga cloths came from textile-producing centers such as Bighu and Old Wankyi which were more than 200 miles north of Cape Coast. That he organized his own caravans in order to trade at these places seems possible, but unlikely, as much of the north-south caravan traffic was dominated by the Akani commercial organization. His trade with Bighu and other urban centers north of the forest zone, as well as with the trading towns in this zone, was realized through the agency of the Akani mercantile communities based in Amanfro and Cape Coast.[168] The commodities that he brought from Ardra and that he obtained at the Danish posts were exchanged for the textiles, metalware, and gold which Akani caravans brought to the coast.

By August, 1676, Snees was dead. A document that dates from the end of the month provides a brief account of the settlement of his debts with the Danish African Company:

> Anno 1676. Frederichsborgh, 20 August. On this date settled with Jantie Snees' brother, Pim Quassj, Snees' debt in the presence of the Daij of Fettu, Ahenequa the third and Menta Buer, Accomanij, Ickenj and Annim, and Abrij; and the debt is 25 benda 15 english. There placed in my hand as pawns [*Unterpantt*] a large Negro sword embellished with gold and Corfu Braffo's son named Obing. The whole sum of the debt is 6 marks and 2 ounces 15 english. On this date the 29th August Pim Quassj fetched his gold-embellished sword and paid, on the aforementioned debt, 4 benda 15 english.[169]

Snees's total debt with the company amounted to 19,560 dambas in gold. His brother Apim Kwasi ("Pim Quassj"), an important trader in his own right, assumed responsibility for the payment of the debt. His initial payment came to 3,432 dambas in gold. The balance was, presumably, paid after August.

Ahen, Obiri, Aduaffo, Ando Wassa, Jan Claessen Cutta, and Jantie Snees represent a small percentage of those who are known to have transacted business with the factors of the Danish African Company at Amanfro and Cape Coast in the 1660s and 1670s. The names of nearly 100 individuals are recorded in the company's trading records for this period.[170] Most of these persons came from the towns of Amanfro, Cape Coast, and Afutu. Other persons, however, came from further afield: from the towns of Sekondi, Great and Little Komenda, Elmina, Ikon, Mouri, Asebu, Mankessim, Kormantse, Anomabo, "Bagare" (an unidentified place in the Fante *oman*), Great Accra, and Abrem, and from towns in the Assin polity. These individuals belonged to five distinct socio-occupational categories. The first category included the rulers of states: the Afutuhene, the Asebuhene, and the *brafo* of Fante. The second category comprised the different grades of *ahene:* the *day, fetere,* and *brafo* of Afutu, the *fetere* of Great Komenda, the Amanfrohene, the *marini* of Amanfro, the *brafo* of Abrem, the *fiscal,* or town treasurer, of Sekondi, the *fetere* and *day* of Cape Coast, the captains, or *abrafo,* of Cape Coast and Mouri, and the heir apparent of the Accra kingdom. The third category included the mercantile estate: members of the Akani captaincies or mercantile guilds based in Elmina, Little Komenda, Aman-

fro, Cape Coast, Ikon, Kormantse, and Anomabo and non-Akani traders and brokers from various coastal and inland towns. The fourth category included the trading servants employed by the Danish and English chartered companies and officers in the *asafo* companies. And the fifth category consisted of canoemen, artisans, and some of the rank and file militiamen or *asafo.* Persons belonging to the first three categories accounted for the bulk of the trade conducted at the Danish Company's Amanfro and Cape Coast trading stations. The control they exercised over the appropriation and distribution of the social surplus product accounted for their commercial supremacy in the external trade.

THE CREDIT SYSTEM

Trade, it has been remarked, "was born of the uneven development of production in different communities"; credit, however, "was born of the uneven development of production among different producers within the same community."[171] The genesis of trade and credit is thus rooted in differential economic development in space. Within the seventeenth-century Gold Coast region credit was no longer tied solely to this phenomenon: it was closely linked to a burgeoning money economy based on gold and to the expansion of external and internal trade. Credit served to increase the rate of commodity circulation and to expand the money supply within the region, hence it made possible purchases that would not otherwise have been made.

Generally speaking credit transactions did not take place in the daily markets of the coastal and subcoastal towns where produce, craft products, and imported trade goods were sold. All purchases, however small, were made according to gold weight. *Kakraas,* dambas, and takus were the weights most commonly used by buyers and sellers in these markets.[172] Without gold, produce and other necessities could not be bought. Thus, in a letter to his superior at Cape Coast Castle, the Royal African Company factor at Little Komenda wrote in February, 1696: "We are in great want of our pay; we now and then buy a taccoes worth of fish or pelinoes though at a dear rate . . . nothing to be had without ye penny."[173] Lacking gold, the factor could not purchase foodstuffs at the Little Komenda market. Apropos the Tantumkwerri market, another Royal African Company factor commented, "Things is so dear here that there is no buying of anything and their [gold] weights are [so] unreasonable that it is incredible to speak of them. . . ."[174] At this market, too, provisions could only by bought with ready cash, and at prices set by the sellers. Cash transactions were the rule at the urban markets.

On occasion persons employed at the forts and factories were granted credit by the wealthy so that they could buy their provisions. In June, 1698, the Royal African Company agent at Little Komenda wrote:

> Being in great extremity for want of money, not having one penny worth in the castle, nor have had for sometime, and that our men are much put to it

> to get provisions for their daily sustenance; people that have trusted them so long will not trust them for anything more, and that will not take trade goods by reason cannot dispose of them again . . . be pleased to send about three marks [9,216 dambas in gold] . . . and then when [the men and slaves have] discharged their debts owing to the townspeople here will . . . send down what is over.[175]

In order to buy provisions in the Little Komenda market the persons employed at the fort were obliged to borrow gold from some of the townspeople. On another occasion, in 1681, the Danish commandant at Fredriksborg had to borrow 3,072 dambas in gold from the Afutuhene so that he could purchase provisions in the Amanfro market for the persons employed at the fort.[176] Sellers in the urban markets did not extend credit to buyers.

In contrast, credit relations played a major role in the trade that brokers, merchants, and other notables conducted aboard the ships and at the chartered companies' mercantile establishments. The records of these companies contain numerous references to such relations. The accounts journal of van Groenestein, for example, has many entries that refer to loans granted to persons who traded at Fredriksborg and the other trading stations of the Danish African Company. The entries show that a number of these persons had current accounts with van Groenestein and that these accounts enabled them to make payments and to receive commodities and/or money (gold) by way of written orders, that is, by credit transfers from one account to another. Loans were advanced against the current accounts and against deposited securities (pawns), which took the form of gold dust, gold ornaments, brass basins, textiles, people, and so on.[177] Like the other trading-company establishments, Fredriksborg was not only an *ntontoforo*—a place where commodities could be bought and sold—it was also a place where credit could be obtained.

The Danish priest Müller, who lived in Amanfro from 1662 to 1669, believed that credit advances were a financial liability to the Danish company because loans were never, or very seldom, repaid. He noted that the individuals who traded at Fredriksborg often demanded goods on credit, and in spite of the frequency of default these demands could not be easily ignored: first, there were individuals of high sociopolitical rank who had the authority to prohibit trade at Fredriksborg if their demands for credit were not met, and second, there were important merchants who would transfer their trade to other trading-company stations if they were refused credit.[178] In Müller's view credit advances were made because of threats to the ongoing commercial life of the fort.

It was certainly the case that credit demands were occasionally accompanied by threats, and it was also the case that some persons failed to settle the debts that they had contracted at Fredriksborg. However, threats were the exception, and more often than not debts were paid off and pledges were redeemed. Entries in van Groenestein's accounts journal, for example, show that most debts contracted by merchants and others were settled. Another example is provided by a 1694 description of ships' trade off Cape Coast:

> In the mornings early the blacks come aboard to trade, bringing their gold in divers little rags, according to the number of those who employ them to trade for them. . . . Often some of the best traders will come and declare us to give them credit for the value of two or three marks of gold, promising in a certain number of days when their servants, or boys, return from the inland countries, with the produce in gold of such merchandise as they sent them there to dispose of. Commonly they will leave some pledge in our hands till payment, as great collars of gold, which they will be sure to redeem.[179]

This account indicates that credit "flowed" from the ships' captains, the sellers, to the brokers, the buyers, who conducted trade on behalf of inland customers. Gold ornaments were deposited as surety, and these were redeemed after the credited merchandise had been sold in the interior. Credit was an indispensable component in the trade between the captains and the brokers.

The separation in time of purchase aboard the ships from final delivery in the interior and the separation in space of the inland buyers from the coastal sellers required a means of transaction (or exchange) which precluded the constant movement of large quantities of gold over considerable distances. The credit system met this need. Brokers could transact their business without gold in hand; gold was sent to the coast only after the inland customers had received their merchandise. Credit demands were not, as Müller implies, due to the whims of the rich and powerful; they constituted an important element in upper-class economic practice. Through the credit system the *afahene* and the *abirempon* could acquire commodities and money, and hence expand their "economy" of social consumption. The expansion of this "economy" was essential to the upper-class mode of existence.[180]

The credit system was not an adventitious phenomenon: the social and material conditions that made its reproduction over time possible were well established in the seventeenth-century Gold Coast. Certain of these conditions were manifest in the process of circulation. It is possible, for example, to make an analytical distinction between the circulation of commodities and the circulation of money. Commodities entered the process of circulation and left it, that is, they were consumed; money, on the other hand, constantly remained in circulation, although it could be withdrawn. With regard to the circulation of commodities money served as an *instrument* of exchange (C-M-C′); with regard to the circulation of money it was an *object* of exchange (M-C-M′).[181] The two distinct social roles of money or gold conformed in the one case to the producers' exchange circuit (such as the exchange relations of peasants, fishermen, hunters, and day laborers) and in the other to the merchants' exchange circuit. The development of credit was rooted in the merchants' circuit; hence merchants came to assume the role of major creditors.

Within the Gold Coast economy the social existence of money as a form of wealth in its own right was independent of the circulation of commodities, but at the same time it was based on this circulation. The independence of money derived from its function as a means of hoarding and as a means of payment,

that is, a means of settling debts. Hoarding had two functions: it was the means for supplying money for circulation or for withdrawing money from circulation, and it was a reserve fund of the means of payment. As a means for supplying money for circulation hoarding was a source of money-lending capital, or credit.[182] The development of money into a means of payment necessitated the accumulation of gold (moneyed wealth) against the date when payment was due. Hoarding was not ubiquitous: it was the prerogative of those who had accumulated substantial gold reserves that had been acquired from revenues and/or trade.[183]

Credit and money lending supplied the requirements of an expanding commerce by centralizing moneyed wealth within a society where the means of production were dispersed and simple commodity exchange and production prevailed. Moneyed wealth was socially concentrated—it was held by the *afahene* and the *abirempon*—and it was spatially concentrated—it was kept in the towns, not in the villages. In the form of moneyed wealth, money-lending capital enlarged merchant capital by giving it greater social and spatial mobility. Owners of gold hoards extended credit to kings and peasants alike, and they granted loans to persons over an extensive area.

Debts and the Overseas Trade

The chartered companies were an important source of credit to political officers, brokers, merchants, and others. Their records provide ample evidence of credit transactions conducted at the different forts and factories. Dutch company documents of the 1640s contain the earliest specific references to such transactions, although it is clear that Dutch credit advances were being made in the period between the late sixteenth century and 1640.[184] Detailed information on Dutch and other company loans to political and mercantile dignitaries comes from records of post-1650 date.

A 1658 inventory of the Swedish African Company shows that the pledges, or securities, which had been deposited at the company's fort of Carlsborg in Cape Coast since 1651 or 1652 had a total value of 614,400 dambas in gold. The pledges consisted mainly of aggrey beads and gold jewelry for which the factors had advanced trade goods.[185] Unfortunately the names of the debtors were not given. A Danish company *notitie* of February, 1674, lists the names of more than twenty persons who had deposited securities at Fredriksborg between 1668 and 1673. The securities, consisting of gold ornaments, aggrey beads, brass "Accanisten" basins, "Mandingan" textiles, swords with gold handles, and so forth, had a total value in excess of 137,000 dambas. The individual debts ranged from a low of 72 dambas in gold, owed by a servant (*knegt*) of Aggrey Afirifa ("Agrij Firvie"), a Cape Coast *ohene*, to a high of more than 45,000 dambas, owed by Kwaku Fiman ("Quacu Fimam"), the *fetere* of the Afutu state in the 1660s and the 1670s.[186] A Danish company inventory of 1681 valued the pawns held at Fredriksborg at between 120,000 and 121,000 dambas.[187] In 1679 the

"debts standing out" at Cape Coast Castle amounted to 37,836 dambas in value; however, by September, 1701, the debts totalled 565,519 dambas in gold.[188] In 1690 the debts owed the Dutch factors at the Elmina fort came to nearly 220,000 dambas' gold in value.[189]

Between 1689 and 1701 the debts that various notables contracted at the different trading stations totalled more than 2 million dambas in gold. This sum was roughly equivalent to the production of 1,000 goldminers—each producing 24 dambas' worth of gold a day—over a period of about three months.

The debt lists of the trading companies indicate that most debtors were persons of property and of high social status. These individuals were credit worthy. In contrast, neither hunters, charcoal burners, peasants, thatchers, mat makers nor day laborers figure in these lists. As far as the factors were concerned these persons were not worthwhile credit risks. Loans were given to those who had the means to pay. In 1657 or 1658 the factor in charge of the Dutch factory in the Egwira town of Abakwa advanced Yantwi ("Jantij" or "Jante Cona"), a prominent *ohene* (*groot cabosero*) in the Mampa province of the Adom *oman,* nearly 5,000 dambas' worth of trade goods.[190] This sum was equivalent to the combined annual earnings of thirty to fifty woodcutters or seventeen to twenty-five day laborers. In June, 1689, the *ohene kese, day, fetere,* and *okyeamehene* of Afutu negotiated with the Dutch at Elmina for a loan of 120 to 130 bendas' (92,160 to 99,840 dambas) worth of merchandise, even though they were already in debt to the Dutch for an earlier unpaid loan of 68 bendas (52,224 dambas) in trade goods.[191] The loan was granted. About the same time Takyi Panin ("Great Tagee"), the Eguafohene, requested and received a loan of muskets, gunpowder, and other goods from the English at Cape Coast Castle. His securities included 64 bendas' (49,152 dambas) worth of gold dust, twenty-two slaves, "three golden manelloes, one sword with golden handle, and one string of broad gold fetishes."[192] In March, 1694, he was advanced 20 bendas' (15,360 dambas) worth of goods, and in May, 1698, merchandise to the value of 46 bendas (35,328 dambas) by the factors at Cape Coast Castle.[193] Between 1689 and 1698 Takyi received nearly 100,000 dambas' worth of trade goods on credit. These goods were, apparently, intended for persons attached to the royal court and household, and not for trade. They were probably charged against the state treasury, hence the Eguafohen's debts would have been public, not personal debts. Similarly, the debts contracted by Yantwi of Adom and the Afutu dignitaries were public debts.

The Asebuhene was regularly advanced trade goods by the Royal African Company's agents at Cape Coast Castle. In March, 1699, he was advanced 35 bendas (26,880 dambas) in gold at the castle, for which he was credited a large quantity of merchandise:

133 sheets,
71 blue perpetuanas,
18 green perpetuanas,
28 red perpetuanas,
2 English woolen carpets,
70 dozen knives,

1 iron bar,
1 case of spirits,
5 half-firkins of tallow,
1 screwed jug,
1,374 pewter basins, and
156 ounces of coral.[194]

In December of that year he left a gold pawn valued at 9,408 dambas, receiving in exchange:130 sheets, 81 iron bars, 10 pounds of cowries, 148 dozen knives, 1 snaphance musket, 120 pounds of pewterware, 48 pounds of brassware, and 6 gallons of brandy.[195] In April the following year the Asebuhene pawned six men at the castle, and for this security he was advanced goods to the value of 16,692 dambas in gold. In November, 1701, the "King and country of Saboe" left 33 bendas' (25;344 dambas) worth of gold pawns with the English at Cape Coast, on which 40 "fuzees," 6 barrels of gunpowder, 63 half-firkins of tallow, 48 blue perpetuanas, and 51 sheets were credited.[196] Between 1689 and 1701 the pawns that the Asebuhene deposited at various times at Cape Coast Castle had a combined value in excess of 100,000 dambas. As the Asebuhene was not a merchant, it can be assumed that all of the commodities which he was advanced were intended for the members of the royal household and the craftsmen, officers, and attendants attached to the royal court.

Credit was also requested for purely military purposes. In January, 1695, for example, Amaku Kusi ("Amacon Couzijn"), a leading *ohene* in the Twifo *oman*, was advanced muskets and gunpowder to the value of 260 or 300 bendas (199,600 or 230,400 dambas) in gold by the Dutch at Elmina.[197] Evidently Amaku intended to use these military goods to arm his personal fighting force and the soldiers of his clients and "vassals." Another example is provided by the Eguafo *onderconing* Abe Takyi Kuma ("Abetekke Coma"). In September, 1706, he arrived at Elmina with 400 armed men in order to request a loan of 21,888 dambas' worth of merchandise from the Dutch. The goods were to be distributed among his military force, which numbered about 5,000 men.[198] In July, 1713, Okafo ("Caffo" or "Acaffo"), the ruler of the Twifo *oman*, requested an advance of 100 bendas' (76,800 dambas) worth of gold from the Dutch factor at Shama. His securities consisted of gold jewelry, aggrey beads, and "his friends and wives." The borrowed gold was to be handed over to the rulers of several allied states, who had agreed to assist Okafo in his impending war with the "Accanists" of Assin. Okafo was granted the loan even though he had not settled an older debt that he had contracted with the Dutch at Shama.[199]

It was not uncommon for political overlords to request credit from the European factors so that they could meet their tax or tribute payments. In January, 1699, the "King and country of Arcanyes" were advanced 7 blue perpetuanas, 130 sheets, 3 says, and 1 English carpet by the factors at Cape Coast Castle. The deposited securities included a gold pawn worth 20 bendas (15,360 dambas) and "some of their children for pledge till ye debt is paid."[200] The credited goods were to be used to pay the tribute demanded by Denkyira political authorities. About a year earlier the ruler of the Kabes Terra polity requested from the English factor at Anomabo an advance of 100 bendas' (76,800

dambas) worth of trade goods against the security of three male pawns. The loan was to be used to pay part of the tribute that the Denkyirahene had imposed on Terra Kabes.[201] It was also a common practice for the rulers of the dependent coastal towns of the Akwamu *oman* to request credit advances on goods and money so that they could pay tribute to the revenue collectors from Nyanaoase.[202] In such cases credit transactions were determined by political, not commercial, considerations.

Merchandise was, however, frequently credited to different persons who intended to trade at inland or coastal markets. In August, 1693, the ruler of Tantumkwerri pawned gold jewelry "weighing nine ounces" (3,456 dambas) at the Royal African Company's factory in the port. He was advanced 35 English carpets against this pledge.[203] The carpets were to be sold to merchants from Breman and other inland towns. Another example is provided by Ayesuko ("Aussikoe"), an *ohene* of Pokoso, who conducted an important trade at Aowin. In 1708 he left the service of the Brandenburgh company, which maintained a trading station in Pokoso, and "with all his people" settled in Axim, where he entered the service of the Dutch West Indies Company. The account continues:

> But he owed the Brandenburgh General the sum of 16 bendas of gold on account of goods he had bought on credit and which he, Aussikoe, had sent to Aowin in order to sell them there with some profit, and of which he expects to receive the returns soon. He humbly requested us to be kind enough to pay the aforesaid debt to the Brandenburgh General, so that no troubles like panyarring or other irregularities will develop at Axim, promising to return the borrowed sum at Axim as soon as his people return from Aowin. . . . Resolved to lend to Aussikoe the mentioned sum to be paid to the Brandenburghers. . . .[204]

John Kabes of Little Komenda provides an example of a merchant who contracted large debts at the Dutch and English trading stations. The goods he was advanced were sold by his trading agents at both coastal and inland markets. In December, 1694, Kabes sent pawns valued at 14,784 dambas in gold to Cape Coast Castle as security against the loan of a large quantity of goods.[205] On another occasion he was credited merchandise to the value of 21,504 dambas. This debt was settled in November, 1705.[206] Kabes frequently borrowed trade goods. The Royal African Company's factor at Little Komenda reported in May, 1714, that Kabes borrowed goods from the factor whenever he heard that traders were coming to the coast. Through his servants Kabes sent the goods to the interior and exchanged them for slaves "at a small rate." The slaves were brought to the coast, where they were sold to the Little Komenda factor or to interlopers. The factor noted that Kabes generally settled his debt two months after he received the loan.[207]

Although loans were generally granted only to persons of status—the *ahenfo*, the *asanfo*, and the *batafo*—it was not uncommon for European factors to advance credit to persons of nonnoble status, particularly canoemen. In 1601 it was noted that certain of the brokers and merchants of the ports had emerged

from the ranks of the canoemen. Canoemen with mercantile aspirations began their careers as traders by borrowing gold and/or trade goods from those who possessed them.[208] Since they usually had no pledges, they were obliged to place themselves in pawn. In October, 1681, for example, three canoemen of Soko, or "English" Accra, were listed as pawns of the Royal African Company for the sum of 1,044 dambas: Agya ("Agga") for 288 dambas, Okyere ("Aquerry") for 576 dambas, and Asa ("Asha") for 180 dambas.[209] Each canoeman had evidently pawned himself for merchandise that was to be sold in one or another of the coastal markets. The profits received from the sale of the merchandise were used to pay off the debts, to buy more trade goods, and, possibly, to buy trading canoes and to hire crews to man them.

Three other examples of canoemen in pawn are referred to in the Cape Coast Castle memorandum book for the year 1704. The first, dated June 19, refers to a certain Okoyaw ("Cawera"):

> Engaged himself to ye Company for a Pawn "Cawera," A Cannoewman of Cape Coast for three ounces of Gold which was paid for him to the king of Seboo [Asebu] to whom he was indebted so much; the Generall of Cape Coast Castle agreed with him that when he pays the said sum of three ounces again and a fat Sheep, he shall be free, till then, in the mean while, he is to attend Dayly the Company's Work for his maintenance; when sent to Whidah he is to have half his pay and maintain himself.[210]

The three ounces of gold were equivalent to 1,052 dambas, and a "fat sheep" would have cost between 120 and 150 dambas in gold. Okoyaw's total debt would have been 1,172 to 1,202 dambas. Apparently Okoyaw paid off this debt from the wages he received from the Royal African Company and from the profits he made from his trading ventures. The second example refers to Abo ("Abboo"), also a Cape Coast canoeman, who pawned himself in September for 960 dambas' worth of perpetuanas.[211] It is evident that he intended to sell these textiles, and with the profits, perhaps to begin a career as a merchant. In November another Cape Coast canoeman, Kwawu ("Quow"), placed himself in pawn for 388 dambas.[212] The merchandise he received was not specified.

Danish company records of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries contain fairly numerous references to credit advances of trade goods and money (gold/cowrie shells) to canoemen and fishermen.[213] Such advances were never made to peasants, hunters, laborers, woodcutters, charcoal burners, porters, water carriers, and the like; most of them had annual earnings of less than 400 dambas in gold. Occasionally salt makers, fishermen, militiamen, and certain categories of craftsmen (such as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and masons) were granted loans, but not on a scale comparable to that of canoemen, who ranked as one of the wealthiest groups in the commoner class. Some canoemen earned well over 2,000 dambas' worth of gold yearly, while many urban commoners had annual incomes of less than 600 dambas. However, compared to the loans extended to the *afahene* and the *abirempon,* those granted the canoemen were very modest indeed.

Credit and Internal Monetary Transactions

Credit transactions were not limited to the external trade, that is, to the commercial relations between the agents of the chartered companies and the *ahenfo, batafo, asanfo,* and commoners such as the canoemen. Credit and debt were factors in the socioeconomic life of both town and village. At the beginning of the seventeenth century one observer related that wealthy townsmen (*steelien*) loaned gold to peasant families so that the latter could pay rent (*landpacht*) to their political overlords.[214] The loans were apparently repaid in produce that the creditors retailed in the urban markets and aboard European ships. Rural indebtedness to the towns was linked to the peasants' need to pay rent in money.

During periods of dearth it was not uncommon for a number of families to fall into debt. In January, 1684, for example, Yianofoba ("Jenufoeba," but also known as "Appentijn," that is, Apenten), a Fante merchant resident in Kormantse, demanded 2,592 dambas in gold from Boso ("Bossoe"), who was employed at the Dutch fort in that port. Several years earlier, during a period of famine, Boso had borrowed gold from Yianofoba to buy food. He was unable to settle the debt, so the chief factor of the fort handed him and his wife over to Yianofoba as slaves.[215] Poor families, who lacked the means to obtain their own subsistence, often became debtors, and eventually bonded servants or slaves.[216]

Credit relations among the rich and powerful were commonplace. In 1632 Ampaw ("Ambow"), the captain, or ruler, of Kormantse, loaned the newly installed captain of Anomabo 1,536 dambas in gold so that the Anomabo ruler could pay his investiture expenses.[217] Succession to office invariably involved a considerable outlay in money, goods, and food, and to cover the expenses new officeholders were occasionally obliged to borrow money. Thus it was not unusual for one officeholder to be in debt to another. However, the indebted officeholder and the creditor officeholder were not necessarily part of the same *oman* organization; they could be attached to different political systems. One example of this relationship concerns "Bonnyshee," a wealthy merchant and *ohene* of Anomabo, and Takyi Paynin, the Eguafohene. In 1695 "Bonnyshee" demanded from the English factor at Anomabo one case of spirits and 3,456 dambas' worth of woolen textiles and iron bars. He stipulated that these items were to be placed on Takyi's account at Cape Coast Castle, because Takyi was in debt to him for this amount.[218]

Two institutionalized practices were associated with credit-debt relations: pawning and panyarring. Both were well established in the coastal and inland towns in the early seventeenth century; their origins are perhaps to be sought in the early sixteenth century or the later fifteenth century. Samuel Brun, who traded along the Gold Coast littoral in the 1610s, gives a description of panyarring as it was manifested in the Asebu polity. He relates that if an individual of one town has a debt with a person from another town, "then he waits until

some one from that place comes [to his town]. He thereupon takes hold of him until the real debtor arrives. If he [the real debtor] does not come, then the innocent person is sold [and], can no longer be redeemed as [he] is taken very far inland from whence he never returns."[219] Panyarring was the means by which a creditor could claim an overdue loan.

Several cases of panyarring are cited in the Elmina journals of the mid-1640s; Takyi, a prominent *ohene* of Great Komenda, was in debt to Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay, a leading merchant-official of Afutu, and several unidentified *ahenfo* of Twifo-Heman were in debt to Akani merchant-brokers resident in the town of Abrem.[220] Müller refers to a wealthy Cape Coast trader who owed a notable of Little Komenda 14 bendas (10,752 dambas) in gold; this debt was the source of panyarring and of serious contention between the two men in the 1660s.[221] A letter of April, 1697, relates that a number of Twifo traders owed John Kabes of Little Komenda a substantial sum of gold, but mutual agreement between the two parties on the matter of payment precluded any panyarring by Kabes. There were, however, other occasions when Kabes, a very rich merchant, resorted to panyarring in order to settle unpaid debts.[222] In February, 1699, the ruler of Abora attempted to seize a caravan of Akyem merchants en route from the coast on the grounds that some Akyem traders owed him 7 bendas (5,376 dambas) in gold.[223] And in 1703 Okofomu ("Akomfamoo"), an Akani merchant-broker resident in the Eguafo *oman,* seized two Akani traders because Apobi ("Apeppe"), "the king of the Arcanys," was in debt to him for a large sum of gold.[224]

Nor were European factors exempt from panyarring when they failed to settle the debts they had with local brokers, merchants, and political overlords. In May, 1679, for example, a Danish factor reported that the Danish company owed several wealthy men of Afutu 80 bendas (61,440 dambas) in gold. To enforce payment the Afutuhene threatened to seize Fredriksborg and then to sell it to either the Dutch or the English for 200 bendas (153,600 dambas) in gold.[225] The debt was settled before this action could be carried out. On occasion the European factors resorted to panyarring when the debts they had with brokers, merchants, and others were not settled within a stipulated period.[226]

In many of the coastal and inland polities there were regulations, or laws, which attempted to control, if not prevent, the practice of panyarring.[227] However, since the practice was essentially a prerogative of the rich and powerful, such regulations were invariably breached. Bosman provides a detailed description of the practice as it existed at the end of the century:

> A distinguished Person in one Country hath Money owing him from a Person in an adjacent Country, which is not so speedily paid as he desires; on which he causes as many Goods, Freemen, or Slaves to be seized by violence and rapine in the Country where his Debtor lives, as will richly pay him; the People so seized he claps in Irons, and if not redeemed has them sold, in order to raise Money for the payment of the Debt. If the Debtor be an honest man

> and the Debt just, he immediately endeavours by the satisfaction of his Creditors to free his Country-men. . . . [228]

At several places along the coast as well as in the interior there existed a related form of panyarring which Bosman describes:

> A Rascally Creditor instead of asking his Money of his debtor, and summoning him before the Judges in case of refusal seizes the first thing he can meet with, though of six times the value of his Debt, without any regard who is the Proprietor. And when the latter comes to him for an explanation he sends him to his Debtor, saying "Let him pay back." So this man is not slow in going to the debtor and demands payment for his goods. . . .The first *Scallywag* got already six times as much as he needed, and the one whose goods were taken demands, if he is as unreasonable as the other, also double for them, affirming that he would not have parted with them for a lesser price. [229]

To avoid this situation a debtor usually left one or more pawns with his (or her) creditor, and if the debt was not paid, the creditor claimed ownership of the pawns. Creditors did not depend solely on panyarring in order to claim their loans, especially when their debtors were persons of little means. Such debtors were usually taken to the town courts. [230]

The towns with relatively large concentrations of merchants and merchant capital and gold hoardings were also important credit, or money-lending, centers. This was clearly the case with those seaboard settlements that had one or more trading establishments. It was also the case with those coastal towns that developed strong commercial ties with inland districts. From the 1680s onwards the merchants of Anomabo established such ties, and by the early eighteenth century they were active in Asante, Akyem, Agona, Akwamu, Twifo, and other states. A 1717 report gives a brief account of the Anomabo merchants' trade: "Their manner is to employ multitudes of people in most countries to engross all the slaves wherewith the interlopers are continually supplied, . . . and of late they have practiced a trade from a new channel by carrying great quantity of goods through Fetue and Abramboe and even to Cuifero country to intercept the traders coming to Commenda and to [Cape Coast]." [231] In many of the places where they traded the Anomabo merchants had their debtors.

Certain inland townships also functioned as credit centers. For much of the seventeenth century the principal Assin (Akani) towns were money-lending centers, credit being extended through the agency of the corporate Akani merchant-broker associations. [232] Towards the end of the century other centers emerged. Abankesieso, the capital of the Denkyira *oman*, was the focus of an extensive trading network and a center of wealth accumulation. One account relates that "the Dinkiras possessed a great wealth of gold, not so much from what they had got out of their own country, but more from loot out of other Countries and from their profit out of Trade; because at that time none of the Blacks could be compared with them in the field of trade." [233] Another account

described the Denkyira *oman* as "the richest country in gold" and Denkyira merchants as "the best traders on this coast" and "the greatest traders to all the inland countries."[234] The wealth of late-seventeenth-century Abankesieso was derived therefore from booty and tribute extracted from dependent territories and from trading profits. The centralization, that is, spatial and social concentration, of moneyed wealth was achieved on the one hand through commercial operations and on the other through an imperial structured political-military organization.

Under these circumstances the Denkyira mercantile estate was able to accumulate a considerable amount of wealth. The rich trader Badu Agyesa ("Badõ Aegyensan"), who probably lived in Abankesieso, was no doubt a typical representative of this estate. On the occasion of the Asante-Denkyira war of 1701 he deposited 15,360 dambas in gold dust in the Dutch fort at Shama for safekeeping.[235] This sum was equivalent to the combined annual earnings of twenty-five to thirty carpenters. If Badu deposited equivalent amounts of gold dust in other places, his gold hoard would have been very substantial indeed. The hoard would have represented a source not only of merchant capital, but also of money-lending capital.

Like Abankesieso, Nyanaoase, the Akwamu capital, and Kumase, the Asante capital, were also characterized by the concentration and large-scale accumulation of social wealth derived from trade and tribute. Both capitals emerged as important credit centers—Nyanaoase between 1680 and 1730 and Kumase after 1701. The political-military officers and merchants of the two imperial urban centers converted portions of the accumulated wealth to money-lending capital (and merchant capital as well).[236]

From the 1680s onwards money lending and credit within the region were closely associated with the expansionist imperial political organizations of Denkyira, Akwamu, and Asante. Earlier in the century, before the rise of these organizations, money lending and credit were closely linked to the trading organization of the Akani merchants of the nonimperial Assin polity. Akani commerce and merchant capital dominated regional trade for most of the century.

7

THE AKANI TRADING ORGANIZATION

IF MERCHANT CAPITAL in precapitalist petty commodity-producing societies were subject to a fundamental tendency towards expansion and concentration, the development of the seventeenth-century Akani trading organization was one clear manifestation of this tendency in the Gold Coast.[1] In the early sixteenth century the Akani *batafo* or traders formed one among several different merchant groups which traded at Elmina and other coastal towns.[2] A century later they dominated the import-export trrade of a number of these towns. Throughout the seventeenth century the Akani merchants of Assin ("Accania") "were famed for great Traders."[3] They were essentially, though not exclusively, dealers in gold.

Around the middle of the century it was estimated that they sold two-thirds of the gold that the European trading companies exported annually from the Gold Coast.[4] Between 1621 and 1655 Dutch gold purchases amounted to a little over 308 million dambas in value.[5] If the Akani traders were responsible for two-thirds of this amount, they would have supplied the Dutch with more than 205 million dambas' worth. This sum clearly exceeded the combined sales of all other gold traders and was indicative of the scale of merchant capital concentration in the Akani commercial organization. In addition, it indicates that the Akani *batafo* had ready access to large supplies of gold. Around 1618 one account estimated that their yearly gold purchases at one inland marketing center exceeded 600,000 dambas in value.[6]

Akani commercial dominance lasted until the very end of the century. In the 1680s and 1690s, when annual gold exports from the coastal ports ranged, according to various estimates, between 21 million and 47 million dambas in value,[7] the Akani merchants were probably responsible for at least half of the exports: their yearly gold sales to the European factors fell between 10½ million and 23½ million dambas. Certainly their importance in the gold trade was never denied. In 1694 an English ship's captain remarked that "the Acanys . . . are the best traders to our ships and castles, and have the purest gold."[8] Four years later the Asebuhene confirmed the importance of Akani trade on the coast when he

explained to an English factor his reason for assisting the Akani towns and districts in their impending war with the Denkyira *oman:* "The gold which comes to the water is called Arcany gold not Dankery gold. The Arcanyes keeping all their captains at all places of trade along the coast which the Denkery do not."[9] Clearly Akani trade was a crucial factor in the import-export trade of the seaboard towns.

The Akani commercial organization evolved within the framework of a society where production for the market was developed and commodity exchange was widespread. Its history predated 1600, for the large-scale trade of the seventeenth century presupposes an earlier period of merchant capital accumulation and concentration. It is likely that the initial stages of merchant capital formation in Accania date from the fifteenth century and the commencement of the period of expanded reproduction. By the seventeenth century Akani trading capital was dominant throughout much of the region.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF TRADE AND THE SOCIAL ROLE OF AKANI MERCHANT CAPITAL

Based initially in the towns and districts of the Pra-Ofin basin, Akani merchants spread beyond this area during the course of the seventeenth century. A 1659 Dutch report, for example, relates that "for many years they have already annexed the trade along the coast from the castle de Mina to Cormantijn, and are able to keep their neighbors out of it, so that no [European] trades with anyone but them either at da Mina, Cabo Cors, Congh, Mouree, Annemabo, Adia, or Cormantijn. . . ."[10] Akani merchants were also active in the principal subcoastal towns from Great Komenda to Agona Asafo and in the market towns of the Abrem, Etsi, and Twifo polities. They were regular visitors at the fairs that were held annually or biannually in various localities in the forest zone. They conducted a considerable trade in Adanse, Kaase, Kwabre, Tafo, Aharia, and Akyem, and in the gold-marketing towns lying along the banks of the Ancobra and Tano rivers.[11] Their commercial activities carried them north of the forest to Bighu, Ahwene Koko, Old Bima, Bono Manso, Takyiman, and possibly beyond to Kafaba, Yendi Debari, and Gbuipe.[12] Akani caravans and merchants were therefore active in three ecological zones: the coastal savanna, the rain forest, and the wooded savanna north of the forest.

In Assin itself, it was noted in the late 1690s, there were several important "ancient markets for trade." These were periodic, or weekly, markets that, a 1659 Dutch report relates, were held so that traders from other places could purchase "merchandise in the country of Accania."[13] The early-seventeenth-century township of "Dahoe," situated on the southern frontier of Accania, was very likely one such market. Its sixteenth-century predecessor may have been the settlement known as "the Branno," where in 1550 a son of the then-reigning Akani king resided.[14]

Akani caravans, one writer commented, "enjoy great freedom everywhere and are generally welcomed and accepted by every one."[15] From the coast the caravans conveyed stockfish, salt, slaves, craft products (such as tobacco pipes), imported merchandise (derived from the overseas as well as the coasting trade), and, possibly, livestock to the inland marketing centers. To the coastal and subcoastal towns they carried gold (in the form of dust, nuggets, and jewelry), craft goods (such as brass basins, textiles, and swords with gilded handles), produce, occasionally slaves, and small quantities of ivory. Purchasing and preparing merchandise and gold, bulking and breaking bulk, transporting, selling in markets dispersed over an area of several thousand square miles, and managing credit and deferred payments were all activities of a continuous or regular character. They required the employment and constant attention of relatively large numbers of people in the various commercial centers of the trading network. The financing of these activities depended on the organizational concentration of substantial economic and human resources. The trading organization provided a formal framework within which persons engaged in diverse commercial operations could function.

One of the defining features of Akani trade was the circulation of merchant capital over a very extensive area. The Akani *batafo* were able to enjoy what was nearly a monopoly over the circulation of commodities and gold between a large number of townships (*nkuro*) and villages (*nkuraa*) engaged in production for the market. On the one hand, they facilitated the social distribution of commodities (*aguade*) as use-values between different categories of producers (like fishermen, peasants, and craftsmen), and, on the other, they supplied the *ahenfo* in the different *aman* with a wide range of articles. Textiles and metalware produced by craftsmen of Bighu and Ahwene Koko were sold to *ahenfo* of Cape Coast and Amanfro.[16] The *batafo* thus served as a link between urban workshops and wealthy urban households which were more than 200 miles apart. Salt purchased at Nkyenefo and Kormantse or stockfish bought at Elmina and Anomabo were exchanged for gold at the inland marketing centers.[17] The *batafo* "mediated" exchanges among the fishing, and salt-producing, and gold-mining industries. Merchandise purchased at the European trading establishments and from landlord-brokers was retailed at the inland markets and in the households of the rich and powerful.

The Akani traders were a vital link in the process of production and reproduction. The commodity circuit of the *batafo* was not separated from the commodity circuit of the independent producer. The circuit of the producer, selling in order to buy, implied that of the merchant, buying in order to sell. Both circuits were indispensable to the whole structure of petty commodity production. Together they formed the circuit for the social reproduction of market production.[18] The trading operations of the Akani mercantile groups were dependent on the fundamental processes of production and consumption, and these processes in turn were dependent on the social distribution of commodities by means of exchange.

THE STATE, PRODUCTION, AND THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE

Assin, the country of Accania, was the center of large-scale mercantile operations from the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. During this period the Akani trading organization was centrally maintained as a state-administered economic enterprise. The commercial organization came under the direct control and supervision of the principal Assin *ahenfo.* Referred to in the trading-company records as *caboseros, groot caboseros,* "principal cabisheers," *adel,* and *grooten,* they were the rulers of towns and districts in the two main political divisions of seventeenth-century Assin—"Cocoritee" (or "Cocorite") and "Crijsakee" (or "Crisacquee").[19] The *ahenfo* formed the ruling state council that directed trading operations. Management of the commercial organization was manifested in different ways. The council controlled the movement of Akani caravans along the Twifo and Arcania roads and along the roads leading to the districts and polities lying west and north of Assin. The trade paths were opened or closed at the behest of the council. The chief Akani merchant-brokers, or captains, resident in the different ports on the coast were appointed or removed from office by the council. The council informed them which goods should be bought at the European establishments and at what prices, and it controlled the prices of merchandise sold in the Assin markets and determined the quantity of imported wares which would be offered for sale in them. The *ahenfo* organized and sponsored trading caravans, and individual members of the council also fitted out caravans on their own account. They could recall the Akani *batafo* resident in the ports in times of emergency and impose special taxes on them in the event of war.[20] The structure of mercantile operations was an integral part of the state structure: the council controlled trade in much the same way it controlled the army, the courts, and the revenue system. Trade was a major sector in the Assin economy.[21]

Three different groups were of particular importance in the actual commercial operations. The first group included those who might be termed merchant-investors, or persons who financed trading enterprises. The merchant-investors were either *ahenfo* who combined their political duties with trade, or *akonkofo* (*akonkoni* in the singular), "speculators," who "purchased most of the inland gold to be sold on the coast and, in turn, brought some coastal goods into the interior."[22]

The caravan merchants, the organizers of transport and the conveyers of merchandise from market to market, constituted the second group. These traders were known as *batafo.*[23] Bosman gives a brief account of the caravan trader: "Those who come from the inward part of the country to traffick with us are chiefly slaves: One of which, on whom the Master reposes the greatest Trust is appointed the chief of this Caravan: But when he comes to us he is not treated as a Slave, but as a very great Merchant, whom we take all possible care to oblige, as very well knowing that he being a peculiar Favourite of his Master, may at pleasure go to the English, Danes, and Brandenburghers, as well as

come to us; for which Reason we pay him double the Respect we should give his Master."[24] The slave *batani*'s master was either an *ohene* or an *akonkoni.* Not all caravan merchants were slaves, however. Most were wealthy free persons of *obirempon* status.

The brokers, or "correspondents," comprised the third group. These persons resided in the ports and in the inland market towns lying outside of the political divisions of Assin. They transacted business and negotiated bargains on behalf of the caravan merchants and the merchant-investors, and they also traded on their own behalf. They were both *batafo* and *asanfo* (or landlord-brokers). The brokers had their own corporate organizations, or captaincies, each of which was headed by a senior merchant-broker (*offver kiøbmand*).[25] Müller gives a description of the captaincies at Cape Coast and Amanfro:

> In the land of Fetu the *Battafuen,* or merchants, from the kingdom of Accania, buy most of the merchandise from the trading Christians. Thus, each nation which trades with the Blacks intentionally strives to have at hand an eminent Accanisten (who is renowned and esteemed in Accania). Such an Accanist lives therefore in the town nearest the Christians and receives from the latter not only a fixed monthly allowance but also such goods as says, iron bars, copper, tin, etc., and he is also given cheaper wares. He is called a captain, an honorable title among the Accani traders. So when merchants come from Accania in order to trade with the whites they report to this captain with a request: as they are obliged to lay out a certain sum of gold for merchandise, he should go in their place since he can strike a good bargain and gain the best price.[26]

The captaincy and the caravan functioned as complementary organizations under the jurisdiction of the *ahenfo.* Within the framework of the state apparatus the *ahenfo* held hereditary political stools (*egua*), the symbols of supreme public authority in the *oman;* the captains, on the other hand, had subordinate appointive stools that served the political stools.[27]

Details concerning the origins of the Akani trading organization are lacking. However, there would seem to be little doubt that the early history of this organization was associated with the expansion of several related phenomena: *ahenfo* incomes, "surface in production" as a result of forest clearance, gross output in gold and agricultural production, and an accessible and disposable reserve of unfree labor power. The development of the trading organization was dependent on the growth of production.

Through the institution of state landed property, the system of economic surplus appropriation imposed on free producers, and the ownership of slaves, the *ahenfo* were able to dominate the objective conditions of production and to accumulate social wealth. They were therefore in a position to exercise control over the burgeoning trading organization.[28] The growth of trade led to a rising demand for laborers to carry goods from market to market, as merchants required, on an increasing scale, ready access to a regular supply of porters. Human porterage was the principal means of transportation. However, transportation be-

longed to the process of production, and not to the sphere of commodity circulation. With respect to the role of transportation in production Marx wrote:

> Economically considered, the spatial condition, the bringing of the product to the market belongs to the production process itself. The product is really finished only when it is on the market. The movement through which it gets there belongs still with the cost of making it. It does not form a necessary moment of circulation, regarded as a particular value-process, since a product may be bought and even consumed at the point of its production. But this spatial movement is important in so far as the expansion of the market and the exchangeability of the products are connected with it.[29]

As an aspect of the production process, transportation would have come under the jurisdiction of the *ahenfo*. With ready access to corvée and slave labor, the *ahenfo* possessed the manpower resources required by the *batafo*.[30]

Under the conditions of expanding trade and a growing demand for porters the Assin *ahenfo* supplied the merchants with slaves; a significant number of slaves were transferred from gold production (and, perhaps, farming and land clearance) to porterage. Early-sixteenth-century Assin was perhaps a gold-producing polity; in the seventeenth century it was a gold-trading, but not a gold-producing, *oman*.[31] Evidently slaves were no longer used in gold mining, but were employed mainly in transporting trade goods. The availability of a large reserve of laborers allowed for the rapid expansion of the Akani caravan organization.

The Akani captaincy was a corporate organization, or association, of *abirempon–batafo* and *sanfo*–engaged in trade. Socially and historically, it was associated with urbanization and a division of labor based on the separation of production and commerce. It had the features of a merchants' guild: each captaincy had a chief, or master, broker, and under his authority were varying numbers of ordinary brokers and apprentices. This was equivalent to the craft guilds of the *atomfo* and the *sika-atomfo* and the military guild (town militia) of the *asafo*. The guilds were corporate bodies that, historically, were linked to the urban development of labor.[32] The captaincy, therefore, was essentially an urban rather than a rural phenomenon. The Akani caravan organization, too, was socially and historically linked to the towns, for towns were the foci for the recruitment of corvée, slave, and wage labor.

The mobilization and concentration of slave labor in agricultural and gold production was realized through the agency of the *ahenfo*. The mobilization and concentration of slave labor for porterage, on the other hand, was realized through the agency of merchant capital. Although the *ahenfo* provided the *batafo* with a regular supply of unfree labor, the merchants organized the slaves into caravans and directed their activities. The slave porters were indispensable in the spatial distribution of goods and gold. Without them neither the caravan nor the captaincy could have functioned as viable units.

AKANI CARAVANS

Merchandise and Porters

The organization of the Akani caravan remained fairly stable throughout the seventeenth century. The personnel of a caravan included merchants and their servants (stool bearers, sword bearers, baggage carriers, messengers, and the like), porters, guards, and trumpeters. The caravans varied in size. The number of porters per caravan ranged from 150 to 300, while the number of merchants could range from about 20 to well over 100.[33] In a large caravan the number of servants could exceed 100. There is no information on the number of guards which accompanied a caravan. In the early 1600s many, if not all, of the guards appear to have been the armed retainers of individual merchants. At the end of the century the caravan guards seem to have been under the authority of one or more state officials: in 1699, for example, the *marini,* or state treasurer, of Assin provided caravans with protection.[34]

Each *batani* had his own porters (male and female), usually twenty or more. The number of porters was largely determined by the size of the merchant's trade and the kinds of goods he traded in.[35] The porters walked single file along the trade path, each head-loading as much as he or she could bear.[36] When leaving the ports for the interior, they carried, Brun remarked, sacks of merchandise on their backs "like mules" (*wie die Esel*); Müller compared them to "toilsome pack animals" (*mühseliges Lastthier*).[37] Many of the porters were slaves. A 1679 report refers to the "great multitude of slaves" (*groot menigte van slaven*) which carried merchandise to all places.[38] The slaves resided in villages that were dependencies of the central towns of Assin.[39] When porters were required for trading expeditions, they were apparently recruited from these villages by the merchant-investors and the *ahenfo.* The distribution of commodities was thus dependent on the labor provided by slave communities. Caravan merchants had access to other sources of labor. At the ports they frequently hired slaves furnished by their masters, traders, and brokers resident in the ports. The slaves' wages were paid to their owners, probably at the rate of about 1 damba a day.[40] In addition, caravan traders hired free persons who lived in or around the ports. Most of these individuals appear to have been drawn from the ranks of the poor, or, more specifically, from among the free day laborers, the *adwumafo.*[41] The development of urban wage labor was linked to the trading classes rather than to the *ahenfo.*

The slave porters from Assin received no reumuneration for their work. According to an account of the early 1640s, each had a daily food allowance of about ¼ damba.[42] At this rate the allowance for 150 slave porters would have come to about 37½ dambas. Traveling time between the coast and Assin was estimated to be from three to five days.[43] The porters' food allowance for this period would have been between 113 and 188 dambas. Daily food expenses for

other caravan members—merchants, servants, and guards—were doubtless higher than those for porters.

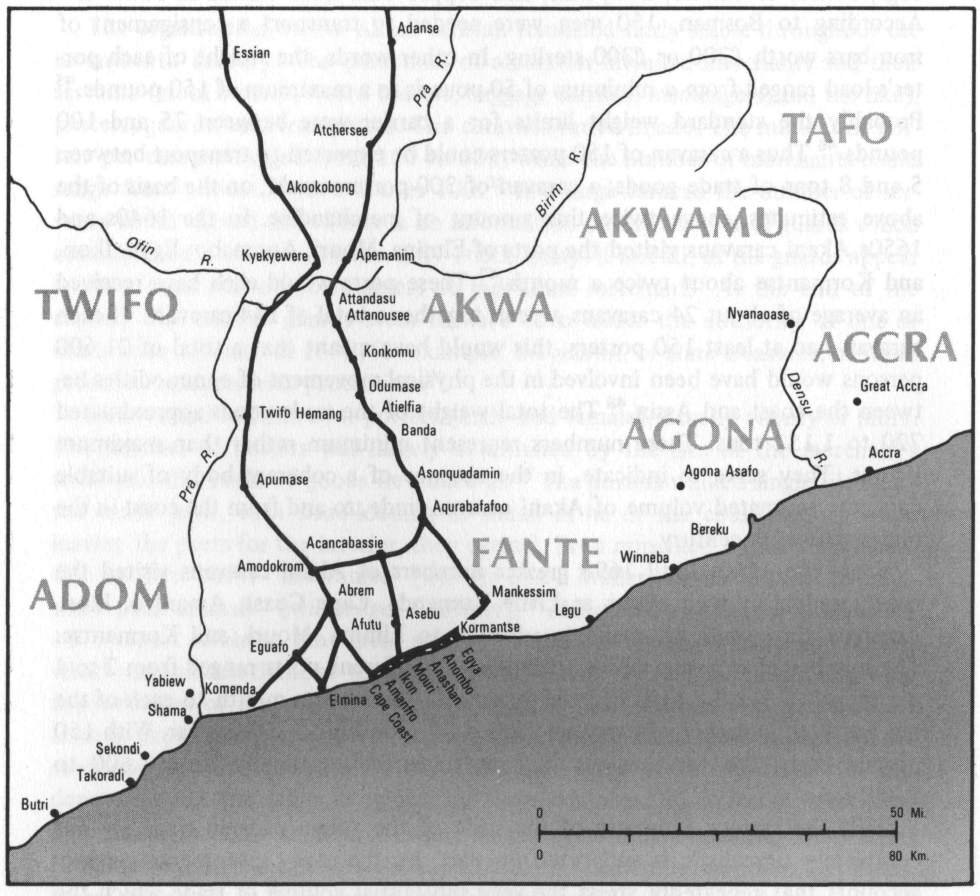
The merchandise brought from the coast was conveyed in sacks, baskets, bags, boxes, or barrels; iron, lead, and copper bars were carried in bundles.[44] According to Bosman, 150 men were needed to transport a consignment of iron bars worth £200 or £300 sterling. In other words, the weight of each porter's load ranged from a minimum of 50 pounds to a maximum of 150 pounds.[45] Probably the standard weight limits for a carrier were between 75 and 100 pounds.[46] Thus a caravan of 150 porters could be expected to transport between 5 and 8 tons of trade goods; a caravan of 300 porters could, on the basis of the above estimates, move twice this amount of merchandise. In the 1640s and 1650s Akani caravans visited the ports of Elmina, Mouri, Anomabo, Egya, Ikon, and Kormantse about twice a month.[47] These ports would each have received an average of about 24 caravans a year, together a total of 144 caravans. If each caravan had at least 150 porters, this would have meant that a total of 21,600 persons would have been involved in the physical movement of commodities between the coast and Assin.[48] The total weight of the trade goods approximated 720 to 1,152 tons. These numbers represent minimum rather than maximum figures. They serve to indicate, in the absence of a coherent body of suitable data, the estimated volume of Akani caravan trade, to and from the coast in the mid-seventeenth century.

From the 1660s until 1698 greater numbers of Akani caravans visited the coast, trading at such places as Little Komenda, Cape Coast, Amanfro, Ikon, Anashan, Egya, and Anomabo in addition to Elmina, Mouri, and Kormantse. The number of caravans which traded at the different ports ranged from 2 to 4 per month.[49] On the basis of a minimum of 3 caravans a month to each of the ten ports, the number of caravans totaled 30 monthly, or 360 a year. With 150 porters each, the caravans would have transported annually from 1,800 to 2,880 tons.

That the various estimates of the scale of the Akani caravan trade are not completely unrealistic is supported, in part, by the many seventeenth-century accounts that repeatedly stress the very substantial volume of trade which the Akani brokers and merchants conducted at the ports.

The Twifo and Arcania Roads

From the littoral the caravans traveled through dense forest along narrow winding paths at the rate of about seven to ten miles a day. When a caravan wished to overnight at a town or village, a horn was blown on the approach.[50] Given the mode of transport, which was based on head porterage, the success of Akani caravan trade was wholly dependent on the frequency of resting, or halting, places at every stage of the journey where food, water, and lodgings could be obtained. A "stage" may be defined as the distance a caravan could



MAP 7.1 The Twifo and Arcania Roads

travel in one day. The suggested maximum distance was probably about ten miles; hence each stage on the trade path would approximate this distance. At the end of each stage could be found a settlement where provisions and the like were available. Such settlements would have corresponded to caravanserai, or *herberger.*[51]

Between the coast and Assin the Akani caravans traveled along two principal routes—the Twifo road and the Arcania road.[52] The Twifo route followed the western edge of the Konkom forest and the eastern bank of the Pra; the Arcania route passed along the eastern edge of this same forest. Both roads were in use in the 1630s.[53] A settlement and political "profile" of each road is presented in tables 7.1 and 7.2. The "profiles" refer to the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century period. "Akookobong," the northernmost Assin town on the Twifo (or Asante) path and situated, probably, between the Fum and Botiri rivers, was between seventy-five and eighty miles from Cape Coast. The mean distance separating the seven settlements lying between the two towns would have been ten to twelve miles. Actual distances, however, did not conform to this notional average. Amodokrom, probably an Abrem border town with a toll station, was the place where the Twifo and Arcania roads met. It marked the northern limit of the Abrem-Eguafo settlement zone, where towns were quite close to each other, often eight or fewer miles apart. Caravans en route from the ports—Little Komenda, Elmina, and Cape Coast—therefore had the choice of several halting places at the end of a day's journey. Amodokrom and Apumase, which was very likely a Twifo border settlement and toll station, were approximately fifteen miles apart. This stretch of the road no doubt passed through thinly populated forest where there were apparently no halting places for caravans. Apumase was, in all likelihood, the main southern terminus of a settlement zone that extended northwards to Twifo-Heman, the capital of the Twifo *oman.* Apumase and Twifo-Heman would seem to have been between ten and twelve miles apart.

North of Twifo-Heman, the towns of Kuhyia and Kyekyewere were eight to ten miles apart. They were situated in an area of relatively dense settlement and were the final destinations for many of the Akani caravans. North of Kyekyewere towards "Akookobong" there was a line of villages and small towns along the trade path where caravans en route to Denkyira and Asante could obtain provisions.[54]

"Atchersee" appears to have been the northernmost Assin town on the Arcania road. It was probably on or near the Assin-Adanse border, and was the place where tolls were collected from passing caravans. From "Atchersee" the road passed northwards to Adanse, Akyem, and Asante.[55] Like "Akookobong," "Atchersee" seems to have been located seventy-five to eighty miles from Cape Coast. Between the two towns there were at least thirteen settlements, on average between five and seven miles apart. Compared to the Twifo trade path the Arcania route offered a greater choice of halting places to caravans. The frequency of halting places was an indication of greater population density in the

Table 7.1 The Twifo Road

Approximate Distance (in miles)	*Settlement*	*Function*	*Polity*
0	Cape Coast	Port	Afutu
8	Afutu ("Fetue")	Political center/market	Afutu
5	Abrem ("Abrimboo")	Political center/market	Abrem
4	Amodokrom ("Amodo's crom")	Border town/toll station	Abrem
15	Apumase ("Oppumassee")	Border town/toll station	Twifo
10	Twifo-Heman	Political center/market	Twifo
10	Kuhyia	Political center/market	Assin
10	Kyekyewere ("Kikkeoura")	Political center/(?)	Assin
15	"Akookobong"	Border town/toll station	Assin
15	"Seeyan"	Border town/toll station	Denkyira
5	Abankesieso	Political center/market	Denkyira

SOURCE: See map 1.6.

territories that the Arcania route traversed. From Amodokrom caravans traveled northeastwards to Kabes Terra, whose first border town and toll station was probably "Acancabassie." This town was perhaps ten miles from Amodokrom. From "Acancabassie" to Apemanim none of the towns or halting places was more than ten miles from another, and many appear to have been only five miles from another. This stretch of the trade path passed through densely settled farming districts that were politically divided between Kabes Terra and Assin. The town of Banda was no doubt the great market of Kabes Terra, where trading caravans from many different places congregated.[56] Control over this market was probably one of the main sources of the military and political contention between Assin and Kabes Terra in the first decade of the eighteenth century.[57] "Atielfia" was perhaps a southern Assin border town and toll station at this time. From Apemanim caravans traveling to Adanse passed through "Atchersee," about fifteen miles away, and relatively populous districts where several halting places were available.[58]

Akani caravans that traded at the ports from Mouri to Kormantse used the Arcania road. They passed northwards through the subcoastal towns—Asebu, Abora, Mankessim, and Kwaman—to the Kabes Terra settlements of "Acancabassie" or "Aqurabafafoo." The distances separating the subcoastal and Kabes Terra towns did not exceed fifteen miles. Together these towns with the dependent villages formed a densely inhabited settlement zone. Thus between Mouri, Anashan, Anomabo, and Kormantse and the Kabes Terra towns there were several closely spaced halting places for caravans.[59] The fairly regular succession of halting places on the Twifo and Arcania roads ensured the regular movement of caravan traffic between ports on the seaboard and the different markets in the interior.

Table 7.2 The Arcania Road

Approximate Distance (in miles)	*Settlement*	*Function(s)*	*Polity*
0	Cape Coast	Port	Afutu
8	Afutu	Political center/market	Afutu
5	Abrem	Political center/market/ toll station	Abrem
4	Amodokrom	Border town/toll station	Abrem
10	"Acancabassie"	Border town/toll station	Kabes Terra (Fante-Etsi)
5	"Aqurabafafoo"	?	Kabes Terra (Fante-Etsi)
3	"Asonquadamin"	Political center	Kabes Terra (Fante-Etsi)
4	Banda ("Benda")	Market	Assin-Kabes Terra
7	"Atielfia"	Border town/toll station	Assin-Etsi
5	Odumase ("Addumassie")	?	Assin-Etsi
3	Konkomu ("Concumboo")	Political center	Assin-Etsi
8	"Attanousee"	?	Assin-Etsi
4	Attandasu ("Tandoshu")	Political center/market	Assin
3	Apemanim	Political center/market	Assin
15	"Atchersee"	Border town/toll station	Assin
12	"Adansee"	Political center/market	Adanse

SOURCE: See map 1.6.

CARAVANS AND THE "COSTS" OF TRADE

The caravan *batafo* were obliged to pay tolls or imposts to the *marinis* of the principal *ahenfo* for the right of free passage through their territories. On the coast these traders had to pay customs duties to the revenue collectors and commission fees to the brokers in the ports. Thus Akani caravans from, for example, Kuhyia or Kyekyewere, traveling along the Twifo road to Little Komenda, Elmina, or Cape Coast, had to make four or five payments before reaching their destination.[60] The levies were paid in either gold or goods, and payment was exacted from each caravan merchant. At the beginning of the century every caravan trader paid a little over 12 dambas in gold to the ruler of the port where he wished to trade.[61] After purchasing his merchandise from the Europeans, the trader then handed over one-fourth of his goods to the *marini* of the port as duty. If the remaining wares had a total value of less than 1 benda, the trader and the *marini* agreed mutually upon the remaining duty to be paid; if, however, the total value exceeded 1 benda, the duty was assessed at 24 dambas for every additional benda worth of trade goods.[62]

By the 1660s the rate of taxation had changed. For the right of free passage through a coastal *oman* a *batani* paid approximately 2 or 3 dambas, a fraction of the early-seventeenth-century rate.[63] However, he had to surrender one-third

of his goods to the *marini* instead of the earlier one-fourth. The remaining customs duty was not fixed, being mutually decided upon by the merchant and the revenue collector. The levy of 24 dambas per benda does not appear to have been in existence in the 1660s.[64] By about 1680 the customs duty and the free passage impost had again changed. For each merchant free passage to a port cost about 6 dambas' worth of gold, and customs duty at the ports amounted to 3 percent ad valorem on all goods purchased from the Europeans.[65] The evidence suggests that the various imposts levied by the coastal administrations on the Akani (and other inland) *batafo* in the latter part of the century were considerably lower than they were in 1601.

There are much less data on the tolls imposed on caravan traders by the governments of inland *aman* and towns. That the merchants paid tolls and other charges is made clear in the documents of the period. There occur, for example, references to conflicts between towns and polities over the payment or nonpayment of tolls, to the seizure of a caravan's goods because of the failure to pay tolls, to the closure of the trade paths by particular towns, and so on.[66] With one exception, none of the sources indicates the size of the toll imposed on the caravan traders. According to one account, which refers to the year 1667, every caravan merchant en route from the coast was "sometimes obliged to pay up to one mark gold for the right of free passage through the territory of an [inland] King."[67] The payment was evidently assessed according to the value of the trader's goods. One mark, or 3,072 dambas, in gold apparently represented the maximum free-passage levy; the minimum levy is not known. Traders paid for the right of free passage when traveling to the coast and on the return journey. Whether they were required to make other payments is uncertain. As a rule there existed standing agreements between the caravan merchants on the one hand and the various representatives of the inland town and territorial administrations on the other about the levies that traders were expected to pay.[68] Such agreements regulated the relations between traders and the political authorities who controlled sections of the arterial routes along which the caravans moved.

Akani caravan traders on the Twifo road paid free-passage imposts when traveling through Twifo and Abrem en route to either Eguafo or Afutu. They paid the same imposts when passing through the coastal *aman*, and they paid customs duties after they had conducted their trade at the ports. On the return journey they were obliged to pay again for the right of free passage when going through Twifo and Abrem. Presumably they were obliged to pay tolls when leaving and entering Assin territory. For the traders who used the Arcania road, free-passage payments were exacted in Kabes Terra and Abrem, and in the coastal polities of Asebu and Fante. Customs duties were paid at the ports of the last two states. On the return trip to Assin free-passage payments were again imposed on entering Abrem and Kabes Terra. Akani caravans that traveled to Adanse and beyond were obliged to pay tolls or the right of free passage.[69] In the 1660s an Akani caravan of fifty *batafo* traveling between Assin and the coast could conceivably pay a total of 307,200 dambas in gold and/or merchandise in order to pass unhindered through Twifo and Abrem, or Kabes Terra and

Abrem; that is, each trader paid the maximum toll of more than 3,000 dambas on every entry into two of the *aman.*[70] Payments made in the coastal states—including tolls, customs duties, commission fees, and dashes—are less easy to estimate, since the customs duty and the broker's commission were assessed according to the quantity of goods purchased.

These various expenditures (tolls, customs duties, and the like) together with daily food allowances, the wages paid to free and hired slave porters, the renting of rooms and storage facilities, ferry fees, and the purchase of commodities represented predictable costs. It is not known how merchants' accounts were calculated; however, the assumption is that caravans were organized with these outlays in mind. A certain quantity of gold—up to 400,000 or 600,000 dambas in value—was to be spent at the European trading establishments and in the residences of brokers in order to buy merchandise or at the fish and salt markets to purchase stockfish and salt.[71] Another, perhaps equal, quantity was to be set aside to cover the payment of tolls, custom duties, various fees, and dashes. These outlays represented trading capital on which the merchants had to realize a profit.

The merchants, however, were not free agents. They operated within the framework of the Assin *oman* organization. Undoubtedly a certain portion of the profits went to the *ahenfo* and to the "endowment" of political offices; another portion the merchants expended on the purchase of livestock, slaves, town houses, farms, and various articles of consumption for their own use. The remainder was reinvested in trade. In view of the structural connection between commerce and the political system it is likely that a substantial amount of the capital used to finance the caravan trade derived from the revenues collected from free producers. A close relationship would therefore have existed between revenue-producing administrative units, revenue sharing, and the caravan trade. Expenditures such as tolls and customs duties would have been settled by means of revenues collected from, for example, peasant households. Similarly, losses suffered through banditry or the confiscation of goods and gold by rulers whose jurisdictions lay along trade routes were not necessarily economically disastrous. Revenues could cover serious commercial deficits. They were substantial. On the basis of data from the coastal and certain inland states it can be assumed that in Assin revenues amounting to several million dambas a year were distributed among the *afahene.*[72] To the mercantile estate this sum represented a major source of trading capital. To a large extent revenues maintained the capital liquidity of the Akani *batafo.*

THE COASTAL CAPTAINCIES

In 1601 there was only one captaincy on the coast, at the port of Elmina.[73] By the 1610s there were several captaincies established along the northern edge of the coastal grasslands in the subcoastal towns of Mankessim ("Fontein"), Asebu ("Sabou"), Afutu, and, probably, Great Komenda.[74] By 1660 these

towns no longer had any captaincies. Beginning in the late 1620s or early 1630s broker organizations were established on the coast, where by 1650 there were six and by 1670 ten, all concentrated in the thirty-odd mile stretch from Little Komenda to Kormantse.[75] During the same period others were established in the market towns located on the southern edge of the forest—at, for example, Abrem and Etsi in southern Etsi (the later Kabes Terra).[76] All of these captaincies formed part of the "Cocoritee" division of Assin.[77] Their establishment in the towns lying to the south of Assin reflected the growth of the overseas and coasting trade and the caravan trade to the commercial centers north of the forest. At the same time the captaincies were concrete expressions of the expansion and concentration of Akani trading capital.

The number of brokers per captaincy ranged from around ten to more than fifty.[78] The trade of the port determined the size of the captaincy; thus Elmina and Kormantse had larger captaincies than Amanfro and Ikon. With their families (including servants and slaves), the brokers resided more or less permanently in a town, either in their own quarter or ward, or in a separate community on the outskirts of the town.[79] Brokers and their families were quite mobile, and it was not unusual for them to live in two or three different ports over a period of several years.[80] Each captaincy formed a corporate organization headed by a senior broker who carried the title of *captain;* the captain was aided in his duties by a deputy or assistant who was sometimes referred to as *lieutenant.* The captain was recognized as the official and legal representative of his captaincy or community of brokers and served as spokesman in its commercial and other dealings with the European factors and local political authorities. All captains were appointed to their positions by the council of *ahenfo* in Assin.

The duties of the captain were manifold.[81] As chief broker he had to know Portuguese (the trade lingua franca on the coast), weights and measures (both European and local), credit and other commercial transactions, what goods were available at the European establishments and at what prices, and when ships would arrive. He also had to know which goods were in demand at the inland markets and at what prices, the state of the trade routes, when caravans would arrive, and what military and political situations obtained among the inland states. He served as a "landlord" or "host" for all Akani caravan merchants who visited his port. In addition he adjudicated all disputes that affected his captaincy; he served as mediator in disputes between different coastal polities or between the coastal polities and the European factors, and, occasionally, as envoy on behalf of the factors or the ruler of a coastal town or state. He also concluded commercial agreements or treaties with the coastal governments and the factors; these dealt with various matters affecting trading practices, for example, tolls, custom duties, access to markets, security of traders and their property, and so on. Finally, the captain could forbid members of his captaincy from trading with the factors; he could forbid caravan merchants from traveling to

particular towns to trade, and he could punish his subordinates for reckless or irresponsible behavior.

All of the captains and brokers were *abirempon.* The captains in particular were invariably accounted persons of high social status both in Assin and in the coastal *aman* where they lived.[82] As chief brokers the captains ranked as important stoolholders or officeholders within the Assin political organization; in turn the captaincy stools were attached to senior political offices. One illustrative example is that of the captaincy established in December, 1645, at "Agunagh," an unidentified village located perhaps near Cape Coast. A certain Anim, described as one of the principal military leaders in Assin, was the first captain.[83] He was presumably an Assin *brafo;* in this case the "Agunagh" captaincy was associated with a senior military office. By 1650, if not earlier, "Agunagh" no longer had a captaincy. About this time Anim was an established broker resident in the southern forest town of Etsi. In October, 1654, he moved to Kormantse.[84] He was still there in 1659, being referred to as a prominent (*vornaem*) broker.[85] It is evident that Anim had ceased to hold a senior military office within the Assin state organization. From 1645 onwards he devoted himself exclusively to commerce.

Another example of the connection between captaincy and political office is provided by Jan Clasen Cutterique, the captain of the Cape Coast community of Akani brokers from the 1660s until the 1690s. His home appears to have been in "Aquea," that is, *(a)kwae,* "forest," a place that may be tentatively identified with the town and administrative district of Konkumukwae (the Konkumu forest).[86] It was situated on the Arcania road about forty miles north of Cape Coast, and formed part of the "Cocoriteese" political division of Assin (see map 7.1). In view of the quite considerable influence and prestige which Cutterique enjoyed in both the Afutu and Assin *aman* it is likely that he was a close relation of the ruler of Konkumukwae. The Cape Coast captaincy was probably a subordinate service stool within the Konkumukwae administration. While the captaincy of "Agunagh" belonged to a military stool, the Cape Coast captaincy was attached to a territorial stool.

A final example refers to the brokers of Anomabo and Egya. In 1686 some of them were described as "ye Affares Arcanyes," that is, the Akani of "Affares."[87] "Affares" has not been identified, but it was probably a town or administrative district in "Cocoritee." A number of the brokers in the two ports were presumably subjects of the "Affares" stool.

The Corporate Organization of the Captaincies

The captaincies formed highly specialized corporate units. In order to function properly, each captaincy required not only a qualified chief merchant-broker but also subordinate merchant-brokers skilled in mercantile operations and a body of servants, attendants, and slaves who were responsible for various ancil-

lary tasks necessary for its daily operations.[88] In addition each captaincy had its apprentices who received training in commercial matters from experienced merchant-brokers. The personnel of a captaincy worked within the framework of the rules, customs, and legal formulations which governed commercial practices.

Contemporary sources frequently refer to fathers, sons, and brothers who worked together within the same captaincies, namely, those of Cape Coast, Amanfro, Anomabo, Egya, Mouri, and Kormantse. Exceptionally, there are references to women, for example, a married daughter and a sister's daughter, both of whom were members of the Mouri captaincy.[89] One example of how fathers and sons worked together is provided by the Anomabo captaincy. In January, 1686, Adikari Afido ("Dickall Affidoe"), captain of the Akani brokers in the port, and his assistant informed the English factor there that their sons lived in Anomabo, while they stayed inland so that they could "send down gold and their sons order the disposal of it where they please."[90] Afido and his deputy resided in one of the southern Kabes Terra market towns, where they received Akani caravans coming from the interior. They sent gold to their sons at Anomabo, who either sold the gold aboard the ships or at the Dutch or English establishments.[91] The goods purchased in exchange for the gold were then dispatched to Afido and his assistant, who handed them over to the caravan merchants.

Fathers (*agyanom*) serving as brokers transmitted their skills and knowledge to their sons (*mmabanin*), their younger brothers (*agyanuanom*), and, presumably, their brothers' sons, all of whom served as apprentices until they were qualified to act as brokers in their own right.[92] These in turn became responsible for training their own sons and younger brothers. Thus it was customary for a broker to have his "children" (*mma*), that is, his son(s), brother(s), and, possibly, his brother's(s') son(s) with him.[93] Sons and younger brothers succeeded fathers and elder brothers in the brokerships. Within the Akani trading organization they held a monopoly over the special skills needed for a successful career in commerce.

Attached to each captaincy were *mmabanin* (including certain of the *adekuroba* or children of rulers) and the *agyanuanom.* Collectively, they formed the captaincy's "apprentice group." The apprentice system provided continuity between "generations" of brokers. Established and experienced brokers would have constituted one generation or "cohort" (coherent age group), and their sons and younger brothers in training would have constituted another.[94] As long as the apprentice mode of instruction continued to function, qualified younger brokers were always available to replace deceased or retired brokers. A break in the transmission of commercial knowledge or in the instructional pattern of broker and apprentice-broker relations could lead to the virtual collapse of the captaincy organization. Such a break occurred in 1698 following the Denkyira conquest of Assin.[95] In 1703 it was reported that old or deceased Akani merchants had been replaced by young persons who had no experience in trade,

hence proper commercial relations could not be continued.[96] It is evident that the Denkyira war had caused a complete breakdown in the apprentice system of the captaincy organization, and as a result young, aspiring merchant-brokers were unable to receive the requisite training in brokerage services and trade.

In contrast to the position of the ordinary broker, the office of chief broker, or captain, was an appointive one. Nevertheless, it is clear that the candidates considered eligible for this post were drawn from the *mmabanin,* the *adekuroba,* and the *agyanuanom* of former captains and the *ahenfo.* Succession to a captaincy stool, or office, followed an agnatic rather than a uterine mode of transmission, that is, it passed either laterally from a father to his brother or lineally from a father to his son. Neither the mother's brother nor the sister's son figured in the captaincy succession procedure. However, in matters of inheritance and of succession to political office a uterine system generally prevailed. Property (land, slaves, gold, livestock, and so forth) and political office were transmitted through the mother (*ena*) and the mother's kin.[97] Thus a merchant-broker could expect to inherit property and/or a political post from his mother's brother (*wofa*) but not from his father.

That merchants did attain high office in some *oman* organizations during the period is attested by oral historical data. Koli Batafo (Koli, "the merchant") served as ruler of the Kwaman polity of Domaa probably in the 1650s and the 1660s, and Kyereme Sikafo (Kyereme, "the rich man") governed several Domaa towns in the late seventeenth century.[98] Koli was a merchant, and it is likely that Kyereme acquired his riches through trade. The possibility exists that their fathers were merchant-brokers and that Koli and Kyereme at some time during their careers were members of captaincies. Through their fathers they would have acquired the skills necessary for successful and profitable mercantile pursuits, and through their mothers, who were no doubt members of the Domaa ruling family, they were able to succeed to high political positions.

The captaincy was not a property-holding corporation. It was an occupational guild concerned with the transmission and accumulation of specialized skills. It differed, therefore, from a property-holding corporation, which defined the social patterns of inheritance and was not an occupational association. With respect to their agnatic and uterine relationships, Akani captains and brokers belonged to two distinct corporate groups: an occupational group (the captaincy) and a property-holding group (the matrilineage). The wealth accumulated through trade by the occupational group was transferred by the rules of inheritance to the property-holding corporations. During the course of the seventeenth century the captaincies accumulated vast amounts of wealth, and this wealth probably formed the basis for the expansion and enrichment of certain prominent matrilineages in the Pra-Ofin districts.[99]

THE AKANI CAPTAINS

One of the most important captaincies was located in Elmina, the most populous of the coastal ports and a leading gold-trading center. The first Akani captain at Elmina about whom there is any information was a certain Kwawu ("Quau"). An Elmina daybook entry, dated October 30, 1645, relates the following: "A servant of the king of Futuij arrived saying that the expected Accanist, known to us as Speck and to the blacks as Quauw, will be here tomorrow or the day after with many Accanists from Futuij and a great number from Mouree. He is coming here to be captain over the Accanists; he is a subtle black, with an avaricious manner, and I fear we shall have much trouble and expense with him."[100] The following day Kwawu arrived in Elmina with 100 Akani brokers, who had their residences at Afutu and Mouri, and no less than 100 stool and baggage carriers; he took up residence in the "Abcou" quarter of the town.[101] On the morning of November second Kwawu went to the Dutch fort in order to meet with the director-general. The daybook entry of that date describes the meeting: "This morning, after the gate was raised, appeared the newly arrived captain, Quau, together with Jan Willemszoon, the captain of the Accanists at Moure, besides other merchants. Quau informed us that he had come here in order to serve as captain of the Accanists and that he had been appointed by the caboseros in Accanij. Whereupon we replied that we hold him in much esteem provided that neither side should suffer any problems but each should do its duty and that we shall treat him like all the former captains were treated."[102]

Kwawu still headed the Elmina captaincy in December, 1646, and he may have held this position until 1652, when in August Oten Agyei ("Ottiinge Adje") was appointed his successor.[103] Kwawu, in turn, may have become the head of the Cape Coast captaincy.[104] Prior to his Elmina appointment Oten may have served as the captain of the Akani merchant-brokers in the town of Afutu.[105] His successor there was probably Dodei Formosa ("Dodde Formosa"), who headed the Afutu captaincy until his death in February, 1659.[106] Oten seems to have remained the chief broker of the Elmina captaincy until about 1659.

One captain who enjoyed a long and distinguished career on the coast was Korankyi. In the 1630s and the 1640s he served as the captain of both the Akani merchant-brokers at Mankessim and those at Kormantse.[107] He still occupied both posts in December, 1654, but around the beginning of 1655 he became the head of the Cape Coast captaincy, replacing Kwawu.[108] Korankyi remained in charge of this captaincy until the end of 1658 or the beginning of 1659. By February, 1659, he was the captain of the merchant-brokers at Elmina, presumably having succeeded Oten Agyei.[109] He still held this position in June, 1660; however, it is not known how long he remained in office. Unfortunately the names of his successors are not known; however, there were Akani merchant-brokers at Elmina until the beginning of the eighteenth century.[110]

For the period from the mid-1640s to the early 1670s the names of several other captains are known. In 1645 Jan Willemszoon was the captain of the Akani brokers at Mouri, a position he had probably held since the early 1640s.[111] His successor appears to have been Bofo Osei ("Ofo Oesjie," "Ofo Ousio," or "Oesioe"). In 1645 Bofo was apparently the Akani captain in the town of Afutu, but following a violent dispute within the Akani community there he and his family took up residence in Mouri at the end of the year or early in 1646.[112] The Dutch factors acknowledged him as one of the most important gold traders in that port; he was still in Mouri in January, 1647.[113] It is not known how long he remained the captain there, nor is anything definite known about his successors. Possibly Dirck Cabo Cors, described in 1645 as one of the most important men in Mouri and one who was held in high esteem by everybody, succeeded Bofo in the late 1640s or early 1650s. In 1659 Berebo Kwasi ("Birbo Quasij"), the son of Dirck Cabo Cors, appears to have been captain of the Mouri Akani merchant-brokers. By 1660 captain "Akonia" had succeeded him.[114]

Korankye, who became the captain of the Cape Coast Akani brokers in early 1655, was succeeded as the head of the Kormantse Akani brokers by Oten Kofi ("Ottinge Coffie").[115] Oten Kofi was perhaps the same Kofi ("Coffij") who moved to Elmina in August, 1645, after having lived at Kormantse.[116] Sometime between 1656 and 1658 Oten Kofi was succeeded by Jan Yeboah ("Jan Juboa"); in 1659 Yeboah was succeeded by his brother Sawtwi ("Sortij").[117] In 1660 Yeboah was reappointed captain of the Kormantse merchant-brokers; he was still in office in 1672.[118]

The port of Anomabo received its first Akani captain in the 1630s. The captain at this time may have been "Drietassen" or "Quin," both of whom were prominent traders.[119] In 1654 a certain Yeboah ("Jubo") headed this captaincy. It is not known when he was appointed to this post or how long he held it.[120] Nothing is known about his immediate predecessors. In the same year "Primohimmejn," described as a "brother of the Acanist's king," was appointed captain over the merchant-brokers of Egya. His "lieutenant," who was appointed at the same time, was named Adwuan ("Adriaen" or "Arjaen").[121] Both men may have held their offices until sometime in the 1660s. The names of their immediate successors are not known. In the 1680s "Dickie Affidoe" (or "Dickall Affidoe") served as captain of the Anomabo community of Akani merchant-brokers. He occupied this post until January, 1687, about which time he became captain of the merchant-brokers resident in Kormantse. He remained captain until 1697, when the Kormantse town council and the *brafo* of Fante appointed him ruler of the town.[122] The town of Anashan also had an Akani broker community that was established in the late 1640s or the early 1650s. None of the sources, however, mentions the names of the captains there.

In 1657, following the construction of a Dutch lodge there, the son of "an Accanise King" was appointed over the Akani at Ikon ("Congh").[123] The name of the captain was not mentioned, but it was presumably "Dumfan," who was

captain there in 1659 and in the early 1660s.[124] The first and, evidently, the only captain to serve at the port of Amanfro was Akuma ("Aucuma," "Ankeme"). He assumed office in 1662 and was still captain at the end of 1671.[125] Jan Clasen Cutterique ("Jean Classe," "Cordirqui") probably suceeded Korankye as head of the Cape Coast captaincy in 1659. He is referred to in Danish accounts in the 1660s and early 1670s. Perhaps he is to be identified with "Cuttrequa," who was described in 1696 as an "Arcany Cabasheere" who lived in Cape Coast.[126] He is no longer referred to after this date. His successor is not known. There were, in fact, several merchant-brokers at Cape Coast in the 1690s and the early years of the eighteenth century. They included Animfa ("Nimpha") and his son Akyemsa ("Akimsan"), "captain Dickie," Oten ("Otin"), "Jango Tattany," and "Cryshakai" (or "Accrissaka").[127] Animfa, who settled in the port in the 1670s, was the most prestigious and influential of the Cape Coast Akani brokers, partly because he was the biggest trader and partly because he was an outstanding military officer.[128] However, he was not the head of the captaincy. Between 1696 and 1704 either "Dickie" or Akyemsa may have held this post.

The names of the Akani captains at Little Komenda are not known. In May, 1660, two Akani—"Angona" and "Nipa"—are mentioned as resident traders there, but neither is specifically designated captain.[129] At the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a prominent merchant-broker named Okofamu ("Akomfamoo," "Comfamoo," or "Okomfamoo") who, in 1703, lived in a small town on the road that ran between Great Komenda and Elmina.[130] He had, according to report, "come to live in the Aguaffoes' country" in order to engage in trade at the European establishments. He was a broker for "Peperell," an Akani king.[131] Okofamu probably settled in Eguafo towards the end of the seventeenth century, but it is uncertain whether he served as the captain of the Akani brokers at Little Komenda. None of the captains who served in the port in the 1680s and 1690s is mentioned by name in the letters of the Royal African Company factors there. In February, 1687, for example, there is a reference to a new captain who arrived in Little Komenda accompanied by a number of "Arcania merchants"; however, his name is not given.[132] The new captain could very likely have been Okofamu, who later moved from the port following its partial destruction during a period of internecine strife in the 1690s and resettled in a small town closer to Great Komenda. His settlement formed a trading community of merchants and brokers who conducted their business on the coast from Little Komenda to Cape Coast.

For the period between 1632 and 1704 the sources refer to more than twenty captains and deputy captains and more than fifty ordinary merchant-brokers. These persons represented, however, only a small percentage of the merchant-brokers who resided in the different ports and subcoastal towns in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, they provide some idea of the scale of Akani trading operations during the period and of the organizational structure required for the continued maintenance of these operations.

THE CAPTAINCIES

Their Incomes

The captains and their assistants received fixed monthly allowances (*akatua*) from the trading companies as well as various other payments of one sort or another. In the 1640s the Akani captain at Elmina received from the Dutch company a monthly allowance of 1 benda or 768 dambas, while his counterparts at Mouri and Kormantse each received a smaller payment of 288 dambas per month.[133] These payments appear to have been made entirely in gold and, as far as is known, remained unchanged for the remainder of the century. In February, 1659, Agyekum ("Adiacon"), the Elmina captain's assistant, was granted a monthly allowance of 192 dambas; he was described as a man of importance (*aensien*) and a good merchant who had customers in the interior.[134] In the 1660s and early 1670s the Danish company paid Akuma, the Akani captain at Amanfro, 576 dambas and his assistant, Akwaa ("Equoan"), 144 dambas a month.[135] To Jan Clasen Cutterique, the captain at Cape Coast, the company paid 388 dambas a month; by 1680 this allowance had been raised to 480 dambas.[136] These different allowances were paid in gold, merchandise, and, occasionally, livestock. From the English company the Cape Coast captain received 1 benda per month; it was paid in either gold or trade goods.[137] In the 1680s the same company paid the Akani captains at Anashan and Anomabo about 192 dambas every month; these payments appear to have been made largely in merchandise.[138] The monthly allowances received by the captains at Little Komenda, Ikon, and Egya have not yet been ascertained; they were probably equal to those received by the captains of Anashan and Anomabo. The yearly allowances paid to the captains and their assistants ranged from a low of 1,728 dambas to a high of 14,816 dambas.

In the 1640s the Akani captains at Elmina, Mouri, and Kormantse received customs duties on all Dutch vessels which arrived at their respective ports. The duty paid per vessel is not indicated; however, in May, 1645, the Elmina captain received 964 dambas in gold as duty for two ships, and in August 1,536 dambas for four ships. The Mouri captain received an unspecified share of the 3,072 dambas in customs duty paid to the *ahenfo* of Mouri; the Kormantse captain received an unspecified portion of the 9,216 dambas in customs duty which the Dutch paid to the *brafo* of Fante and to other political authorities at Kormantse and Mankessim.[139] The practice of paying duty to the captains may date from 1620s. It continued until at least 1659.[140] None of the other trading companies seems to have made such payments.

The captains as well as the other Akani brokers received various other payments, including dashes, from the trading companies. Such payments were made to individual Akani and to the captaincies as a whole. In January, 1645, for example, four prominent Akani—Bediako ("Bede Jacon" or "Beyde Jacon"), Esonoba ("Asonnaba"), Kese ("Cassee"), and Adwowa Kwaku ("Adouauw

Quaquo")—who had recently arrived in Kormantse were given a total of 2,304 dambas in gold by the Dutch director-general in an attempt to persuade them to settle in Elmina.[141] In April of the year Adwowa Kwaku, described as an important dealer in gold, moved to Elmina; on one occasion he received 768 dambas in gold and on another 3,072 dambas.[142] In December, 1645, Dirck Cabo Cors, a leading Akani broker at Mouri, was dashed 264 dambas because he was one of the principal gold traders in that port.[143] In April, 1645, a total of 1,552 dambas' worth of gold was given to the Akani captaincies at Elmina and Afutu; in the same month the Elmina captaincy received an anker of spirits and a cow, and the head of the captaincy received a carpet.[144] The following month the Kormantse captaincy was given 5,760 dambas in gold; in July the Elmina captaincy received 1,536 dambas, and in August 2,304 dambas in gold; the Mouri captaincy was given 1,536 dambas in August.[145] Finally, in October, 1645, the Akani brokers at Elmina were presented one cow and two ankers of spirits.[146] For their part the captains and brokers frequently gave the director-general and the Dutch factors produce and livestock and, occasionally, gold jewelry or ornaments. In 1645 the Dutch director-general paid out more than 22,000 dambas in dashes and customs duties to the captaincies of Elmina, Afutu, Mouri, and Kormantse.

The factors of the other trading companies also made various payments to the Akani. In November, 1659, the chief factor or commandant of the Fort Fredriksborg gave the Akani captaincy at Anomabo gold to the value of 768 dambas for the purpose of promoting trade.[147] The company made other payments of one sort or another to the Akani communities at Amanfro and Cape Coast in the 1660s and 1670s.[148] The agents of the Royal African Company made similar payments. In July, 1683, the chief agent of the company gave one gingham to "the captain of the Arcanies at Aga for bringing money and encouraging trade."[149] In December, 1686, when a new English factor was installed at Egya, the Akani captain at Anomabo received one green perpetuana and one half-case of spirits; his counterpart at Anashan received two green perpetuanas and one anker of rum—these payments were regarded as customary on such occasions.[150] In January, 1687, the newly appointed captain at Anomabo received the customary payment of one red perpetuana and one case of liquor, while his assistant was given a cloth valued at 240 dambas.[151] In February, 1687, the newly appointed captain at Little Komenda was given one half-say and three gallons of rum by the English factor there, and he received the same from the Dutch factor in the port; these were, according to report, customary presentations.[152] A different kind of payment is referred to in a letter of December, 1682, from the Royal African Company agent at Anomabo. He reported that the Dutch factors at Kormantse sent 1 benda (768 dambas) in gold to the Akani at Anomabo "to get them to send money to them," whereupon the English agent sent gold to the Akani at Kormantse, saying he had "had them here twice or thrice."[153] Competition among the companies for Akani gold required that they make regular disbursements to the captains and other brokers in order to ensure the continuance of trade at their respective forts and factories.

Because of their importance in the import-export trade, members of the captaincies were well remunerated for their services. In April, 1688, the Royal African Company factor at Anashan reported that he paid the captain of the "Arcanies" of the town a commission fee of 1 angle for every mark gold he bought; thus the captain received 24 dambas for every 3,072 dambas' worth of gold he sold.[154] Presumably this was the standard brokerage, or commission, fee paid to the captains who traded at the Royal African Company's establishments in the 1680s, and perhaps in the 1670s, as well. There is no information on the commission fees paid by Danish and Dutch factors during this period. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, and probably in the 1690s, too, Danish factors at Christiansborg in Osu paid a fee (*costuym*) of 24 dambas for every 768 dambas' worth of gold received.[155]

Factors' accounts of Akani gold sales at the Royal African Company's commercial stations in the 1680s show that an Akani captain could earn 48 dambas or less as a commission on a single transaction, and, at other times, as much as 480 dambas.[156] As each captain would have negotiated many sales with the factors during the course of a year, his annual income from brokerage fees could easily have exceeded 10,000 dambas. Moreover, each captain would have received a commission on every sale he conducted on behalf of one or more caravan merchants. From this source a captain could expect to receive several thousand dambas annually. Brokerage fees constituted a major source of income for members of the captaincies. Occasionally the merchant-brokers received remuneration for certain nonmercantile services they rendered. Thus in May, 1663, the captains and other brokers who served as mediators in the resolution of a dispute between the Afutu *ahenfo* and agents of the Dutch company demanded 25 marks gold, or 76,800 dambas, as payment for their services.[157] The captains also received compensation for any injuries or indignities suffered by caravan merchants and brokers. In May, 1654, for example, Fante authorities residing in the town of Etsi handed over eight slaves and a sizeable quantity of textiles to the principal Akàni brokers there as partial payment for injuries and losses which Akani traders had suffered at the hands of a Fante military force.[158] In December of that year the Akani captains of Kormantse, Elmina, and other towns received a total of 20,736 dambas in gold from the English factors at the Kormantse fort, and from the Dutch captains they demanded 36,864 dambas in gold.[159] The money was demanded on the grounds that the Dutch and English factors supported the Mankessim administration when it embarked on a policy of intimidation and harassment of Akani brokers and caravan traders. Whenever the captains demanded compensation—whether from coastal political authorities or from the agents of the European trading companies—they invariably received it.

That the Akani brokers were generally quite wealthy compared to most of the inhabitants of the coastal settlements is indicated by the large, well-furnished houses they maintained in the ports, by their property holdings in Assin (which included town houses, farms, and livestock), by their personal fortunes in gold,

and by the rather considerable number of slaves and servants they had.[160] Furthermore, the Akani brokers resident in the Afutu *oman,* together with other *abirempon* and *ahenfo* of that polity, publicly displayed, in Müller's words, their "splendor and magnificence" before thousands of people gathered in the state capital on the occasion of the week-long Akwasi ("Aquassi") festival that was held once a year. On Thursday, their particular day of display, the brokers presented before the assembled multitude their families, slaves, and riches in the public market square of the capital.[161] In the seventeenth century the captaincies were undoubtedly the wealthiest corporate organizations in the coastal towns between Little Komenda and Kormantse.

Their Trade

The brokers resident in the ports conducted trade aboard the ships and at the forts and factories on behalf of the caravan traders, who either traveled directly to the ports or stopped at the market towns—Abrem, "Abrobie," Afragyei, and Kabes Terra—on the southern edge of the forest. The Akani brokers who resided in these towns went to the coast, where they transacted trade through the ports' captains. Whenever ships arrived at the ports with fresh cargoes, the Akani brokers dispatched messengers to the forest-edge market centers to inform the brokers there; the brokers would then fetch the merchandise in order to have new goods on hand when the caravans from the interior arrived at their towns.[162] The brokers located along the edge of the forest decided whether or not the caravans should travel to the seaboard towns, and they also determined which of these towns the caravans would visit.[163] The commercial operations of the caravan merchants and the brokers were conducted within the chronological framework of the "forty-day" calendar. "The Arcanies do not come every week," noted the English factor at Anashan in October, 1682, "some they stay, as they call it, for their boone day." In December of that year the Anomabo factor reported that "they come sometimes but once in a fortnight."[164] This period of limited trade corresponded to the *ada mū,* or "unlucky" days, cycle of the calendar. During the *ada ye,* or "lucky" days, cycle the Akani generally conducted the greater portion of their trade at the European establishments on Mondays and Tuesdays.[165]

The arrival of caravans, whether on the coast or at the forest-edge market towns, meant the increased circulation of substantial quantities of "good Arcany gold" in the ports and the other coastal and subcoastal settlements. The captains and other Akani brokers not only purchased goods at the trading establishments in exchange for gold, they also bought provisions in the markets for the caravans, and they rented rooms in which to store the goods and rooms in which to lodge the caravan traders and the forest-edge brokers. They hired porters and occasionally rented canoes (mainly from the rulers of the ports) and hired crews to man them.[166] In addition, they bought large quantities of salt and fish which were sold in the inland forest markets.[167] Many residents of the ports were to a

large extent dependent on the Akani caravan trade for their livelihood. The commercial and economic life of the ports was in large measure centered around this trade. When for one reason or another the trade ceased or became intermittent, the effects were readily manifest. Thus in April, 1683, the English factor at Little Komenda wrote: "No country merchants in three weeks either Arcanys or Quiffers [Twifos] so that there are no goods sold and all things very dead as to trading."[168] Similar comments were made by Dutch factors whenever Akani trade at their establishments came to a halt.[169]

The quantities and kinds of merchandise purchased on the coast were largely determined by the commercial conditions existing in the inland markets. In the period from August to October, 1646, there was no traffic in goods in the Assin markets, because the merchants from other places could not trade at them on account of an ongoing military conflict between several inland states; in consequence, the Akani brokers on the coast ceased buying merchandise from the Dutch until trade in Assin resumed.[170] When, however, the trade routes were open and merchants from the various inland polities and districts could visit the Assin markets, the brokers could conduct their business at the trading establishments. At times the brokers' purchases, reflecting inland market demands, were restricted to a limited range of trade goods. In November, 1645, for example, purchases from the Dutch at Elmina were limited mainly to neptunes, slaaplakens, says, and iron bars.[171] At the Egya factory in February, 1681, the brokers were mainly interested in coarse sletias, tapseals, perpetuanas, and iron bars; at the Little Komenda factory in February, 1683, only narrow niccanees and narrow tapseals were "in great demand"; and at the Anomabo factory in the same month the brokers bought principally iron bars and sheets.[172] In July, 1695, the factor at Egya reported that the Akani desired only knives, sheets, and blue perpetuanas, and the Anomabo factor wrote in the same month: "Have ye Arcanys at present weighing money for red perpetuanos. They will buy no more green perpetuanos at present, because, they say, they have not sold what they bought ye last time they came down."[173] It was not unusual for the brokers to limit their purchases to a single commodity: gunpowder, neptunes, perpetuanas, or sheets.[174] On other occasions the brokers bought a wide range of goods. In October, 1683, for example, the Akani captain at Little Komenda placed an order for says, perpetuanas, boysados, Guinea cloths, small and large tapseals, narrow niccanees, coarse sletias, sheets, tallow, ginghams, iron bars, two dozen barrels of gunpowder, basins, and small and large pewter tankards. And in December, 1687, the Anashan factor reported that "several Arcany men" who had "brought good sums in gold" wanted to buy iron bars, lead bars, gunpowder, carbines, pewter of all sorts, paper brawls, says, boysados, tallow, and rum.[175] The volume and types of consumer and producer goods purchased at the establishments were a direct reflection of inland market demands.

The practice of the coastal Akani brokers, it was noted in June, 1645, was to buy a great quantity of merchandise at low prices and to sell them for gold at very high prices.[176] Hence one of the duties of the captains was to come to an

agreement with the factors on the prices at which the trade goods were to be sold. The Dutch director-general, following the directives of his superiors in the Netherlands, drew up at regular intervals a *marckt-brief* or *prijscourant*—a price list of all the goods to be sold at the Dutch establishments.[177] The chief agents of the other trading companies followed the same practice. After the *marckt-brief* was made out, the director-general presented it to the captain and the principal brokers of the Elmina captaincy; the captains at the other ports were also notified. Discussions concerning the *marckt-brief* could last for several days, and not infrequently angry disputes arose when the Akani sought to have the prices of particular wares lowered and the director-general refused to do so.[178] Failure to agree on price adjustments could provoke the captain to suspend trading operations at Elmina (and possibly other ports where the Dutch had establishments) and instead to direct the trade to the competitors of the Dutch—the English, the Swedes, and the free traders.[179] On the other hand, if the prices offered by the English agents were considered too high, then trade was conducted with the Dutch.[180] In September, 1683, the English factor at Anomabo reported that the Akani who had come to trade had "a great deal of gold" to sell, but refused to go to the Dutch at Kormantse.[181] Two years earlier Akani brokers who traded at the Anashan factory would pay only 480 dambas for a barrel of gunpowder, when the selling price for this commodity at the English establishments was 672 dambas.[182]

The prices that the brokers were prepared to offer for the goods they bought at the forts and factories were determined in part by caravan expenses—transport costs, free-passage tolls, customs duties, wages, and so on—and in part by the prices that merchants who traded at the periodic Assin markets were willing to pay. Reference has already been made to certain expenses that the caravan *batafo* had to meet. Merchants who traded in Assin were prepared to boycott the markets there if they were dissatisfied with the prices offered. According to an entry of June, 1645, in the Elmina daybook, they refused to buy any merchandise brought from the coast on the grounds that the prices were too dear.[183] Unfortunately there is no information on price structures at the Assin markets. Estimates of prices at markets situated nearer the coast are, however, available. One example is provided by Dapper. Referring to the period around the mid-seventeenth century, he states that a say cost 1 great benda, 960 dambas, at Small Accra, and 1,200 dambas at Abonse, the market of Great Accra, situated fifteen to twenty miles inland.[184] The mark-up was 25 percent, representing an increase of 240 dambas, or ¼ great benda. Abonse was located near the southern fringe of the forest, but whether the 25 percent differential obtained between other forest-edge market centers and the ports to which they were commercially linked is uncertain. It may have been exceptional, since the Great Accra administration did not as a rule permit traders from the inland forest towns and districts to trade at the ports under its jurisdiction.[185] The traders had to transact their business at Abonse with Accra brokers, who handled most of the trade at the posts.[186] The 25 percent price mark-up may have reflected the brokers'

near-monopolistic control over the ports' imports and exports. The same restriction applied in the Agona polity, where inland merchants with a few exceptions were not allowed to trade at Winneba and Bereku; they had to conduct their trade at the capital or at such markets as Swedru, leaving the trade at the ports in the hands of Agona brokers.[187] West of the Agona *oman* inland traders had relatively free access to the coast.

Another example of a price mark-up is provided by de Bellefond. In 1667 he learned that the price differential between goods bought at the ports and goods sold in markets situated more than ten miles inland amounted to a minimum of 6 percent.[188] The markets apparently included those lying west of Agona and along the southern edge of the forest, such as Abrem, "Abrobie," and Afragyei, all of which were situated about fifteen to twenty miles from the seaboard. For the period from about the 1640s to the 1660s 6 percent and 20 (or 25) percent represented the lower and upper limits of forest-edge market price differentials. Beyond the forest fringe markets the mark-up exceeded 20 percent.

Two final examples from the early 1680s refer to the trade policies of the Nyanaoase administration of Akwamu, which were similar to those of its predecessor, the Great Accra administration. Neither "Arcanie" nor "Akim" merchants were allowed to trade at the European forts in the Accra ports. In February, 1682, the chief factor at the English fort reported that the Akwamuhene, Ansa Sasraku (who died in 1689), charged these merchants double the price for goods that his officers bought at the fort, and in June the following year he remarked that the king "makes them pay treble ye prime cost here."[189] One of the markets where Akyem and Akani *batafo* traded was at Nyanaoase, situated nearly thirty miles from the littoral. Other Akwamu markets were not identified, but perhaps "Amosee," "Saccerocroom," and "Akuva," all over forty miles from the coast, may have been among them. Between the inland Akwamu markets and the Akwamu-dominated ports the price differentials were of the order of 100 and 200 percent, and applied to markets lying approximately thirty to fifty miles inland. In markets more than fifty miles from the coast price mark-ups were considerable. Akwamu traders of the 1670s sold goods at more than 500 percent above their coastal prices in the markets of Manso Nkwanta ("Meranson") and Adance ("Allance").[190]

The bulk of Akani north-south trade was conducted along the Twifo and Arcania roads. The spatial structure of market towns appears to have been broadly similar. The ports from Little Komenda to Kormantse formed the southern termini of the two trade paths; ten to fifteen miles inland were the markets situated along or near the ecological divide between the forest zone and coastal grassland and thicket zone; a further twenty to twenty-five miles inland was a great market–Twifo-Heman on the Twifo road and Etsi (later Banda) on the Arcania road; near or on the southern and northern banks of the Pra were several markets–Kyekyewere, Kuhyia, Attandaso, and Apemanim; twenty to thirty miles north of the Pra were the main markets of Adanse and

Denkyira; and lying more than ninety miles from the seaboard were the markets of the Amansie-Kwabre districts, the northern forest termini of the two roads. Thus there were six sets of major market towns associated with each trade path. The markets and their suggested price differentials are given in table 7.3. A commodity purchased on the coast for 1 benda (768 dambas) could be sold by Akani *batafo* at the following differential rates:

1. for 814 dambas at the forest-edge markets;
2. for 1,152 dambas at the southern forest markets;
3. for 1,536 dambas at the Pra markets;
4. for 1,920 dambas at the central forest markets; and
5. for 2,304 dambas at the northern forest markets.

Among the trade goods that sold for 1 benda in the 1640s and 1650s the following may be noted:

120 to 140 ell of *lijwaet*
1 *say*
21 to 24 slaaplaken
1 *croonraes*
14 *caldes* cloths
17 *ambonijm*
15 iron bars
56 to 64 pounds of copperware
21 dozen boatman's knives
28 dozen burnt-haft knives
16 to 24 large tin pans
24 to 28 medium tin pans
30 to 32 small tin pans.[191]

The amount of gold required for commercial transactions depended on the level of commodity prices and on the quantity of commodities at specified prices in circulation.[192] Circulating 120 to 140 ell of linen (*lijwaet*) or fifteen iron bars on the coast required 768 dambas' worth of gold. Circulating the same merchandise in the southern forest markets required 1,152 dambas and in the northern forest markets 2,304 dambas. Thus the sale of 768 dambas in gold at Elmina or Mouri could purchase 120 to 140 ell of linen or fifteen iron bars, but in the northern forest markets 2,304 dambas, or three times as much gold, were needed to buy the same commodities. Given the volume of Akani trade at these markets it is evident that the merchants had access to very substantial holdings of gold.

Prices were lower in the 1660s and 1670s than in the late 1640s and 1650s. According to the price lists in the accounts journal of the Danish commandant van Groenestein many trade goods were from 8 to more than 40 percent cheaper.[193] Whether this reduction in prices was reflected at the inland mar-

Table 7.3 Estimated Market Price Differentials, 1660–1680

Principal Markets	*Percent Price Differential*	*Approximate Distance from Coast (in miles)*
Coastal (Eguafo to Fante)		
Forest-edge (Abrem, Etsi)	6 (or 25)	10–20
Southern forest (Twifo, Etsi)	50	30–40
Pra (Assin)	100	50–60
Central forest (Denkyira, Akyem, Adanse)	150	70–80
Northern forest (Amansie, Manso Nkwanta, Kwabre)	200	90+

SOURCES: Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledugerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 83; Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), p. 321; letters from J. Perrin and R. Griffeth, dd. Accra, Feb. 23, 1682, and R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 9, 1683, in "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle, 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972); Gabriel Debien et al., eds., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," *Bulletin de l'institut fondamental de l'afrique noire* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324–25.

kets where the Akani *batafo* traded is not known. One account implies that it was.[194]

Profits earned by individual caravan merchants were, so contemporary documents indicate, considerable. The actual rate of profit per trading enterprise for each merchant (or merchant-investor), nonetheless, remains an open question, although the price differentials suggested here show the possible range of profit margins between the ports and the various inland commercial centers. The dearth of detailed information on the Akani caravan traders is, from many points of view, disappointing; however, compensation is found in the relative abundance of data on the Akani brokers who lived in the towns on the coast. For the 1660s and 1670s Danish company records are particularly useful for an understanding of the brokers' communities with which the company's agents dealt.

THE AMANFRO AND CAPE COAST CAPTAINCIES

Members of the Amanfro captaincy had their own quarter, which faced the sea, on the southern edge of the port; west of the Akani quarter was that of Andokrom, the ward established by Ando Wassa around 1661; to the east was Atakyi, the quarter inhabited by the town's fishermen and their families; and to the immediate north of the Akani residences was the quarter of "the Danish company slaves."[195] The Akani brokers at Cape Coast also had their own quarter situated on one side of the large market square that lay in the center of the town. This quarter was west of the Danish lodge and near Cape Coast Castle.[196]

The population sizes of the two captaincies are not known. The port of Cape Coast probably had between twenty and forty brokers during the period from the 1650s to the 1680s. The Amanfro captaincy had no more than fifteen.[197] The brokers had their families, servants, and slaves with them. The total number of persons associated with the two captaincies most likely amounted to between 200 and 500 people. The population of the Amanfro-Cape Coast urban complex appears to have ranged from 3,000 to 5,000, of which the brokers and their dependents constituted between 4 and 7 percent. The broker communities came under the jurisdiction of Akuma of Amanfro and Jan Clasen Cutterique of Cape Coast.

The gross annual turnover of the trade of the two captaincies amounted, in value, to many thousands of dambas in gold. Mercantile operations not only involved selling and buying at the European establishments, they also entailed the buying of substantial quantities of stockfish and salt for the inland markets and the selling of gold and different commodities (Mandinga cloths, large brass "Accanisten" basins, and a special wood used in the construction of long bows) to the Afutu *abirempon* and *ahenfo.*[198] Sales and purchases were transacted with ready cash as well as on credit, and money was loaned and borrowed at fixed interest rates. Most of these mercantile operations were conducted on behalf of the caravan traders and the Assin merchant-investors, the latter supplying the greater portion of the merchant capital of the captaincies. A smaller portion probably came from the emoluments of the brokers themselves.

The commercial activities of the brokers were patterned according to the "forty-day" calendar and the observance of various religious holidays and prohibitions.[199] It is uncertain whether priests and/or priestesses, *abosomfo* and *asumanfo,* were attached to the Amanfro and Cape Coast captaincies and whether each captaincy had its particular *obosom* or whether all captaincies worshipped the same *obosom.* It is certain, however, that each Akani merchant-broker had his personal *asuman* and that priests (or priestesses) were engaged to perform particular services. In 1668, for example, Akuma sought the assistance of a priest in order to further trade at Fredriksborg. The priest supplied an *asuman,* and the "power" of this object was invoked in order to bring a well-laden ship to the Danish fort. Müller, who describes this episode, relates that in September of that year a Danish vessel with a large cargo of trade-goods arrived at Amanfro, and Akuma, he continues, was certainly convinced that "through the power of his *fitiso* [*asuman*] he had brought this ship here from Europe."[200] Akani brokers resident in other ports also had their *asuman,* and these were used inter alia to promote and protect their commercial activities.[201]

Information on the transactions of Akani brokers resident on the coast is provided by the accounts journal of van Groenestein. Over ten Akani are referred to; however, the personal accounts of only three are given in detail. The three Akani included Akuma, whose account covered the period from September, 1668, to May, 1671; Jan Clasen Cutterique, the captain of the Cape Coast Akani, whose account ran from October, 1668, to September, 1671; and Jan

Lentse, a member of the Amanfro captaincy, whose account extended over the period from December, 1669, to November, 1671. Credits and debts are given in both Akuma's and Cutterique's accounts; in Lentse's account only debits are presented. Akuma and Cutterique both received monthly allowances from the Danish company. These allowances are shown in their respective "customs accounts" (*costuijm notitie/costuijm reekening*). A third Akani named Akwaa ("Equoan" or "Equaan") also received an allowance, which is shown in his "customs account"; however, he did not have a personal account. He was Akuma's deputy or assistant. The different "customs accounts" covered the years from 1668 to 1671.

Of the Akani who traded at Fredriksborg Akuma was the most important. All of his recorded purchases refer only to the months of September, October, and November, 1668, and not to any of the ensuing years, even though he remained at Amanfro until at least December, 1671. His purchases for these months totalled 70,080 dambas' worth of gold.[202] Textiles were his main purchases, representing a little more than one-half the value of his debt, followed by metals and metalware, firearms, and various miscellaneous items (beads, mirrors, bells, and spirits), in that order. Nearly all of these goods were bought in bulk, indicating that his transactions at the fort were conducted either on behalf of caravan *batafo* or on behalf of *akonkofo*, who had ordered particular goods through him. Without exception the commandant credited the merchandise against future payments. Generally the wares were paid for in gold. Only one entry, dated April 9, 1669, shows that he sold a slave at the fort in order to pay for earlier purchases. Like other Akani brokers and traders, he seldom sold slaves.[203]

Akuma's monthly allowance gave him a standing credit account at the fort, and occasionally this was used to settle the debts he owed the company. These were apparently broker's rather than personal debts, that is, the debts were accrued in his capacity as trade negotiator for the caravan merchants. From his allowance he paid for some of the goods ordered by these merchants, who in turn became his debtors. Brokers like Akuma were, therefore, one of the sources of credit for the caravan trade. There is no information on the interest rates the brokers are likely to have charged these caravan merchants.

Akuma maintained an active trade at Fredriksborg in 1670 and 1671. On the sixteenth of May, 1670, he borrowed 192 dambas' worth of gold from van Groenestein in order to pay for spirits he had bought at Cape Coast Castle.[204] This debt was presumably a personal one. Two days later he received three perpetuanas, valued together at 1,152 dambas, on the security of a pawn, a brass basin that belonged to Jan Lentse. On the twenty-ninth of August, 1670, he received a say, valued at 676 dambas, which, according to the entry, was transferred (*transporteert*) to the account of "Crisiakee" and "Aquea." Evidently "Crisiakee" and "Aquea" were in debt to Akuma.[205] The accounts journal does not contain "Crisiakee"'s and "Aquea"'s accounts, so the circumstances surrounding their presumed debt with Akuma are not known. The last entry in

Akuma's account shows that his debts since September, 1668, came to 72,864 dambas, and his credit amounted to a total of 64,272 dambas, leaving a balance of 8,552 dambas.[206]

Akuma's name appears in the personal accounts of several other persons. In each of these accounts he stands as a creditor, or as the recipient of "extraordinary" payments.[207] In the 1660s he appears to have been a creditor to the Afutu state treasury. Sometime before June, 1662, he and another Akani, Ansaku, loaned the *day* Jan Acroissan Tay (who died in 1662) and the Danish commandant Cramer (who died in 1662) a total of 40,992 dambas in gold. In July, 1669, Jan Claessen Cutta paid 27,648 dambas on this amount. Cutta and van Groenestein still owed 16,896 dambas on this debt. Of this amount 3,552 dambas seems to have been the interest, which was, ostensibly, charged at the rate of about 506 dambas a year. Cutta paid off the debt, partially at least, by means of his monthly allowance. In 1670 and 1671 he transferred a little more than 12,288 dambas from his customs account to Akuma's personal account.[208] The brokers were, evidently, important moneylenders.

Jan Clasen Cutterique was the leading broker in Afutu. He was held, Müller observed, "in the greatest respect and esteem by the king and everyone else in the Accani as well as the Fetu lands." He maintained a large, well-furnished house at Cape Coast and was considered one of the wealthiest men in the town.[209] Some idea of his personal fortune is given by de Bellefond, who relates that when Cutterique killed a man in a duel, the Afutuhene fined him 522,240 dambas, a sum he had no difficulty in paying.[210] Elsewhere de Bellefond, who met Cutterique in 1667, states that the Akani broker traded aboard ships every day, selling on each occasion large sums of gold for an extensive range of commodities.[211] Most of Cutterique's trade was undoubtedly carried on with the English factors at Cape Coast Castle, from whom he received a monthly allowance. He was the unnamed "Captain of the Accanies" who was one of the signatories of the Afutu-English East Indies Company commercial treaty of January, 1660.[212] His trade extended to the Dutch at Elmina as well.

From the Danish company Cutterique received a monthly allowance of about 284 dambas in the late 1660s and early 1670s. During the same period Akuma's allowance was between 576 and 624 dambas a month. By 1680 Cutterique had a monthly allowance of 480 dambas.[213] Two documents of probable 1680 date contain lists of the various dignitaries of the Afutu polity who received annual gifts from the company. The Akani captain of Cape Coast was one of the recipients. He was given an anker of French spirits, one half-say, and one half-barrel (twenty-five pounds) of gunpowder. These items were valued at 264 dambas.[214] Earlier accounts do not refer to these annual presents. However, Müller states that the Akani captains regularly received gifts of textiles, metalware, and other goods.[215] Two references to such gifts are mentioned in the accounts journal. The first is to be found in an entry dated January 20, 1669, which mentions that Cutterique received two dozen knives (valued at 1,104 dambas). The second has

reference to a transaction of October 4, 1670: Akuma received 676 dambas' worth of brown earthenware (*taatsen*).[216]

Compared to Akuma's trade at the Danish establishments Cutterique's commercial dealings there were small. His debts for the period 1668 to 1670 came to 28,240 dambas, and his credit totalled 22,380 dambas in value.[217] His most important purchases at the Danish establishments were textiles, followed by beads and metalware. All of these wares were apparently bought on behalf of caravan traders or particular inland customers. The purchases were paid for with gold. Several entries indicate that he made purchases for his own personal use. In September, 1670, he was credited one half-anker of spirits on the occasion of the Akwasi festival. The following month he was in the town of Asebu, and van Groenestein advanced him a cloth, which "Abreboon," Cutterique's son, took to him. Finally, in May, 1671, he received one bull and one calf on credit from the commandant; these animals had been brought by canoe from the Accra kingdom.[218] With one exception Cutterique's monthly allowance was not used to pay off his outstanding debts with the company. These debts were covered by the pawns, large brass basins ("Accanisten Becken"), which he deposited at the Cape Coast lodge and at the fort.[219]

Jan Lentse's purchases at Fredriksborg were smaller than Cutterique's. Between December, 1669, and November, 1671, his debts totalled 9,090 dambas.[220] Since his account lacks a credit page, it may be assumed that he did not settle his debts during this period. Nearly all of his purchases were covered by pawns, namely aggrey and other beads, three brass basins, two male slaves and one female slave, and *bancan* (*bancam* or *banckan*). By the first of February, 1674, the slaves had been redeemed, for at that time his pawns included beads, three copper basins and *bancan* valued at 9,096 dambas. An inventory of 1681 relates that his pawns of beads and *bancan*, valued at 7,754 dambas, were redeemed on the twenty-sixth of February of that year.[221]

Lentse's debts with the Danish company dated from the time of Cramer, the Danish commandant from 1659 to 1662. A 1670 entry shows that he owed Cramer 1,344 dambas and that he was in debt to van Groenestein to the sum of 960 dambas for "5 ounces of acorij." The security given for both loans was a brass basin. The basin also served as security for three perpetuanas advanced to Akuma.[222] Lentse's debts with the company were not settled until 1681.

In two of his transactions Lentse acted in concert with other merchant-brokers who were probably members of the Amanfro captaincy. In June and August, 1671, he and "Tim" were credited goods to the value of 3,936 dambas on the security of a pawn deposited by Lentse. In September of that year three slaves were pawned at the fort, one of whom belonged to "Quim." On both occasions Lentse was held responsible for the entrusted wares. The last entry in his account refers to a transaction that occurred at the Cape Coast factory. Lentse sold a boy to the factor there for 580 dambas in gold. He received 388 dambas, and 192 dambas were given to his wife for buying food (*om eeten te coopen*).[223]

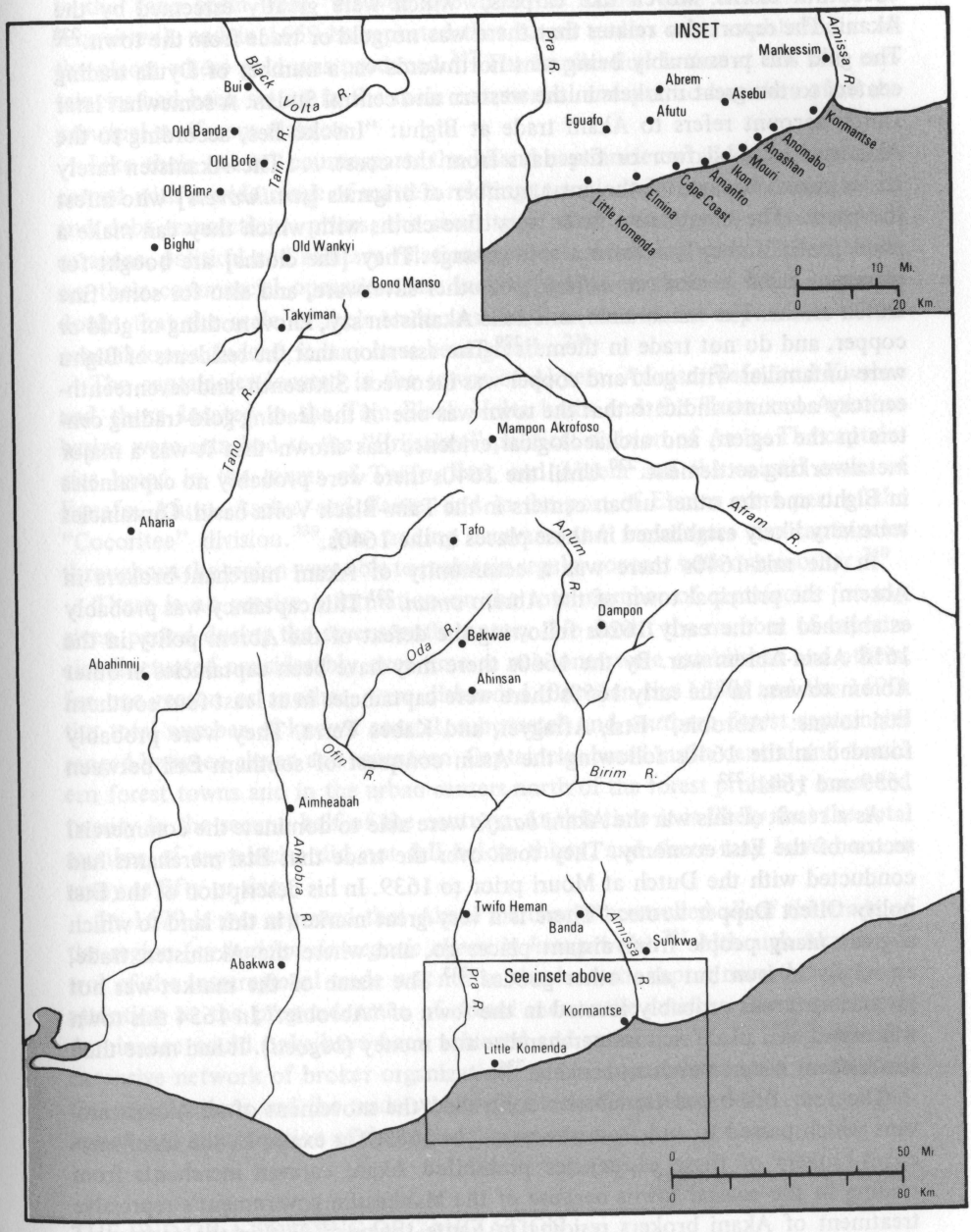
The merchant-broker Kwasi Tutu ("Quasij Toutou" or "Quasi Tutu") of the Cape Coast captaincy had a moderate trade at the Danish establishments. The earliest reference to him is found in an entry under Jan Clasen Cutterique's account. The entry, dated April 30, 1669, states that Cutterique borrowed 9,312 dambas in gold from van Groenestein against the security of a pawn that belonged to Tutu. The entry was deleted, however, suggesting that, for whatever reason, the transaction was not carried through.[224] According to the inventory of February 1, 1674, his securities at the fort included gold, beads, and "1 Mandingan's cloth," which had been pawned for a total of 1,584 dambas. The inventory of 1681 states that on the twenty-first of October, 1670, Tutu had pawned "two strings with yellow beads" which were valued at 4,800 dambas in gold. Several years prior to 1681 he had apparently been executed under unspecified circumstances—the entry merely states that he had been decapitated (*welcher verlangst der Kopff abgehauen*).[225] His debts with the company remained unpaid, since none of the other brokers was called upon to settle them.

The complex trading and brokerage activities of the Amanfro and Cape Coast captaincies typified the kinds of commercial operations conducted by the captaincies of other towns during the second half of the seventeenth century. The economic viability of these captaincies was predicated on the existence of widespread commodity exchange circuits.

THE INLAND CAPTAINCIES

The Akani caravan trade and brokerage organization on the coast had their counterparts in the interior. Unfortunately, less is known about the latter. Nevertheless, there are sufficient data to trade in broad outline certain features of the inland sector of the Akani trading system between the 1570s and the 1670s.

The main source of gold for Akani merchants in the sixteenth century was the auriferous district of Tafo. In 1572 the son of the king of "Asaees grandes," or Assin, informed the Portuguese captain of Elmina that his land was very rich in gold; however, gold was not mined there. It came from another polity, Tafo ("Taafo"), which lay five days' journey behind Assin.[226] There is the likelihood that Akani brokers resided in Tafo towns at this time. Early-seventeenth-century sources indicate that Akani trading caravans regularly traveled much further inland than Tafo. The gold that arrived at Mouri in considerable quantities from "Mandinga" and other towns (*steden*) over 200 miles from the seaboard was brought down by, among other merchants, the Akani. In addition, the Akani are likely to have sold at Mouri and other towns the multicolored wool (*wolle*) textiles of inland manufacture which were used to wrap corpses prior to burial.[227] The cloths were probably made in the large towns of Wankyi ("Wanquie") and Bighu ("Insoco"). In 1629 a Dutch report states that Wankyi was a gold-trading and textile-producing town whose inhabitants "traded inland with the Acanists," and that at Bighu, another center of cloth production, there were



MAP 7.2 Location of Akani captaincies

"beautiful cloths, woven like carpets," which were greatly esteemed by the Akani. The report also relates that there was no gold or trade from the town.[228] The gold was presumably being sent northwards via a number of Dyula trading centers to the great markets in the western and central Sudan. A somewhat later Dutch account refers to Akani trade at Bighu: "Insoko lies, according to the Akanisten, a good four or five days from the coast. . . . The Akanisten rarely go to Insoko because of the great number of brigands [*struikrovers*] who infest the roads. The inhabitants make very fine cloths with which they can make a good profit if they can have a safe passage. They [the cloths] are bought for pieces of eight [*realen van achten*], or other silverware, and also for some fine Dutch cloths. The inhabitants, or so the Akanisten say, know nothing of gold or copper, and do not trade in them."[229] The assertion that the residents of Bighu were unfamiliar with gold and copper was incorrect. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts indicate that the town was one of the leading gold-trading centers in the region, and archaeological evidence has shown that it was a major metalworking settlement.[230] Until the 1640s there were probably no captaincies in Bighu and the other urban centers in the Tain-Black Volta basin. Captaincies were very likely established in these places in the 1640s.

In the mid-1640s there was a community of Akani merchant-brokers in Abrem, the principal town of the Abrem *oman.*[231] This captaincy was probably established in the early 1620s following the defeat of the Abrem polity in the 1618 Assin-Abrem war. By the 1660s there may have been captaincies in other Abrem towns. In the early 1650s there were captaincies in at least four southern Etsi towns: "Abrobie," Etsi, Afragyei, and Kabes Terra. They were probably founded in the 1640s following the Assin conquest of southern Etsi between 1639 and 1641.[232]

As a result of this war the Akani *batafo* were able to dominate the commercial sector of the Etsi economy. They took over the trade that Etsi merchants had conducted with the Dutch at Mouri prior to 1639. In his description of the Etsi polity Olfert Dapper wrote: "There is a very great market in this land to which a great many people from distant places go, and where the Akanisten trade, especially in iron but also other goods."[233] The name of the market was not given, but it was probably located in the town of "Abrobie." In 1654 this town was noted as a place rich in merchandise and money (*begoed*). It had more than ten resident Akani merchant-brokers.[234]

The four Etsi-based captaincies controlled the movement of all Akani caravans which passed to and from the coast. In 1653, for example, the chief merchant-brokers of these captaincies prohibited Akani caravan merchants from trading in the coastal towns because of the Mankessim government's repressive treatment of Akani brokers residing in Fante towns.[235] Within the context of the Assin trading organization they were the administrative superiors of the captains on the coast. The latter were obliged to follow their instructions and orders.[236]

In 1658 the Dutch director-general related that the gold-producing districts

in the Tano basin were "all well known to the Akani" (*alle wel bekent by de accanisten*), and in 1659 he reported that Akani traders were established at all the places where gold was produced.[237] The implication is that at this time captaincies had been set up in the main commercial and political centers of all the principal auriferous districts.

Like their coastal counterparts the inland captaincies would have been concerned with a wide range of matters relating to trade: sales and purchases, credit and debt transactions, prices, the security of trade routes, the movements of caravans, political and military relations between states, and so on. Specific data on their commercial operations are lacking; however, there is little reason to doubt that the scale of their trade was less than that of the captaincies of the coastal towns. Indeed, it may have been greater.[238]

The captaincies located in the towns of Akyem, Adanse, Tafo, and Kwabre and those located in the Tain-Black Volta basin and the Tano and Ankobra basins were attached to the "Crijsakee" political division of Assin. The captaincies based in the towns of Twifo, Etsi, and Abrem and the coastal *aman* of Eguafo, Afutu, Asebu, and Fante, and in the port of Elmina were part of the "Cocoritee" division.[239] Via trading caravans and messengers the captaincies throughout the region were able to maintain regular contact with one another.[240]

There is no precise information on the total number of captaincies for any given period during the seventeenth century. No doubt the number of captaincies fluctuated considerably over time as new ones were established and others, for one reason or another, were disbanded. Between the 1630s and the 1690s the total number of known coastal, subcoastal, and southern forest captaincies ranged between eleven and seventeen. Captaincies based in the central and northern forest towns and in the urban centers north of the forest probably exceeded twenty in the second half of the century. At this time it is likely that the total number of captaincies did not fall below thirty, and there may have been as many as fifty or sixty.

In 1679 it was reported that Akani merchants controlled all of the trade of the region (*en hadden de negotie alleen in hun gewelt*).[241] Although Akani control of the intraregional trade was not so absolute, the report nevertheless draws attention to the preponderance of Akani mercantile activity. Commercial predominance could only have been achieved and maintained by a geographically extensive network of broker organizations and a large-scale caravan trade. Both the organizations and the trade were evident manifestations of the commercialization and monetization of the regional economy.

THE END OF A TRADING ORGANIZATION

In 1698 the Assin *oman* was conquered by the expansionist state of Denkyira. Towns and villages were devastated, the "ancient markets for trade" were destroyed, and the economy of the state was undermined as a result of the im-

position of onerous tribute payments.[242] The Denkyira conquest marked the end of the Akani trading organization as a viable economic enterprise. Although the organization continued to function during the first decade of the eighteenth century, it did so in a highly truncated fashion. Akani merchant caravans continued to visit the ports, but their visits were very infrequent and the caravans were much smaller in size than those that made frequent visits in the seventeenth century. After about 1705 or 1706 the caravans were no longer received by the coastal captaincies—the latter had ceased to exist. Akani was no longer renowned as a "nation" of gold merchants; by 1705 it had become a gold-producing state.[243] Although Akani regained its independence in 1701 following the Asante conquest of Denkyira, it did not long remain an autonomous polity. By about 1707 it was under Asante suzerainty.

Between the years 1698 and 1707 Akani commercial domination passed successively from Denkyira to Asante merchants. The decline of the Akani *batafo* and the rise of, first, Denkyira and, then, Asante traders were linked to the imperial expansionist policies of the Denkyira and Asante political formations. "Wholesale traders" (*grosshandlere*) based in such Fante towns as Anomabu and Kormantse emerged to dominate much of the coastal and southern forest trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This domination was based on a network of brokers, or "correspondents," who were established in market towns from Twifo to Akwamu.[244] The expanding Fante commercial system was a corollary of Fante territorial expansion. The Akani trading organization did not survive the impact of imperial state expansion and the emergence, within these states, of new mercantile groups that were engaged in the spatial extension of their commercial operations. Furthermore, following in the wake of conquering mass armies, these groups (particularly those of Fante and Asante) were able to acquire numerous war prisoners who in turn were sold at the European trading establishments. The export of slaves replaced the export of gold.

In the seventeenth century the Akani governing class achieved "great conquests" as a result of the development of a large-scale system of trade based on a comprehensive caravan organization and guilds, or captaincies, of merchant-brokers. The ruling classes of Asante, Denkyira, and Fante "realized" their "great conquests" by enhancing their military capabilities and developing the techniques of warfare. The shift from an "imperial" trading system to imperial political formations marked the relative social decline of the *obirempon* as a merchant and the rise of the *obirempon* as an *owuraſram,* "master of firepower." Under the social conditions that contributed to the emergence of militarized expansionist polities the seventeenth-century mercantile organization of the Akani political formation could not flourish. In the Asante and Fante states new forms of commercial organization appeared, supplanting the older Akani trading system. The merchant-broker corporations of the *batafo* gave way to the military corporations of the *awuraſram.*

The eclipse of the Akani commercial system was accompanied by other related phenomena: the deurbanization and depopulation of a number of coastal

and forest districts, a relative decline in gold production and in peasant market production, and the ruralization of crafts. In other words, the geographical and socioeconomic base of Akani trade was undermined. Socioeconomic transformations of this magnitude did not go unnoticed. Contemporary observers were aware of certain manifestations of these changes. Thus in 1712 the Dutch director-general of St. George wrote: "Never in our memory, and as far as old manuscripts concerning events here show, has the condition on this Coast been such as it is now, when one cannot find a single little village of which it could be said that it has stayed outside the war . . . the entire Gold Coast is split in two, each part sticking to its party, which is most ruinous for the Trade."[245] Two years later Royal African Company factors at Cape Coast Castle could refer to the "many revolutions in the countries and kingdoms that stand indebted [to the company] for the severall sums."[246] These early-eighteenth-century transformations marked the beginning of a new era.

8

COMMERCE AND CLASS
The Market, Living Standards, and the Social Distribution of Wealth

IT HAS BEEN SAID that in precolonial West African societies local market development and local trade were "weak" because of low demand and that low demand was attributable to low population densities and an "underdeveloped" technology.[1] This view, however, ignores the social relationships within which these phenomena allegedly obtained. It says nothing, for example, about the relation of persons to productive property (the means of production) or the social basis of commodity circulation or the mechanisms of surplus extraction. Nor does it situate trade and the market within the context of simple and expanded reproduction processes. Apropos trade and the market Marx wrote:

> In the shallowest conception, distribution appears as the distribution of products, and hence as further removed from and quasi-independent of production. But before distribution can be the distribution of products, it is: (1) the distribution of the instruments of production, and (2), which is a further specification of the same relation, the distribution of the members of the society among the different kinds of production. The distribution of products is evidently only a result of this distribution, which is comprised within the process of production itself and determines the structure of production.[2]

What was the relationship of individuals and social groups to the markets? What were the material conditions of life of persons resident in the towns and villages? The available evidence, notwithstanding its evident limitations, does indicate that widely differing modes of existence and material standards of life were to be found among the town-dwelling population—from a rich Akani merchant-broker to an indigent day laborer or from a prosperous canoeman to an overworked, ailing slave. The views of Kwaku, a bricklayer's apprentice who was

employed at Christiansborg in the 1740s, provide one lower-class perspective on the reality of social and economic differentiation and inequality.[3] The evidence also indicates the pervasive presence of muted or open social (class) antagonisms—banditry, urban riots, insurrection, and the like—and it specifies the role ideology played in the amelioration of social conflict.

The social and historical roots of differentiation and conflict did not lie in the market place or in various forms of circulation (reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange). They were derived from and conditioned by the class relations of production.

PROPERTY AND SOCIAL CLASSES

Trade goods (*aguade*) and money (*sika*) represented two important forms of social wealth in the *aman.* Prestige and honor accrued to those who possessed them in impressive quantities. In both town and village rich persons invariably had a "Reputation and great Name amongst their Fellow-Citizens."[4] The opposite was the case with persons of little or no means. There was scant regard for the *pauvres misérables.*[5] Thus, while some families were able "to live handsomely" and to enjoy particular rights and privileges, other families endured a life of penury and were not the recipients of any special entitlements. Social wealth was not evenly distributed, hence widely differing living standards and consumption habits; the wealthy and the impoverished were established players in rural and urban life.

Uneven wealth distribution meant that individuals and families had differential relationships to the market (*egua*) and to commerce (*aguadi*), and hence differential access to trade goods and money. Persons of means were able to participate fully in an extensive commodity exchange network and to generate important levels and concentrations of market activity. At the other extreme, the impoverished material conditions of the paupers' existence severely limited the extent of their involvement in the commercial system. The standards of life of the rich and the poor were the social basis for a definable hierarchy of market demand and activity.

Property relationships defined the hierarchy based on economic differentiation and social stratification. These relationships as well as the division of the population into distinct socioeconomic groupings or classes were rooted in the social distribution of the means of material production. This distribution was in turn determined by the social relations of production, which defined the economic structure of the society.

The forces of production, that is, the material or technical relations of production, included the means of production and the technical and organizational forms entailed in the process of production. In using the forces of production, and through different institutions (such as state landed property) and social mechanisms (such as legally defined rights and privileges), the upper

classes regulated access to the means of production and determined the appropriation and distribution of socially produced wealth. The distribution of social power was an expression of the social relations of production.[6]

The relationship of persons or groups of persons to the means of production (or productive property) was manifested in two specific forms: (1) at the "level" of the forces of production there were producers and nonproducers who controlled the means of production, and (2) producers and nonproducers who were separated from them. The connection between producers/nonproducers and the means of production can be expressed in terms of definite property relations: ownership (or effective possession), conditional possession, and separation.[7]

On the basis of these relations four distinct economic groupings can be identified: (1) producers who owned or possessed the means of production (like peasants and artisans), (2) producers who were separated from the means of production (like slaves and free day-laborers), (3) nonproducers who owned or possessed the means of production (like nobles), and (4) nonproducers who were separated from the means of production (like servants and attendants in the service of nobles). In a regional socioeconomic system that was highly exchange oriented, the structure of property relations was decisive in determining the ability or inability of persons or social groups to own and accumulate trade goods, money, and other means of subsistence.

In August, 1968, the Royal African Company factor at Little Komenda reported the arrival of a prominent and wealthy Adom *ohene* in the port: "Of sundry cabboceers from out [of Adom] one in particular . . . was a very great cabboceer and was a very great trader and the means of a great deal of trade who had abundance of people with him, and . . . who came here to open the ways for traders coming down to this place and to settle people to live here. . . ."[8] This person, who was probably Gyamfi Asirifi ("Japho Ashreevey"), governor of the Adom province of "Jumoo," possessed the organizational means and the wealth to engage in large-scale commercial operations.[9] In contrast, there were craftsmen who earned just enough money from their work to provide food for themselves and their families.[10] The state treasurer of early-eighteenth-century Eguafo was "a very rich man" with numerous retainers.[11] He engaged in trade on a big scale and enjoyed a life of material comfort. The living conditions of the "poor slaves" of late-seventeenth-century Little Komenda were vastly different. At times these persons were obliged to pick "palm berries and such trash amongst ye bushes" in order to maintain themselves.[12] The Ahanta corporations of "red-earth people" and "white-earth people" and important families of Ladoku, Tema, Great Ningo, and Lay possessed slaves, livestock, gold, land, and other property.[13] All of them were involved in trade. Their economic and material circumstances differed substantially from those of many fisherman and peasant families which lacked money reserves and any other form of accumulated wealth. The uneven distribution of social power and wealth were salient features of the rural and urban economies.

In their descriptions of the social structures of the various *aman* contem-

porary observers made explicit references to these distinctions. For example, they referred to "degrees of men," to high (*hohe*) and low (*niedrige*) persons, and to different *stände* or *stœnder* ("estates," "ranks," "orders").[14] These designations were not adventitious but denoted specific social strata. Within the context of the sociopolitical system of each *oman* the status of an individual or family was defined with reference to several criteria, which were reinforced by tradition and ideology: legally sanctioned rights and privileges, property holdings, power and authority, genealogy, mode of social existence, and network of social relationships. These served to distinguish an *awura* from an *odofo* and both from an *akoba*.[15]

SOCIAL CONFLICT AND THE RITUAL OF REBELLION

Stratification based on socioeconomic differentiation constituted a potential as well as an actual source of class conflict. Outbreaks of civil discord, tumult, and revolt against the established sociopolitical order were not unknown. Indeed, the political authorities protected themselves against such eventualities. In the Afutu *oman*, for example, one of the duties of the *brafo* was to quell all *Unruhe*—riots, insurrections, and other forms of public violence—which occurred within the state.[16] Disruptive disturbances of this sort were known as *agyesem*.[17] The *agyesemfo*, those responsible for fomenting *agyesem*, embraced different categories of persons: fishermen rioting against the fish tax,[18] impoverished peasants abandoning their farms and becoming bandits,[19] mutinous militiamen unwilling to lay down their arms,[20] and hungry urban paupers stealing crops from farms.[21] The actions of the *agyesemfo* represented different forms of political protest directed against a socioeconomic structure based on privilege and wealth. They also represented the attempts of some of the "meaner sort" to ameliorate their conditions of existence.[22]

However, social tensions and antagonisms were regulated and measurably reduced by means of formalized and institutionalized "rituals of rebellion." At a stipulated time of the year the authorities of the different *aman* permitted their subjects to engage in sanctioned forms of dissent, impropriety, insubordination, and license. William Bosman, a late-seventeenth-century Dutch factor, gave a brief description of controlled "rebellion" in the town of Axim:

> Every year, at an appointed time, the Devil is banned from their Villages, which is done with a curious ceremony. I have twice seen it at Axim, where they make the greatest stir about it. It is preceded by a Feast of eight Days, accompanied with all manner of Singing, Skiping, Dancing, Mirth and Jollity: In which time a perfect lampooning Liberty is allowed, and Scandal so highly exalted, that they may freely sing of all the Faults, Villanies and Frauds of their Superiours as well as Inferiours without Punishment, or so much as the least Interruption; and the only way to stop their Mouths is to ply them lustily with Drink, which alters their Tone immediately, and turns their

> Satyrical Ballads into Commendatory Songs on the good Qualities of him who hath so nobly treated them.[23]

On the eighth and final day "the Devil" was driven out of the town. This ceremony of "rebellion" was not conducted at Axim alone, but in "above one hundred Towns at the same time." Thus at the end of the century formalized "rebellion" was an established feature of the political culture of the various *aman.*[24]

For a brief period during the year the dominance of privilege and wealth was inverted. Tension and conflict were temporarily abated, culminating once a year in "Commendatory Songs." The "perfect lampooning Liberty" of the festive eight-day banishment ceremony allowed commoners and slaves alike to insult, malign, and ridicule their social superiors, the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon.* The customary subservience and subordinancy of the "lower orders" were momentarily forgotten. From the viewpoint of the *afahene* "Satyrical Ballads" and "lampooning Liberties" were clearly preferable to *agyesem.* They did not alter the social distribution of power and wealth, but rather served to reinforce, ideologically, the continued dominance of the *afahene.*

NOBLES AND RETAINERS

Within the class of *afahene* (or *awuranom:* "great men") three principal groupings can be identified: the political-military group or *ahenfo* (including the *ahenfo kese,* the *brafo,* the *aprahene,* the *adekurofo,* and the *mmaradofo*); the mercantile group or *abirempon* (namely, the *batafo* and *asanfo*); and the priestly group or *asofo* (including the *abosomfo,* the *asumanfo,* and certain of the *akomfo*). Irrespective of their *oman* affiliations, all of them (either by ascription or achievement) were members of the "brotherhood" (*confrater*) of nobles.

Public authority, social power, and great quantities of private and corporate wealth were concentrated in the hands of the *afahene.* The dominant positions they commanded within the process of social production and within the *oman* organizations enabled them to collect, store, accumulate, and consume revenues—that is, the economic surplus. The ownership of wealth gave them the means of access to public office and allowed them to monopolize the means of administration. The rules of succession and inheritance ensured that over time *ofahene* families retained control over the appropriation and distribution of socially produced wealth and the acquisition of the technical and organizational knowledge necessary for the administration of political and other affairs.[25] Hence these families were socially organized in property-holding corporations (*mmusua*) and were members of or affiliated with office-holding groups. A prominent *ofahene* was one who held an important public office and owned property: farms, houses, trade goods, livestock, weaponry, gold, and retainers. He was also one who posessed a distinguished genealogy ("blood": *bogya*) that

defined his status as a free man and an *awura,* potent *asuman* to safeguard his physical and spiritual well-being, and honorific titles and praise names.[26]

Social habits of generosity, public display and ceremony, lavish consumption, and religious piety were highly valued by the *afahene.* Although gold, merchandise, and other forms of wealth were hoarded on a large scale, the nobles did not sanction this practice as an end in itself. Thus the parsimony and avarice of the miser (*okyekyefo*) was socially undesirable; in contrast, the liberality and hospitality of the "good man" (*mepafo*) were highly commended.[27] Wealth enabled an *ohene* or an *obirempon* to trade, to organize feasts, to make large offerings at religious shrines, to receive guests, to distribute gifts, and to support and feed a large entourage. It also allowed an *ofahene* to extend his (or her) circle of affinal relations, friends, clients, and allies and to attract (or acquire) followers to whom money, merchandise, and provisions could be handed out. While wealth accumulation was dominated by the goal of "social consumption," accumulation itself was made possible through the structure of surplus appropriation.

The *afahene* had their own shared code of behavior and aristocratic perceptions and outlook. One late-seventeenth-century observer commented, "They are . . . wonderful proud and haughty, as appears in their carriage: for if a man by his subtilty or industry has raised himself so as to become rich, or be in considerable office, he never goes about the streets without a slave, who carries his wooden stool, to rest him wheresoever he makes a stop. He seldom moves his head to look at any other person, unless it be one above himself in wealth or place; or if he happens to speak to his inferiors, it is done in a lofty, disdainful way. . . ."[28] Proper decorum was not the least of an *ofahene*'s concerns.

Closely associated with the nobles—indeed, one of the social supports of their mode of existence—were the retainers, or slaves and bonded commoners. Slaves, and possibly bonded persons, as well, were easily distinguishable from free commoners: by law they were not permitted to wear headgear.[29] Until the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century only the *afahene* could buy, own, and sell slaves.[30] Presumably they were also the only persons allowed to acquire bonded free persons. Individuals of slave status included unransomed prisoners of war, persons judicially condemned to permanent servitude, and persons purchased on the market. Among the bonded commoners there were debt "slaves," pawns, persons judicially condemned to (temporary) servitude (because, for example, of their inability to pay court fines), and persons who because of poverty placed themselves or were placed by relations in the personal service of an *ofahene.*[31]

The retainers were employed at a variety of tasks. They served or worked as domestic servants, attendants, craftsmen, agricultural laborers, market vendors, brewers, caravan leaders, trading agents, concubines, porters, soldiers and personal guards, goldminers, fishermen, salt producers, herdsmen, and prostitutes. Occupational differentiation within the retainer class was indicative of the rather considerable functional specialization within the *afahene*'s "economy" of "social consumption."

The retainer class was marked by a discernible hierarchy of statuses. Among the highest-ranking slaves, for example, were those who served as the concubines, attendants, and personal guards of an *ohene kese;* among the least esteemed slaves were those engaged in heavy physical work. Living conditions among the retainers also differed. Some slaves were able to acquire wealth and considerable authority. Bosman wrote: "Because those to whom the command of some people had been given by their Masters, become rich through their own Trade, as a result of which they acquire some Slaves themselves, so powerful that their Masters have to anticipate their Wishes."[32] Other slaves, however, lived in abject poverty and suffered from various diseases (such as *den faldene sygdom:* epilepsy) and ailments (such as Guinea worm). The mortality rate among slaves and bonded persons (*traeler*) was considerably higher than that among the free.[33] Clearly not all retainers were the beneficiaries of their masters' largesse.

Slaveowners maintained strict control over their slaves. Müller related that newly purchased slaves (*neu-erkauffte Sclaven*) were obliged to swear an oath (*ntam*) of loyalty to their masters, and, according to de Marees, slaves were branded by their masters so that they could be identified if they ran away.[34] Runaway slaves were a perennial problem. Around the middle of the seventeenth century a fee of 192 dambas in gold was paid to the person who returned a runaway slave to his or her rightful owner; by the end of the century this payment amounted to 384 dambas.[35] The problem was magnified in the latter part of the century because certain towns—namely Abora and Nyanaoase—pursued a policy of regularly recruiting runaways into their military organizations.[36] Slaves who were returned to their masters were invariably punished. For the first offense the slave lost an ear. If he (or she) ran away a second time, the owner cut off the other ear, and if the offense occurred a third time, the owner either sold the slave or killed him or her.[37]

The *afahene* did not regard their slaves as totally responsible persons. They viewed them as somewhat simple-minded (*half geck*) individuals: unlike free persons, slaves were not in full possession of rational faculties (*nicht bey Sinnen oder Verstand*).[38] No doubt this upper-class attitude served to justify the harsh treatment that many slaves suffered. Notwithstanding the rather onerous life of servitude led, there is no evidence of slave revolts in the seventeenth-century Gold Coast. However, a 1646 report relates that in Assin a slave killed his master, an important person in the state, and that afterwards he disrupted the caravan traffic between Assin and districts to the north. Several years earlier three women slaves from Elmina burned down all of the granaries (*milho huysen*) of the Eguafohene.[39] Generally speaking, the slaves' resistance to their conditions of servitude was less dramatic. Acts of insubordination, running away to distant towns or villages, or placing themselves under the protection of a religious shrine (and hence becoming the servile dependents of a priest or priestess) were the slaves' response to conditions of servitude.[40]

Most slaves formed part of the partible estates of their masters. Through the rules of inheritance they were attached to the various property-holding corpora-

tions of the *afahene.* However, a significant minority of slaves was not associated with these corporations. These slaves were attached to the *oman* organizations, where they constituted the "property" of the principal political-military offices. They were state slaves who were engaged either in production in state-directed enterprises (such as gold mining) or in the administration of public authority. Bonded commoners, on the other hand, were generally employed in the personal service of *ofahene* families and not in the public service of a political office.

Slaves and bonded commoners did not engage in acts of lavish social generosity or of public pomp and ceremony. Such acts were only possible to those who had wealth. Generally speaking, retainers owned neither productive property nor the products of their own labor; they could not put the means of production into operation, and they were separated from their own means of subsistence. Their material welfare depended on those who owned them, the *afahene.* The retainers, in fact, constituted the productive property of the nobles: "Slaves, being one part of their riches, and properly a commodity in this country," as John Barbot noted.[41]

THE COMMON PEOPLE

Differences between persons of free status and persons of slave status were strictly maintained. The difference between a free person of noble status and a free person of commoner status was maintained with equal firmness. The nobles, Sieur Villaut de Bellefond observed in 1667, seldom spoke to the common people (*menu peuple*), but when they did they spoke to them only with authority.[42] The *ofahene* had the right to trade everywhere, to buy and sell slaves, to keep drummers and horn blowers, and to hold festivals whenever he pleased. By law the common people were denied these rights. Social distance between the two classes was maintained in other ways, as an early-eighteenth-century account of judicial praxis indicates:

> And as to their laws, they are made more to enslave poor people, than to do them justice and the law-holders which are the cabbasheers are the law breakers, and very rarely give the cause, be it ever so right on the poor man's side, when the adversary is a man of any power, and when ever they do it, it signifies nothing, for power always decides the cause of the great men, and the poor people to defend themselves from oppression, and often to prevent their being punished for their crimes give themselves up as slaves to great men or subject themselves to them in like manner as if slaves. . . .[43]

The courts served, then, as one important institutional means in the social subordination of the commoners to the nobles.

Drawing on their own seventeenth-and early-eighteenth-century social vocabularies, contemporary European observers used a variety of collective nouns to designate the free members of the lower class: *de armen, de arme luyden, die geringern, de arme gemeen volk, die gemeine leute, der gemeine pöbel, de fattige,*

de ringe, de smaafolk, "the mobile," and "the vulgar people." In the Akan-speaking areas they were known as the *anihumanifo* or—the *adofo.* The commoners formed a distinct and recognizable social stratum in the urban centers, thus "the mobile of Fantine," that is, the "mob" of Mankessim, were readily distinguishable from the *caboceers* and "great men" of the town.[44] The different terms used to designate the common people indicate that individually and collectively members of this class lacked authority, power, and wealth.[45] Those among them who had the good fortune to become rich did not remain commoners: they were immediately ennobled. Thus in the coastal towns, for example, it was not uncommon for young men to set aside a portion of the gold they earned so that in time they could become *afahene.*[46]

Most *anihumanifo* did not attain the status of an *ofahene.* However, they were not uniformly poor, subsisting in a social environment of shared poverty. Economically, the commoner class was characterized by different strata. Although Müller defined the commoners as persons with comparatively few material possessions (*Mans-personen welche eines gar schlechten Vermögens sind*), he nonetheless was able to identify three categories of common people on the basis of differential "purchasing power." The first category included persons who possessed sufficient gold to buy six feet of plain woolen cloth (*say*); the second comprised those who could not afford to purchase woolen cloth but who had enough gold to buy twelve feet of coarse linen cloth (*wirzjen*); in the third category were persons who were utterly impoverished (*welche blut-arm sind*) and who could afford only three feet of coarse linen cloth.[47] These categories can be taken as broadly representative of the differing economic statuses among the *anihumanifo.* There were, however, some commoners who could buy considerably more than six feet of plain woolen cloth, and there were others who lacked the means to buy three feet of coarse linen cloth. Whatever their economic position, commoners had access to money, and all of them, especially those in the towns, engaged in market transactions. Poor commoners would have used mainly *kakraas;* however, more affluent commoners would have used, in addition to *kakraas,* dambas, takus, and other light gold weights. Few, if any, commoners, would have had the heavy benda or *peredwan* weights.

The commoner class comprised a number of occupational groups. It included peasants, artisans, day laborers, hunters, goldminers, hatters, fishermen, canoemen, salt producers, cooks, porters, market vendors, ferrymen, herdsmen, cattle drivers, musicians, coopers, woodcutters, charcoal burners, water carriers, thatchers, lime makers, soap makers, astrologers, low-ranking priests and priestesses, and doctors. From the ranks of the commoners also came bandits and mercenaries. Economically, the commoners ranged from the comparatively prosperous to the destitute, from the buyers of expensive imported woolens to the buyers of locally made bark cloth. Attitudes of status distinction, reflecting in part relative economic positions and in part differing social-political affiliations, were also in evidence among the commoners. Thus canoemen considered

themselves socially superior to porters, fishermen held peasants in disdain (and vice versa), and day laborers were scorned by all.[48]

Unlike the mass of slaves and bonded commoners, the *anihumanifo* were not attached to property-holding corporations. They were the revenue-paying political dependents of officeholders and the social basis of sovereign authority and government (*aban*) of the *oman* regimes. The commoners were subject to many exactions: corvée labor, military service, land rent, court fines, and a diversity of taxes. In short, they were a source of taxable wealth. Thus among many of the *anihumanifo* there was a high demand for use-values. Use-values were needed to satisfy basic subsistence needs and to meet various revenue obligations.

Unlike the retainers, most rural and urban commoners owned productive property. They were in a position to sell the products of their own labor. Other commoners possessed particular skills, which allowed them to provide specialized services for pay. The *adofo* were not separated from the means of production or from their own means of subsistence.

However, there were some free commoners, mainly in the towns, who were propertyless. They were day laborers (*adwumafo*) who worked for wages. They included the *ghemeyn jonghers* ("commoner youths") or *jongelingen* ("youths") and the *leeghgangers* ("idlers").[49] The day laborers were among the poorest of the *adofo*. Together with those referred to as the "poorer sort" they constituted an important wage-earning work force in the ports. They were a permanent rather than a residual or temporary urban aggregation.

Certain of them were stevedores, being employed in loading and unloading the cargoes of canoes. They unloaded the surf canoes, which were used to convey cargoes between the ships and the beaches, and carried the merchandise to the European trading establishments or to the residences of canoemen, merchants, or brokers. They unloaded fishing canoes and carried the fish to the fishermen's dwellings, and they assisted the fishermen in beaching their canoes and in bringing in their nets. They also loaded and unloaded the large trading-canoes that traveled from port to port with cargoes of palm wine, produce, livestock, craft goods, and merchandise.[50]

Other *adwumafo* were employed in a number of different tasks: fishing, making and dyeing mats, preparing palm wine and palm oil for sale in the markets, repairing houses, assisting blacksmiths, selling in the town markets, cleaning the streets, lanes, and market places in the towns, and serving as porters in merchants' caravans.[51] Generally speaking the *adwumafo* were not bound to one place; they occasionally traveled from one town to another in search of employment.[52] Like runaway slaves they were an important source of manpower for the towns of Abora and Nyanaoase, which in the late seventeenth century were establishing part of their military forces on a mercenary basis.

In common with the guild organizations of merchants, smiths, and militiamen the *adwumafo* were, historically, a product of the urban development of labor, the growth of trade, and of expanding levels of currency circulation. While

nothing is known about the social origins of this group, it is likely that dispossessed peasants and other economically ruined commoners as well as runaway slaves and freedmen formed the nucleus of the *adwumafo.*

This development was not fortuitous. By the early seventeenth century distinct occupational groupings and economic strata had emerged among the *adofo.* This process of differentiation was linked to expanding market production and commodity exchange and to a structure of social production (and reproduction) based on slaveowning and tributary relations. Like the retainer class, the heterogeneous class of *anihumanifo* constituted one of the "specific historical forms of social labor" in the towns and villages.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE AMONG THE LOWER CLASSES

Within the framework of the urban economy the aggregate demand generated annually in feeding, clothing, and housing members of the lower classes, particularly the *adofo,* was considerable. Data from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provide important information on the material living conditions of the common people, especially those resident in the seaboard towns. They indicate, for example, what commoners (and, to a lesser extent, slaves) ate and wore. Although many commoner households were polyvalent or multifunctional—in the sense that they were both units of production and units of consumption—it is evident that they did not constitute, in the aggregate, a distinct autarkic, self-sustaining "economy." According to their individual economic circumstances, they were engaged, at differing levels of intensity, in marketing activities. Each household generated a market demand necessary for its own social reproduction. Thus among commoner households there was a demand for imports (such as textiles, metalware, and beads) and a demand for provisions, fuel, tools, and household furnishings.

Throughout the seventeenth century coarse and fine linens—bleached, half-bleached, and unbleached varieties—were the most important of the textiles imported by the European factors, and frequently they could represent up to one-fourth or more of the value of a ship's cargo. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries cotton cloths imported from the Kwakwa coast and locally produced bark cloth provided the common dress of the *anihumanifo* in the towns and villages of the coastal and southern forest *aman.*[53] With the growth of Dutch trade after 1595 linen and woolen textiles of varying quality became available in greater quantities. These cloths greatly, though not completely, replaced Kwakwa and bark cloths as the conventional dress of the commoners resident in the coastal towns. This change occurred between the 1620s and the 1660s. De Marees noted at the beginning of the century that peasants (*boeren*) living in the vicinity of Little Komenda bought substantial quantities of the linens that the Dutch sold at the Eguafo port.[54] Peasants residing near other ports or inland market towns also purchased imported linens.[55] Never-

theless, later accounts indicate that the rural populations generally wore Kwakwa and bark cloths. De Bellefond, who traded on the coast in 1667, remarked that the common dress of the peasants (*paysans*) was blue and white Kwakwa cloths, and Barbot refers to itinerant bark cloth-makers in the interior who traveled from village to village selling their wares.[56] The usual dress for most slaves living in and around ports was bark and Kwakwa cloths. In the 1640s slaves employed at the Dutch establishments were supplied with Kwakwa cloths, and in 1702 it was reported that in the Assini state slaves and poor commoners wore only *haillons* made of "grass and bark."[57] By the second half of the seventeenth century one of the distinctions between commoners of the towns and those of the villages was the cloths that they wore. The urban *anihumanifo* wore coarse linens and woolens supplemented by Kwakwa and bark cloths; the rural *anihumanifo* wore Kwakwa and bark cloths supplemented by linens. Both groups of commoners represented "mass" markets for textiles.

The clothing needs of the commoners were satisfied in the markets. Plain bark cloth was prepared by wives and daughters in commoner households, although the bark had to be purchased. Multicolored bark cloth, on the other hand, had to be bought from specialist bark cloth-makers or from traders who obtained such cloth at Assini, a major center of bark cloth production in the late seventeenth century, and sold it at various ports and inland markets.[58] The commoner demand for clothing was persistent. The continued growth of linen and woolen imports reflected urban commoner demand. The expansion of the Kwakwa cloth trade, particularly from the 1640s to the 1670s, reflected a demand that emanated largely from the rural farming population.[59] By the end of the century there occurred a significant decline in household bark cloth production, particularly in the coastal and subcoastal towns, as more and more commoners relied upon the market for their clothing. Whether specialist producers of multicolored bark cloth were also affected is uncertain, however, bark cloth, either plain or patterned, was less common as a form of dress in 1700 than in the 1550s. It is evident that consumption habits and subsistence levels had changed during this period.

For most of the *anihumanifo* the majority of the many varieties of imported cloths were too expensive. The demand for these textiles was largely limited to the wealthy. Hence Ardra, Benin, Cape Verde, and Mandinga cloths, blankets, perpetuanas, *slaaplakens,* and the various cottons and silks from India were not represented among the personal possessions of the lower classes. The clothing needs of the many thousands of commoners were satisfied, in the main, by a very limited range of textiles: *wirzjen,* says, *slaplaakens,* Kwakwa cloths, and bark cloths.

In addition to cloths commoners generally wore hats or caps. The latter were made from a variety of materials: reeds or bark, and the hides or skins of dogs, goats, sheep, or cows.[60] Headgear of reeds and bark were generally made in the households by women, but those made from animal skins were produced for the most part by specialists.[61] Fishermen and canoemen often wore caps or hats

which they purchased from sailors aboard the ships.[62] Commoners wore no silver or gold jewelry. Their personal ornamentation included seashells and inexpensive imported beads which were worn around the neck, and cuprous or iron bracelets. Well-to-do commoners wore decorated ivory arm rings.[63] All of these ornaments were either bought directly from craftsmen or they were purchased in the town markets.

The household furnishings of the "better sort" of urban commoners included large calabashes or copper pots or basins, tinware, wooden stools, wooden and earthenware pots and dishes, small calabashes or wooden cups for drinking, straw mats and cheap animal skins on which to sleep, and weapons.[64] All of these items were purchased in the markets. The calabashes were bought from peasants, the women shaping and carving them in the homes. The women also made straw mats, although the raw material was bought.[65] There were, however, persons who specialized in the carving and working of calabashes and in mat making.[66]

The sizes of urban commoners' houses depended on the number of people residing in them. Incomplete data suggest a range of two to eight people per house.[67] The houses included sleeping quarters and rooms for cooking, storage, and the like. Most lacked courtyards. The majority of the town-dwelling *anihumanifo* probably built their own residences, not being able to afford to hire carpenters and swish (clay) makers. It is likely that commoners resident in the same ward assisted each other in house building. The houses were generally rectangular in shape, although in certain coastal towns and villages circular huts were common. They were low, the outer walls standing only as high as a man, and they were constructed of swish and wood, and had thatched roofs.[68] Thatch for roofing was sold in the town markets by thatchers, and the wood used in house or hut construction was obtained from the woods and forests, a fee being paid to the *ohene* whose land supplied it.[69]

Fuel was needed for cooking and heating. Firewood was either bought in the markets, where it was sold by woodcutters, or it was got directly from the wooded areas upon payment of a stipulated fee to the particular overlords who had jurisdiction over them.[70] Charcoal was also used as a fuel and was purchased from charcoal burners, who sold it in the town markets. Beeswax and tallow were used to make candles and had to be bought in the markets. Palm oil, which was used inter alia as lamp fuel, and locally produced match, which was used as lamp wicks, also had to be bought. Earthenware lamps were purchased from potters.[71] Except for the very poor, the *anihumanifo* had balances, scales, and a small number of gold weights which they used in their market and other monetary transactions. The balances, scales, and weights were made by goldsmiths.

According to Samuel Brun, the peasants who resided in the immediate hinterland of Mouri lived in small thatch-roofed huts made of wood and reeds.[72] Such huts were fairly common in the towns and villages along the seaboard in the sixteenth century, but during the seventeenth they were largely replaced in the towns by dwellings of clay and wood. The wood-reed huts probably remained

the characteristic rural dwelling throughout the coastal zone for much of the seventeenth century, although by the end of the century these were gradually replaced in various districts by structures of clay and wood. In 1692 it was noted in the Assini towns and villages that slaves lived in huts of wood and reeds, but the commoners had dwellings of clay and wood.[73] The peasant household provided for its own housing, and it made or supplied most of the necessary household furnishings. Such items as clothing, tools, metalware, pottery, and miscellany like beads it had to buy. The peasant household supplied the bulk of its own foodstuffs; nevertheless it was obliged to sell a portion of its harvest in the town markets in order to acquire enough gold to meet diverse revenue obligations. Stockfish and salt were among the households' market purchases, but some produce was sold for gold "to those who had not farmed."[74]

The *anihumanifo* of the towns were almost totally dependent upon the markets for their provisions. A wide variety of foodstuffs was to be found in the markets of the seaboard towns: cereals (maize, millet, Guinea corn, and rice), yams, plantains, legumes, citrus and other kinds of fruit, eggs, sugar cane, honey, fish, fowl, palm oil, palm nuts, pepper, beer, palm wine, and so on. Most of the ports received the greater portion of their provisions from agricultural production areas extending five to fifteen miles behind the littoral. From these areas the coastal towns imported thousands of tons of provisions annually, and some of the towns exported great quantities of provisions to different settlements along the entire littoral.[75] Urban commoners as well as other town dwellers were dependent on contiguous farming villages and hamlets, as well as on distant produce-exporting ports, for their provisions.

Many commoners in the coastal towns subsisted on fish, fowl, cereals (in the form of *kenkey* or some other "bread"), palm oil, yams, fruits, vegetables of different kinds, and palm wine. Poor commoners consumed yams or *kenkey*, palm oil, fish, and a few vegetables. When fish was not available, their diets were essentially vegetarian. Prosperous commoners could eat fowl if they could not get fish. On special occasions all commoners ate and drank well. Thus on every "sabboth" the peasants were obliged to bring into the towns palm wine, which the rulers distributed among the residents.[76] At the commencement of the planting season peasants were regaled with food and drink by the *afahene* whose lands they cleared and sowed, and whenever an *ofahene* celebrated his *awura-da,* he distributed food and drink among the townspeople.[77] During the course of the year there were many festival or feasting days. Generally these were the only opportunities many members of the lower classes had to consume beef, pork, mutton, and other items of food which they normally did not eat.

Describing the diet of "the Commonalty," Bosman wrote: "Their common Food is a Pot full of ground Millet or Corn boiled to the consistence of Bread, or instead of that Jambs and Potatoes; over which they pour a little Palm-Oyl, with boiled Vegetables and a little piece of stinking Fish. This they esteem a nice Dish; for tis but seldom they can get the Fish and Herbs: As for Oxen, Sheep, Hens, or other Flesh, they only buy that for Holy-days. . . ."[78] In the

1660s the daily meals of the commoners of Amanfro and Cape Coast (and probably of other towns as well) included bread prepared from either "great" or "small" *millie,* roasted yams, fish, entrails, hen, palm oil, and salt and pepper, in addition to various fruits and vegetables.[79] This diet appears much more substantial than that described by Bosman. A comparison of the two suggests that as far as food staples were concerned there was a general decline in the living standards of urban commoners. In one important respect there was no change. Like their counterparts of 1700 many commoners of the 1660s rarely ate beef, pork, mutton, or goat, because of their expense.[80]

Fish and fowl were the main sources of protein for most of the urban *adofo.* Game was more favored as a food in the villages than in the towns, although elephant meat, which was comparatively rare, was highly esteemed by both upper- and lower-class town dwellers.[81] Among the rural population fish and livestock were probably less common as food staples than fowl and game. De Bellefond related that yams were the principal food in the diets of the poor and the peasants (*l'igname est le pain des pauvres et des paysans de ce pays*).[82] The implication is that for the peasants *millie* was a cash crop which was grown for sale in the urban settlements and that for most of the townspeople *millie* was a staple.

Apart from water, the most popular drink among all classes was palm wine, of which there were four distinct kinds. Müller noted, however, that slaves and poor people (*Sclaven und arme Leute*) in the Afutu polity could not afford to purchase a calabash of palm wine, but had to content themselves with water obtained from water holes.[83] Beer was also a popular drink; however, its consumption in the towns was limited to the wealthy or to prosperous commoners such as canoemen and goldsmiths. Imported spirits (such as brandy and rum) were consumed almost entirely by members of the upper class and their retainers; however, canoemen and militiamen, in contrast to most urban *adofo,* had regular access to them.[84] It is doubtful whether peasants and other rural dwellers consumed any spirits. Palm wine and beer were the only alcoholic beverages that were readily available to them.

Within the structure of prevailing property relationships there were manifest differences between urban and rural commoner standards of life. In addition, each group was characterized by several distinct levels of subsistence. The number and extent of the necessary wants (food, clothing, fuel, and housing) enjoyed by the *adofo* of the towns and villages and the modes of satisfying these needs were themselves the products of historical development. Specifically, they were related to the expansion of trade in use-values (like personal goods), the increasing availability of means of exchange, and changes within the organization of revenue collection. However, the commoners' standard of life was not determined only by the satisfaction of certain nonmaterial (subjective) wants that sprang from "the social condition in which people [were] placed and reared."[85] The means of subsistence (in both a material and a nonmaterial sense) were determined by social habitude and the historical and social conditions in which

the different strata of commoners were formed.[86] Differing means of subsistence and consumption habits also meant differing standards of life.

THE URBAN DESTITUTE AND POOR RELIEF

Commoners who lived a life of dire poverty were not in a position to maintain themselves. They constituted the dispossessed and disadvantaged—the *pauvres misérables.*[87] They were necessarily dependent on others for their means of livelihood. Professional begging, however, was not resorted to. At the beginning of the seventeenth century de Marees noted that in spite of rather widespread poverty there were no beggars (*bedelaers*) in the towns and villages.[88] Commenting on this phenomenon at the end of the century, Bosman wrote:

> What is most commendable amongst the Negroes is, that we find no poor amongst them who beg; For no matter how little they possess, they never beg; the Reason of which is, that when a Negroe finds he cannot subsist he pawns himself for a certain Sum of Money, or his Friends do it for him; and he is maintained by the one to whom he has been pawned, on condition that he performs such work as he is ordered to do, which is not in the least slavish, being chiefly to defend his Master on occasion, and in sowing time to work as much as he himself pleases.[89]

Loyer refers to a similar situation in the early-eighteenth-century Assini (Asoko) polity.

Possibly with a certain amount of exaggeration, he reports that commoners in the Assini towns were very poor and wretched, "not having a cloth with which to cover themselves nor anything else apart from what the *brembis* let them have. They die from famine most of the time and are compelled to work daily as laborers and, frequently, even to become slaves of the *seigneurs* in order to acquire something to eat."[90] Some impoverished *anihumanifo* could therefore improve their lowly economic status by attaching themselves to the households or retinues of the rich and powerful as clients or pawns. They became members of wealthy, property-holding families.

However, many paupers were not taken into personal service; consequently their needs had to be attended to in other institutionalized ways. One anonymous account of 1665 related that following the main harvest, the peasants "furnished the poor for gold."[91] No further comment was given. However, the implication is that peasants were obliged to support the urban destitute by means of a poor relief tax, which was paid in gold and was distributed among the needy by revenue collectors or other political authorities.[92] Presumably this tax was levied in a number of the coastal and inland *aman.* It was introduced, perhaps, in the seventeenth century and may have been derived from an earlier practice, namely the voluntary material assistance that the rich and powerful gave to the destitute. According to an early-eighteenth-century historical tradition re-

lating to the pre-seventeenth-century Accra polity, wealthy Accra families furnished the indigent with provisions whenever the latter requested them.[93] This practice still obtained in early-eighteenth-century Osu and may have existed in Little Komenda at the end of the seventeenth century.[94] However, the apparent growth in numbers of impoverished persons and families led to the introduction of the poor relief tax in the early or mid-seventeenth century.

Town courts also provided the poor with their means of subsistence. In the ports, for example, the destitute were maintained, in part, by court fines. On the eleventh of April, 1645, the Kormantse town council imposed a fine of 1,152 dambas in gold on captain Amadu, the ruler of Kormantse. The fine was distributed as follows: 384 dambas to the Akani captain, 384 dambas to the town's *ahenfo,* and 384 dambas "for the poor" (*voor den armen*). On June 24, 1646, the Elmina town council fined an Elmina captain named Abo ("Aboo") the sum of 480 dambas in gold. This fine was intended for the poor (*den arme*) of the town.[95] In January, 1659, the Elmina council fined a wealthy merchant, Hans Raposa, 768 dambas in gold. This fine was meant "for the use of the common people" (*ten behoeve van de gemeente*).[96] It can be assumed that the setting aside of court fines for the benefit of indigent commoners was an established administrative practice in many of the urban settlements. Nothing is known about the origins of this particular mode of wealth distribution; however, the practice seems to have ended by the early eighteenth century.

Other means of public support were available to the destitute. In his account of the Afutu *oman* Müller relates that the priestly estate of *abosomfo* and *asumanfo* assumed responsibility for the material welfare of some of the *adofo.* Wealthy persons and families regularly made substantial offerings of gold, livestock, produce, and merchandise at the principal shrines of the state, hence the priests and priestesses associated with these shrines were able to accumulate a great deal of wealth. Without exception the hierarchs distributed a sizeable portion of the oblations they received among those whom Müller called *der gemein Pöbel,* "the mob."[97] Unfortunately, the Danish priest did not specify the number of commoners who received material assistance from the *asofo,* nor did he indicate how much each person was given. However, since offerings of one sort or another were regularly presented at the shrines of the major *abosom,* it can be assumed that quite considerable quantities of gold dust, gold ornaments, produce, trade goods, livestock, and the like were available for distribution among the impoverished *adofo.*

Müller indicates that on particular occasions religious offerings could be unusually large. In 1662, for example, when Jan Acroissan Tay, the *day* of the Afutu polity, lay seriously ill, great quantities of gold and numerous heads of livestock were offered at the shrines on his behalf.[98] No estimate was given of the value of the gold or of the number of heads of livestock, but it is likely that the gold amounted to several thousand dambas in value and that the livestock numbered a few hundred. A part of these offerings would have been shared among the poor. Again, in 1666 a number of prominent *afahene* presented a

large brass basin full of gold dust to the shrine of the famous "Cucu" *obosom.* Part of the gold, perhaps one-half, was kept by the *abosomfo;* the remainder was given to the indigent.[99] In view of the existence of urban poverty in other towns it seems unlikely that the distribution of religious offerings among the destitute was restricted to the Afutu *oman.* The *abosomfo* and the *asumanfo* of other polities were probably important sources of public relief as well.

That the political authorities of the *aman* had clearly articulated policies with respect to the needy is further indicated by the fact that the *abrafo,* or rulers of the towns, were obliged to provide the elderly, the physically handicapped, and the "young men" with employment. One observer reported that the "aged or lame are put to work suitable to their condition; some to blow bellows at the smith's forge; others to press palm oil, or to grind colors to make mats, or to sit in the market with provisions to sell, as the governors direct; it being one part of their [office] to see such people employed, that they earn their bread. The youth are listed in the soldiery of the country."[100] Destitute *adofo* who were elderly or who suffered from physical disabilities were therefore not solely dependent upon the poor relief measures of the urban judicial systems and the religious organizations of the *asofo.* The expanding urban economy provided employment opportunities in craft production, food processing, and market vending. On the other hand, some of the physically fit but indigent "young men" were conscripted into urban *asafo* units.[101] Such employments allowed a segment of the impoverished commoners to earn enough gold to purchase basic necessities; consequently they did not have to pursue a life of beggary or endure a regular state of desperate privation.

In addition to the aforementioned forms of public assistance the destitute also received a limited amount of material support from the agents of the Dutch and Danish chartered companies. The factors of these companies followed the poor relief practices of the local urban jurisdictions and the priestly organizations. In August and October, 1646, for example, the council of Dutch factors at the Elmina fort set aside a sizeable quantity of confiscated merchandise (including beads, knives, spirits, and textiles) for distribution among *de arme.*[102] Although *de arme* were not identified with respect to their towns, it is likely that they included the destitute of Elmina and other ports where the Dutch company had trading establishments. The distribution of confiscated trade goods among the needy probably originated in the 1620s or the 1630s. This policy was still in effect in the early eighteenth century.[103]

The Danish commandants of Fort Fredriksborg pursued a different policy. The goods that they confiscated (from, for example, smugglers) do not appear to have been shared among the needy. However, in the 1660s and 1670s they did provide relatively large quantities of gold for distribution among the indigent of Amanfro, the port where Fredriksborg was located. The accounts journal of the commandant van Groenestein provides some information on this practice. One of the accounts in this journal is designated *notitie van strafgelderen voor den armen op Fredrichsborg in Guinea:* "list of fines for the poor at Fredriks-

borg in Guinea."[104] It shows that persons employed at the Danish company's trading stations were liable for fines that were to be distributed among the needy of Amanfro. Between December, 1668, and April, 1673, the fines collected totalled between 6,000 and 7,000 dambas' worth of gold. Similar fines were levied when Henning Albrecht served as commandant from 1662 to 1667. Under Albrecht's personal account the accounts journal has a debit entry dated January 1669, which relates that he owed 14,256 dambas "on the account of the poor's gold" (*over d' reekgn. van armen goutt*).[105] This sum represented the *strafgelderen* for the Amanfro poor which Albrecht had collected from company employees during his tenure as commandant. For reasons that were not specified he failed to make the gold available for distribution, however van Groenestein seems to have done so. Between 1662 and 1673 the *strafgelderen* amounted to a total of 20,820 dambas in gold.

The Danish sources do not specify the official responsible for the actual distribution of the fines among the needy. The most likely person would have been either the ruler of Amanfro, the *brafo* Ando Wassa, or the Amanfro *marini,* the port's chief revenue collector. Regrettably, the sources say nothing about the number of persons who would have received a share of the *strafgelderen* or about the amount of gold each was given. No doubt the fines represented only a small supplement to other, more substantial, forms of economic assistance for the needy.

The poor relief policies of the *oman* authorities indicate that during the seventeenth century urban destitution and poverty were social problems of some magnitude, and that the indigent were not a negligible segment of the urban population.[106] Many of the impoverished *adofo* probably originated in peasant village settlements. They were, it would seem, a manifestation of the growing rural poverty that affected certain districts in the different *aman* and an indication that rural impoverishment could not be relieved within the context of the peasant family. Under changing social and economic conditions such as urbanization, increasing commercialization and monetization of the regional economy, and rising revenue demands, some peasant families found it difficult if not impossible to support their children and elderly.[107] Thus peasant families could offer little defense against the revenue demands of the *ahenfo.* "When the most powerful wants gold," it was reported in 1572, "he takes from a man who can least afford to lose it."[108] Certainly by 1601 land rent payments were a source of indebtedness and impoverishment for a number of peasant families, and towards the end of the century some of the peasantry in the Fante *oman* could be designated "the poorer sort of people."[109]

Faced with growing rural poverty many peasants moved to the towns with the intention of improving their economic situations. Migration from farming villages to the urban settlements appears to have been a fairly continuous phenomenon between the mid-sixteenth and the late seventeenth centuries. It was one of the contributors to the permanent presence of destitute persons in and

around the towns. One of the corollaries of rural to urban migration was the emergence of peasant banditry and mercenaries.

Urban paupers constituted a propertyless group of *manouvriers* or *adwumafo* without "corporate" ties to the production (and reproduction) of their means of subsistence. They did not own or have direct access to the means of production and were therefore separated from the conditions of production which would have made their social existence as self-supporting producers possible. Their material and social circumstances differed, for example, from those of the "common people" (*ghemeyn volck*) of early-seventeenth-century Elmina and Little Komenda who earned their livelihood from bead cutting and the selling of beads, or those of the inhabitants of "Mango" who bred "great herds of cattle" which they transported "up and down the coast for sale."[110] Paupers were dependent upon public relief assistance; their economic conditions compelled them to live on a day-to-day basis.

Contemporary references to the destitute reflected this situation of economic dependence coupled with separation from the conditions of production. The destitute were invariably described in uncomplimentary terms: "crafty, idle, and worthless wretches," "unskilled and boorish," "cheats and law-breakers," "rogues and scoundrels."[111] In the Akan-speaking districts they were called *mantemantanni* and *oghua.*[112]

In view of their impoverished circumstances the destitutes' demand for imported and other articles of consumption was understandably low. Nevertheless, as Müller pointed out, these persons did buy limited quantities of imported coarse linen cloth. Public assistance provided them with the material means to participate, however marginally, in the trade of the ports.

COMMONER INCOMES

Müller described the *adofo* of the towns and villages as persons of *schlechte vermögens.* However, he recognized that while some were impoverished (*blutarm*), others were poor and still others were relatively well-off.[113] What was the line between destitution and poverty, between poverty and material well-being, between those commoners who received some form of poor relief assistance and those who did not? How much gold did an adult commoner require during the course of a year in order to purchase bread, fish, and palm oil, which, as Bosman noted, allowed "most of the People on the Coast to subsist and live"?[114] Fishermen and palm wine tappers, for example, had to provide a little money for their respective household needs.[115]

Although full and precise data on annual incomes among the rural and urban *adofo* unfortunately are not available, some notion of what the range of yearly earnings was is provided by the wages and subsistence allowances which the agents of the trading companies paid to local persons employed in the forts and

factories. The wages and allowances were paid out on a daily or monthly basis and were generally paid in gold. These payments were neither arbitrary nor ad hoc, but conformed to the prevailing social and economic conditions in the coastal *aman.* They were differentiated, not uniform; a blacksmith did not receive the same allowance as a water carrier. It can therefore be assumed that the wage and subsistence allowance payments were broadly representative of the range of incomes among, at least, town-dwelling commoners.

In January, 1659, the Dutch director-general drew up a list of the monthly subsistence allowances (*kostgeld*) that were to be paid to the personnel of the Dutch company's trading establishments.[116] Included among the personnel were the "company slaves" or *dienstbaeren.* The latter comprised two groups: the *arbeidslieden,* laborers or workmen (broadly, the unskilled and the semiskilled), and the *ambagtslieden,* craftsmen and persons occupying supervisory positions (the skilled).[117] With respect to subsistence pay rates each group has been divided in table 8.1 into two "income" categories. The *arbeidslieden* included both men and women; however, most *ambagtslieden* were men, although some women were employed as cooks. Subsistence allowance payments to children were not given; it is likely that they ranged between 60 and 72 dambas in gold per annum (or 5 and 6 dambas a month).[118]

Elmina canoemen received subsistence money per journey and not per month. The subsistence rates were as follows: (1) 6 dambas per trip to Axim or Accra; (2) 4 dambas per trip to Butre or Winneba; and (3) 2 dambas per trip to Shama, Mouri, or Egya.[119] The total yearly payment to a canoeman is not known, however other sources indicate that most canoemen belonged to the 576- or 1,152-damba "income" category and that others had yearly earnings that exceeded 2,000 dambas.[120]

The ratio of the lowest subsistence allowance (144 dambas) to the highest (1,152 dambas) was one to eight, that is, for every damba's worth of gold received by a domestic servant or a charcoal burner, a blacksmith or a drummer received 8 dambas. A prosperous canoeman who owned one or more trading canoes could conceivably earn ten to twenty times as much as a domestic servant and two to three times as much as a blacksmith.[121] There were considerable differences in the purchasing power of the *arbeidslieden* and the *ambagtslieden.* Thus the average quantity of the means of subsistence available to a drummer or a carpenter was substantially greater than that available to a water carrier or a woodcutter (see tables 8.2 and 8.3).

Sharp "income" differentials among commoners were not peculiar to the 1650s and the 1660s; they obtained later in the century as well. In the 1680s and 1690s, for example, a bricklayer yearly earned three and a half times as many dambas as a bricklayer's apprentice, and a gunsmith or canoeman nearly three times as much as a soldier and about eight times as much as a day laborer.[122]

Information from various sources indicates that wide differentials in earnings among commoners was an established feature of rural and urban life in the

Table 8.1 Dutch Company Subsistence Allowances, 1659

Occupations	*Annual Allowance (in dambas)*
Arbeidslieden	144
domestic servant	
charcoal burner	
wood carrier	
woodcutter	
water carrier	
Arbeidslieden	288
day laborer	
boat and canoe guard	
lime maker	
Slecke-bewaarder	
Ambagtslieden	576
slave overseer	
cooper	
cook	
stonecutter	
assistant blacksmith	
assistant carpenter	
Ambagtslieden	1,152
blacksmith	
carpenter	
drummer	

SOURCE: Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 8, 1659.

seventeenth century. Day laborers, for example, were always among the lowest paid. At the beginning of the century they were paid in *kakraa* pieces or in a few trade goods and fish. Their yearly earnings in money and kind are not known; however, it is clear that they were well below those of bead makers, canoemen, professional gravediggers, and goldsmiths.[123] In the early eighteenth century a hammock carrier received 1½ dambas a day (that is, per journey of five hours), and a woman or child engaged in washing beach sands for gold could earn, if fortunate, 1 to 3 dambas after a day's work, rarely more.[124] The hammock carrier and the gold washer can probably be placed in the 144- to 288-dambas-per-year "income" category. In contrast, masons and carpenters had higher incomes. A team of these craftsmen could receive between 120 and 144 dambas in gold for constructing a single-room thatched-roof hut in eight or ten days, and they could earn 360 to 576 dambas for building a dwelling with three or four rooms.[125] About 1682 captain Abracon of Little Komenda paid a Mankessim builder 768 dambas in gold for supervising the construction of his house.[126] And in the 1720s bricklayers hired by the chief factor of Christians-

Table 8.2 Purchasing Power, 1650s–1670s (In Food Products)

Food Product	*Price (in dambas)*	*Annual Subsistence Allowance*	
		144 Dambas	*1,152 Dambas*
Millie	24 per 1,000 stalks	6,000 stalks	48,000 stalks
Yams	2 each	72 yams	576 yams
Sugar cane	½ per stalk	288 stalks	2,304 stalks
Palm oil	7½ per pot (1½ liters); 96 per anchor (4 gallons)	72 pots 1½ anchors	576 pots 12 anchors
Eggs	2 for 3 or 4 eggs	216–288 eggs	3,456–4,608 eggs
Pepper	16 per pound	9 pounds	72 pounds
Salt	36 per chest	4 chests	32 chests
Palm wine	2 per pot	72 pots	576 pots
"Egwirre" fish	8 each	18 fish	144 fish
Head of "Bonito" fish	48 each	3 heads	24 heads
"Fist-sized" fish	4 each	36 fish	288 fish
Salted fish	82 per anchor	c. 1½ anchors	14 anchors
Hen	8 each	18 hens	144 hens
Goat	72 each	2 goats	16 goats
Sheep	74 each	1 sheep	15 sheep
Cow	144 each	1 cow	8 cows
Venison	24 per quarter	6 quarters	48 quarters
Beef	5 per pound	28 4/5 pounds	230 pounds
Pork	7 per pound	20½ pounds	164½ pounds
Meal of fish	4/5	180 meals	960 meals
Meal of stewed chicken	120	1 meal	9 meals

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April anno 1652, passim; Rigsarkivet, Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, ført paa Guineakysten af det octr. danske-africanske kompagnis directør, Kommandant paa Fredriksborg, Bartholomeus von Groenenstein 1667–74, passim; Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 395–96; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), pp. 202, 211, 234, 241–42, 244.

borg received 96 dambas a month each.[127] The earnings of a bricklayer, therefore, was probably seldom less than 1,000 dambas in gold a year.

Some of the women engaged in making *kenkey* could expect to earn more than this. According to one eighteenth-century account a *kenkey* maker could supply as many as fifty people in half a day; thus she could earn around 16 or 17 dambas daily.[128] Her annual income from the sale of *kenkey* could apparently exceed 2,000 dambas. However, it seems likely that most *kenkey* makers earned less than this, though perhaps not less than 500 dambas a year.

Another account, referring to Mouri lemon-juice producers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, relates that in a good year they could sell over 8,000 gallons of juice to the Dutch. As juice was sold at the rate of 96 or 120 dambas per *aam* (which was equal to forty gallons), the producers could earn 19,200 or 24,000 dambas or more.[129] However, there was a large local trade

Table 8.3 Purchasing Power, 1650s–1670s (In Trade Goods)

Trade Goods	*Price (in dambas)*	*Annual Subsistence Allowance*	
		144 Dambas	*1,152 Dambas*
Smalle	84 each	1 2/3 pieces	13½ pieces
Carpet	76 each	1¾ pieces	15 pieces
Ettecon	144 each	1 piece	8 pieces
Nanteba	96 each	1½ pieces	12 pieces
Pintado	96 each	1½ pieces	12 pieces
Slaaplaken	30 each	4¾ pieces	38 pieces
Tapseal	126 each	1 piece	9 pieces
Kwakwa	12 each	12 pieces	96 pieces
Green blanket	64 each	2¼ pieces	18 pieces
Blue beads	76 per cabes	1¾ cabes	15 cabes
Mirror	19 each	7 mirrors	60 mirrors
Kettle	4 each	36 kettles	288 kettles
Knife	12 each	12 knives	96 knives
Iron bar	32 each	4½ bars	36 bars
Copper bar	8 each	18 bars	144 bars
Musket	96 each	1 musket	12 muskets

SOURCES: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April anno 1652, passim; Algemeen Rijksarchief, First West Indies Company 81. Dagregister, passim; Rigsarkivet, Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, ført paa Guineakysten af det octr. dansk-africanske kompagnis directør, kommandant paa Fredriksborg, Bartholomeus von Groenenstein 1667–74, passim.

in this commodity, hence the yearly collective earnings of the juice producers was considerably greater than this. Although the number of producers was not specified, it seems unlikely that an individual producer would have earned less than 500 dambas a year. Like persons engaged in salt production, lemon-juice producers were comparatively prosperous.[130]

Cattle drivers were apparently less well remunerated than carpenters, bricklayers, *kenkey* makers, and the producers of salt and lemon juice. In October, 1694, an unspecified number of men received a total of 120 dambas in wages and "cankey" money for driving eight cows from "Allampo" to Soko ("English" Accra), a distance of about twenty miles.[131] On occasion, a single canoeman could earn more than one-half this amount in one day.[132] Nevertheless, a cattle driver was undoubtedly better off economically than a day laborer, a thatcher, a woodcutter, or a charcoal burner, few of whom could expect to earn more than 200 dambas in a year. On the other hand, he was probably less well-off than the average palm-wine tapper. The latter could expect to receive a gross monthly income of about 31½ dambas in gold from the production of a single tree.[133]

For the *adofo,* choices among economic options were not made in absolute freedom, nor were they made solely in terms of rational maximization of opportunity. They were socially determined. The *adofo* were not exempt from various forms of direct and indirect taxation, hence whatever a commoner's individual

"income," he or she was obliged to hand over part of it to the revenue collectors. Unfortunately, precise data on *oman* taxation rates are lacking, however the levies imposed on fish and salt production provide some idea of the nature of revenue demands in certain of the coastal polities.

Between the late sixteenth century and the late seventeenth century a tax was levied on a fisherman's daily production at the following rates: one-tenth (late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century), one-fifth (early to mid-seventeenth century) one-fourth (1650s to 1660s), one-third (1660s to the end of the century).[134] During the seventeenth century free gold-producers paid a tax that amounted to one-half of their daily winnings.[135] Presumably the revenues paid by other producers—peasants, palm-wine tappers, craftsmen, salt producers, and so on—ranged between a possible minimum of one-tenth to a possible maximum of one-half of their annual earnings. These payments may be accounted basic tax assessments on productive or service activities. There were also other occasional taxes. These included a funeral tax that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, amounted to 12 dambas in gold per household and was paid whenever an *ohene* died,[136] a market tax that was levied in the town markets,[137] a religious tax that was paid periodically to priests and priestesses,[138] a war tax,[139] and a poor relief tax that was paid by peasants and perhaps by fishermen, as well. In certain *aman* there may have been a capitation tax levied on urban households at the rate of 60 dambas in gold each.[140] In addition, *adofo* were subject to corvée labor, judicial fines, and "extraordinary" taxes of one sort or another.[141]

For a large segment of the commoner population the social cost of maintaining the *oman* regimes and the *afahene* was high. Revenue payments prevented many commoners from acquiring adequate means of subsistence on a regular basis, and reduced some to a permanent state of poverty and others to veritable destitution.[142] Under these conditions the institutionalized "rituals of rebellion" were a social necessity and the emergence of banditry and pauperism was unavoidable.

During the 1660s an adult resident in a coastal town needed 292 dambas in gold in order to eat a meal of fish (which included *kenkey*, palm oil, salt and pepper, and some vegetables) every day of the year.[143] By the end of the century about 360 dambas a year were needed to purchase such a meal.[144] An individual or a household earning less than these sums could not have consumed a daily fish meal throughout the year, but would have been obliged to subsist on a vegetarian diet most of the time. A daily meal of *kenkey* and vegetables ("bread and fruit") cost from 46 to 183 dambas' worth of gold during the course of a year, and a year's supply of *millie* for an adult (7;250 stalks or seven to eight bushels) could be bought in a coastal market town for around 58 dambas during periods of peace and plenty.[145] An urban commoner family earning less than 300 dambas annually would have spent most of its income on a limited range of basic food staples, leaving little to spend on articles of consumption such as clothing, personal ornaments, household furnishings, and the like. On occasion

the members of such a family were no doubt dependent on some form of poor relief assistance.

Commoners in the higher income brackets, namely those earning over 300 dambas a year in the 1660s and 1670s and those earning more than 400 dambas annually in the 1680s and 1690s, were better able to satisfy their basic subsistence needs. Unlike the poor and the indigent they had the means to buy a greater quantity and variety of food, and hence they could enjoy diets of higher quality. In addition, they could afford to buy an assortment of imported articles and locally produced craft products, hence they represented a relatively important "market" for both the internal and external trade.[146]

Generally speaking, commoners who could be classified as *arbeidslieden* formed the bulk of the poor and the indigent—the *pauvres misérables*—of the towns. Those who may be described as *ambagtslieden* were by no means rich, but compared to the dispossessed and the economically disadvantaged they were certainly prosperous.

INCOMES AND LIVING STANDARDS OF THE UPPER CLASSES

The unequal distribution of social wealth in the different *aman* is clearly exemplified by the sometimes opulent lifestyles of the *ahenfo* and the *abirempon*, or those whom Rask called the *velstandsfolk*. The very rich, for example, had annual incomes that were many times higher than the yearly subsistence allowances received by the lowest-paid *arbeidslieden*.[147] The income (or "productive capacity") of a commoner family household depended on the manual labor and skills of its members. The income of an *ohene* household, however, was based on the appropriation of the manual labor, skills, and services of many free and unfree households.[148] That of a merchant's household depended on the size of its trading capital and local marketing networks.[149] The income, and hence the productive capacity (or potential) of an *ohene*'s or merchant's household, were considerably greater than that of a commoner's.[150]

A number of persons of *ofahene* status were employed at the trading establishments. These individuals, designated "trading servants" or "company caboceers" in the chartered companies' records, received regular salaries and/or subsistence allowances. Excluding the payments made to Akani merchant-brokers, the salaries/allowances ranged from a low of 288 dambas a year, which was comparable to the allowances received by certain categories of *arbeidslieden*, to a high of over 4,600 dambas, which was more than 4 times what the highest-paid *ambagtslieden* got. The highest-paid "company caboceer" received somewhat more than 15 times as much as the lowest paid. Most *afahene* fell within the 576- to 1,152-dambas-per-year income category, which was comparable to the range of payments made to craftsmen and other *ambagtslieden* employed at the forts and factories. The annual payments received by Akani captains and their assistants ranged from 1,728 to 14,816 dambas' worth of gold. The latter pay-

ment was a little more than 100 times greater than a woodcutter's allowance, or 50 times what a boat and canoe guard could expect to receive.

The *afahene* also received various emoluments from the companies which were not granted to the *arbeidslieden* and the *ambagtslieden.* A report of 1709 specifies some of the Royal African Company's emoluments: "The head boys should be adorned with good cloths, aggrey beads, and gold fetiches, and should not be without their drums and horns [and] Kittasols [umbrellas]. Some [ought] to be in arms to attend the head boys for a show here gives reputation as well as in Europe."[151] In addition, the "head boys" or "company caboceers" received on occasion "extraordinary" payments in gold and merchandise for the rendering of special services, and they were regularly credited merchandise by the European factors.[152] Thus the salaries and subsistence allowances represented only one source of income which derived from trading-company employment.

The forts and factories were regarded as revenue-paying units by the local political authorities, hence the factors were obliged to pay ground rent, a wide assortment of taxes, and dashes on a regular basis.[153] Payment was made in the form of cash and kind. Around 1650 or 1651 agents of the Swedish African Company handed over to the Afutuhene, "Boedema," and the *day,* Acroissan Tay, gold to the value of 323,712 dambas (27,000 *rigsdaler specie*) as payment for the land on which the company's fort was to be built and to ensure friendly trading relations in the future.[154] Between 1659 and 1672 the Danish company's expenses at its three trading stations exceeded 2 million dambas' worth of gold, most of which was paid to the authorities of the Accra and Afutu polities.[155] During the second half of the century a coastal government with several trading establishments under its jurisdiction could probably expect to receive from the factors revenues to the value of 50,000 or more dambas' worth of gold every year. Customarily the ruler of the state or the state treasurer distributed these revenues among the principal *afahene* four or five times a year. Such tax payments constituted a source of income for both the state and the families of the leading *ahenfo* and *abirempon.*[156]

In addition, these families were the beneficiaries of the surplus extracted from various categories of producers as well as the taxes levied on merchants. Scattered references in the source materials indicate that a single tax collection could yield between 3,000 and 5,000 dambas in gold in the case of several peasant households,[157] 6,144 dambas in the case of mid-seventeenth-century Kormantse,[158] and between 230,000 and 231,000 dambas in the case of early-eighteenth-century Aowin.[159] In addition to surplus appropriations in money and kind, the *afahene* enjoyed the benefits of slave and corvée labor.

Commoners who aspired to enter the ranks of the privileged upper classes could purchase noble status. In the early seventeenth century ennoblement expenses amounted to over 30,000 dambas in gold. The majority of commoners lacked the means and opportunity to accumulate such a sum.[160] Once a year an *ofahene* who had successfully purchased noble ranking celebrated the par-

ticular day of his ennoblement. This special day, known as *awura-yeda,* was commemorated by large purchases of food and drink which were distributed among the commoners, and by feasting with other *afahene.*[161] Expenditures on a *awura-yeda* could run to nearly 10,000 dambas in gold, a sum that a day laborer with an income of 288 dambas annually could expect to earn in about thirty-five years.[162]

Frequent feasting on a grand scale was one way a person of social prominence could display his or her wealth and superiority. Such manifestations acquired great social import when a significant number of people could maintain themselves only at subsistence level. In addition to their *awura-yeda* festivities, the *ahenfo* and *abirempon* held other pageantlike celebrations during the course of a year. One example is provided by the Cape Coast merchant and chief revenue collector Jantie Snees, who on the sixth of April, 1667, held a *grand festin* at Cape Coast and Amanfro, during which he distributed handsome presents to those in attendance. De Bellefond, who witnessed the event, gives a brief description of it.[163] Snees was preceded by a large entourage that included a drummer, fifteen to twenty trumpeters, a dozen of his wives, a slave carrying a small sword, and sixty other slaves. Snees followed, escorted by two slaves who held large shields over his head and two others who carried his spears and bows and arrows. His wives were dressed in silks and fine linens, and were adorned with gold and ivory jewelry and costly beads. Snees was appareled in a blue silk cloth, and he wore a great deal of gold jewelry. In each hand he carried two fans made from horses' tails, a highly prized commodity imported from the Ardra kingdom. According to de Bellefond, the celebration cost Snees 1,536,000 dambas (or 500 gold marks) in gold.[164] Among the *afahene* sizeable expenditures on the occasion of festivals were not uncommon.[165]

Snees had a large household comprised of 40 wives, 14 sons, 12 daughters, and 100 slaves.[166] In order to maintain his 166 dependents and himself at a standard of living suitable to the social position of a wealthy *ofahene,* he had to spend a great deal of money on household expenditures. In March, 1670, Aiyisi, one of his wives, bought a sheep for 1,152 dambas in gold—a sum equivalent to a blacksmith's annual subsistence allowance—and in May, 1672, Snees himself was credited twelve chests of *millie* by the Danish commandant at Fredriksborg.[167] The *millie* was valued at 1,728 dambas, or 144 dambas per chest, which was the same as a domestic servant's annual allowance. At this rate it would have cost Snees between 131,000 and 176,000 dambas to keep his household in *millie* for a year. He also possessed herds of livestock. In 1669 he sacrificed more than twenty goats in honor of his *obosom.* The total retail value of the goats was 1,440 dambas.[168]

The value of the silks and fine linens which Snees and his wives wore on the occasion of the April celebration amounted to several thousand dambas' worth of gold. Supplying each of his slaves with a Kwakwa cloth (priced at 12 dambas in gold) once a year would have cost Snees a total of 1,200 dambas. Both Snees and his twelve wives wore a great deal of gold jewelry at the April festival. On

such special occasions, de Bellefond commented, the gold jewelry worn by the wife or daughter of a wealthy man could range from 61,000 to 77,000 dambas in value, and a man's jewelry and ornaments could be worth 92,000 to 123,000 dambas.[169] The jewelry worn by Snees and his wives was probably worth close to 1 million dambas.

There are no estimates of Snees's annual income. Indications are that it was considerable. During the period 1668 to 1672 Snees's gross trade at Fredriksborg approximated 80,000 dambas. The combined value of his trade at Cape Coast and the Elmina forts was probably at least double this, amounting to 160,000 dambas during the four-year period. The total value of his trade at the forts can be conservatively estimated at 240,000 dambas, or an average of 60,000 dambas a year from 1668 to 1672.

Jantie Snees was not the only rich man in Afutu. A wealthy contemporary was Ahen, the *brafo* of Afutu in the 1650s and 1660s. On April 23, 1663, he occupied the Swedish fort at Cape Coast with a large force of armed men and seized all of the gold and goods found in it. According to a report, the confiscated gold weighed 150 pounds.[170] This was equivalent to 921,600 dambas. Understandably, Ahen ranked as one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the state until his death in about 1671. It was certainly no accident that by 1668 he held the office of *fetere,* or *okyeame,* a position that ranked below only that of the king. Other persons of wealth in Afutu included Jan Claessen Cutta, Kwaku Finam, Ahen Domine, and Jan Swager (or Alexander), as well as Jan Ahenekwa, who was the *brafo* Ahen's father, and Jan Acroissan Tay, the *brafo*'s paternal uncle.[171] Finally, at the end of the century, Edward Barter of Cape Coast was a prominent wealthy merchant. He was in the employ of the Royal African Company, from which he received a salary of 2,680 dambas a year. His pawns at Cape Coast Castle were valued at 90,000 dambas (£ 1,000).[172] In his description of Cape Coast Bosman wrote that Barter maintained "a House not unlike a small Fort, with a Flag on it and some Cannon. . . . He is become so considerable that he can raise a large number of Armed Men; some whereof are his own slaves, and the rest Free-Men, that adhere to him: So that his Interest is at present so great that he is very much respected, honoured, and served by the principal People about him; and whoever designs to Trade with the English must stand well with him before he can succeed."[173]

Wealthy persons were to be found in other coastal and subcoastal towns. A certain "St. Jago" of Great Accra, for example, conducted a very large trade in gold and merchandise, mainly with the Dutch, from the 1640s to the early 1660s. In 1646 he is said to have supplied the Dutch factors with one-third of the gold they purchased annually at Small Accra.[174] His gold sales can be estimated to have been worth between 230,000 and 310,000 dambas a year. The scale of his trade indicates that he had a great deal of merchant capital at his disposal. As "St. Jago" was accounted one of the leading merchants of Great Accra, his trading profits (and, hence, his income) must have been considerable.

To the west, in the middle Ankobra valley, Axim merchants maintained a

large trade in salt and merchandise at the Egwira town of Abakwa. These commodities were exchanged for gold that Adom and Wassa traders brought to the town. In 1653 it was estimated that Abakwa received an average of 122,880 dambas' worth of gold a month.[175] Over a nine-month period the town could expect to receive (in the absence of wars) over 1 million dambas in gold. The profits that Axim and other merchants realized from this trade were evidently considerable.[176] The sum of 1 million or so dambas which these persons handled yearly in Abakwa was roughly equivalent to the combined subsistence allowances of 9,000 *arbeidslieden* each receiving 144 dambas a year. Within the constraints of the local productive systems, merchant capital promoted the social and spatial concentration of wealth.

John Kabes (who died in 1722) of Little Komenda was a highly successful and prosperous merchant and an *ohene.* For a number of years he was a broker at the Royal African Company's Little Komenda fort. Initially he received a salary of 1,152 dambas a year; in 1698 it was raised to 4,656 dambas.[177] One account relates that Kabes possessed "a great quantity of gold dust" and had in his personal service nearly 3,000 men "fit to bear arms, mostly his own slaves." Apparently these men were distinct from his revenue-paying subjects, who inhabited seven or more farming, fishing, and salt-making villages. He purchased these settlements from the Eguafohene for an unspecified sum in the 1690s.[178] In 1702 he built a large residence for himself, a stone fortress with bastions that was mounted with twenty-four cannon.[179]

Kabes was a man of considerable means. In 1688, for example, he was able to ransom himself from the Dutch at Elmina after paying 61,440 dambas (80 bendas) in gold.[180] In December, 1694, he sent gold pawns to the value of 14,784 dambas to Cape Coast Castle as surety against an advance of trade goods; in February, 1695, it was claimed that he spent a total of 115,200 dambas (150 bendas) in gold in order to prevent the English from being driven out of Little Komenda by certain Great Komenda authorities.[181] In November, 1705, he paid 21,504 dambas in gold on his debt at Cape Coast Castle.[182]

Much of Kabes's wealth came from his trading operations, which included the buying and selling of imported merchandise, slaves, and gold as well as salt, fish, and produce. His trade extended along the coast to the Accra ports in the east and Takoradi in the west, northwards to Kumase and possibly the Wassa town of "Aimhebeah" in the upper Ankobra valley and to Aowin in the lower Tano valley.[183] From the salt trade alone he made substantial profits. In 1716 it was reported that he earned more than 240 dambas of profit on every chest of salt he sold by retailing the salt in small baskets at 24 dambas each.[184] If his salt-making villages produced a minimum of 100 chests a month his gross monthly profit would have come to 24,000 dambas. During the salt-producing season he could probably expect to earn at least 120,000 dambas. He also realized considerable profits from the sale of agricultural produce.[185]

Kabes owned a large number of trading canoes, and he had many canoemen in his personal service. In 1715 he concluded a contract with Royal African

Company factors in which he agreed to supply them with canoemen at the monthly rate of 48 dambas in gold each.[186] The revenues he received in taxes from fishermen, peasants, canoemen, and craftsmen, in tolls from merchants, in customs duties from ships and trading canoes, and in court fines, together with his trading profits, constituted the basis of his very considerable income.[187] For Kabes the acquisition of his means of subsistence depended on the ownership of slaves, extensive commercial operations, and control over local productive and administrative systems. He may be accounted a particularly successful member of his class.[188]

Generally speaking, the *abirempon* and the *ahenfo* of the coastal and subcoastal urban centers lived in large, spacious houses one or two stories high. Most upper-class dwellings were constructed of clay and wood and had either thatched roofs, which were constructed so that they could be opened or closed, or flat roofs.[189] Some, for example the residences of John Kabes, Edward Barter, John Konny, Jantie Snees, Acroissan Tay, the Akani captain Jan Clasen Cutterique, and the Elmina *afahene,* were constructed of stone. In contrast to the dwellings of peasants and most urban commoners, upper-class houses had large courtyards, an architectural feature associated with urban domestic housing and high social status.[190] At the main entrance of each house were two or more armed guards who kept watch night and day.[191]

Müller's account of the wealthy of the Afutu *oman* indicates that the *afahene* maintained richly furnished residences. He relates that in their homes one could see "silver drinking vessels, silver knives, tin dishes and cups, costly table knives, tables and benches, table–and hand–cloths, [and] *servietten.*"[192] The walls of the bedrooms were decorated with expensive, finely woven multicolored mats imported from Sierra Leone.[193] The beds were covered with costly skins, particularly leopard skins, which cost between 700 and 800 dambas each, and all kinds of expensive blankets and pillows.[194] Hung along the bedroom walls were the weapons of the house's owner. Some of these arms were imported from the Niger Delta and the towns on the Cameroon coast; others were locally manufactured and included swords (in the singular, *afana*) decorated with gold leaf which were valued at 2,304 dambas each.[195] Near his bed an *awura* kept his *asuman,* which served to protect the health and welfare of himself and his household. The price of an *asuman* ranged between 7,000 and 16,000 dambas in gold.[196] The bedroom also contained several large chests full of clothing and a number of small boxes or containers full of gold dust, gold nuggets, and silver jewelry and ornaments. For washing, an *awura* used a large brass basin imported from "a distant land behind Accanien." Such a vessel could cost as much as 6,144 dambas in gold.[197]

An *ofahene*'s house contained a great deal of other property: seashells overlaid with silver (priced at 192 to 288 dambas), brass and/or bronze oil lamps, gold-weight paraphernalia, tobacco pipes, utilitarian and luxury pottery (both local and imported), gold objects (rings, chains, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, anklets, and so forth), brassware (such as jewelry and *forowa* and *kuduo* con-

tainers), umbrellas, ivory objects (pendants, bracelets, combs, and so on), as well as a variety of objects of wood, stone, and bone, aggrey and other expensive beads, and tools and other iron objects.[198]

The upper class accounted for an important market in textiles. At the end of the century a person of means could possess more than fifty different kinds of cloth: silks, linens, woolens, cottons, and so on.[199] Müller cites prices for some of the textiles which were popular among the well-to-do of Afutu in the 1660s. East Indian silks cost between 144 and 192 dambas each. The prices of other garments—fine linens, silk, velvet, and woolens—ranged between 384 and 1,152 dambas' worth of gold, while a Mandinga cloth of cotton or silk cost from 240 to over 8,000 dambas. Leopard skins, which *vornehme manns-personen* wore as cloaks, were priced at 768 dambas in gold each.[200] The different varieties of Ardra cloth ranged from about 78 to 720 dambas in price, and Benin cloths cost from 18 to 240 dambas each.[201]

The upper classes tended to invest heavily in textiles. One Anashan notable, the son of a "Quarranteer," lost thirty-seven cloths when thieves broke into his home. The textiles included two perpetuanas, nine Guinea cloths, ten "pott-keys," fourteen Benin cloths, and two unspecified ones. The value of the cloths probably exceeded 1,000 dambas. In addition, the thieves took four muskets, one carbine, fourteen tobacco pipes, and 48 dambas' worth of gold.[202] Around 1681 the Afutu merchant Ahenekwa Krokro pawned seven cloths (and also some swords) at Fort Fredriksborg, and these were valued at 21,519 dambas.[203] In 1666 or 1667 Jantie Snees pawned a chest of thirty cloths at the same place. The types of cloths and the prices (in dambas) at which they were later retailed are given below.[204]

one red woolen cloth sold to the *day* of Afutu	768
one Ardra cloth	532
one multicolored (*bont*) Ardra cloth	480
one blue silk cloth	672
one blue Mandinga cloth	768
one fine Mandinga cloth with gold lace (*passement*)	2,496
one blue cotton cloth sold at Afutu	384
six cloths, namely: three Ardra, one bomboos, one blue cotton, one small Mandinga cloth together with one old drummer's coat sold at Komenda	1,680
four cloths [sold to] the *fetere* [at] Afutu	1,440
one Mandinga cloth	240
two cotton cloths	384
two cotton cloths	288
two cotton cloths	192
one cotton cloth	120
one cotton cloth	192
one cotton cloth	144

Undoubtedly these textiles represented only a small number of those that Snees and his household family members owned.

Cloths, however, were not only worn, pawned, or given away as gifts. They were also used in religious offerings. In reference to the Afutu *afahene* Müller stated that they honored the *abosom* and *asuman* by spreading great quantities of imported linens along the main roads (*Landstrasse*) of the state.[205] Conspicuous consumption on this scale was a manifestation of social eminence.

Ownership of costly jewelry was also an important indicator of social status. "The one who is not well provided with them," Bosman observed, "does not count."[206] A single gold chain could be worth 9,600 dambas, and a string of aggrey beads could exceed 20,000 dambas in value.[207] All prominent men and women were well provided with a great many ornaments and pieces of jewelry made of gold, silver, ivory, and brass, as well as aggrey and other high-priced beads.

Upper-class food consumption was greater than that of the lower classes. Greater abundance and variety of foods were the distinguishing features of *ofahene* diets. Wealthy households constituted an important source of demand for locally produced foodstuffs, which included a wide range of fruits and vegetables, as well as fish, game, and the meat of domestic animals. It was largely their meat consumption that supported livestock production and trade.[208] And as Müller observed of the *ahenfo* and *abirempon* of Afutu, their varied diets called for the import of produce from the Ardra Kingdom.[209] Müller noted further that the Ardra slaves owned by the Afutu upper classes grew special foodcrops for their masters, brewed beer for them, and also supplied *millie* and the products of the oil palm tree.[210]

Tributary and slaveowning relations of production accounted for the high concentration of gold and other forms of social wealth in the hands of the *afahene.* This wealth enabled the members of the privileged classes to generate an aggregate demand for goods and services of a considerable magnitude and to engage in commercial activities on a large scale. It also allowed them to acquire followers and allies and to finance military campaigns.[211]

A comparison between the incomes and material conditions of existence of the lower and upper classes clearly reveals the sharp economic disparities that existed within the population. It was surely no accident that an *ofahene* only spoke to his or her social inferiors in a voice of authority.

Conclusion

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION of the Gold Coast regional social formation has been the object of this study. Three causally linked periods were postulated for the history of this formation, each period being defined by particular dominant cycles and forms of social reproduction. The cycles were in turn governed by changes and developments in the division of labor. For each period the formation can be characterized as follows: (a) period I (date unspecified to late fifteenth century): mercantile-agrarian (simple reproduction); (b) period II (late fifteenth to late seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries): mercantile-agrarian (expanded reproduction); and (c) period III (late seventeenth to late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries): imperial-agrarian (simple, expanded, and contracted reproduction). (From the late eighteenth century to the 1870s the formation may be characterized as mercantile-imperial-agrarian.) The periods were not disjunctive. Chronologically they overlapped. The transition from one period to another necessarily involved discontinuity ("negation") and elements of strong and weak continuity.

Over several centuries the formation experienced change, development, adaptations, shifts, conflicts, ruptures, and crises—in short, historical movement. The process of historical movement was not fortuitous, but was rooted in the structure of tributary and slaveowning relations of production. The productive systems, that is, the interdependent and interacting tributary and slaveowning modes of production, were not static. They possessed an internal capacity to generate change and to structure the "impact" of external commercial forces (for example, the world system of mercantile capitalism and the expanding commerce of precapitalist Sudanic social formations).

There existed, then, a complex relationship between the formation's class structure and productive systems on the one hand and external trading elements on the other. This study has attempted to examine this relationship. In order to specify the direction of historical movement and to identify the internal generators of change it has examined the systems of material production, the division of labor, particular institutions, and forms of spatial and sociopolitical organization. Thus it has focused on structure and process (as revealed in the prevailing relations and forces of production) rather than on transhistorical "ethnic groups" and "charismatic" individuals on the theoretical grounds that the latter did not

define the formation's internal dynamic, the tempo and rate of historical change, the regional political economy, or the structure of material production. The general thrust of the study stands in opposition to the widely held metaphysical view that precapitalist African social formations (commonly called "traditional societies") lacked an internal dynamic.

The second period, especially the seventeenth century, has been examined here in some detail. Viewed in terms of the extraction of social surplus, the formation at this time can be designated mercantile and agrarian. Trade provided the upper classes with a surplus in the form of profits and revenues (such as tolls). Land provided a surplus in the form of money rent and labor services, these being extracted from the peasant population, and it provided gold, which was appropriated from slaves, the main labor force in the extractive industry. The main social contradiction of this period was the conflict between the upper classes and the peasantry over control of the agricultural surplus.

Other features of the second period, which was dominated by extended cycles of expanded reproduction, can be identified: the expansion of internal and external trade, the emergence and consolidation of commercial and administrative central-place networks (that is, urbanization), population growth, the quantitative expansion of the productive forces (for example, as a result of the multiplication of units of production and organizational innovations at the level of production), the expansion of petty commodity production, the monetization of the regional economy, increased occupational specialization and social (class) differentiation, the consolidation of slavery in production (particularly gold mining), the rapid growth of merchant capital in the towns, and the rise to sociopolitical prominence of merchant-broker groups. The period was also characterized by the dominance of the towns over the countryside. The towns were not only the residences of the rich and powerful, the places where craft industries were concentrated, they were also the places where the peasant surplus was converted to cash (as well as to necessary means of subsistence).

From the fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries the region comprised a mosaic of sovereign, independent polities. No single *oman* was militarily stronger than any other, hence territorial conquests by military means were uncommon. Indeed, the military forces of the *oman* were not organized for extensive territorial conquests. The armies were essentially elitist in character. They tended to be organized around mercenaries and armed retainers in the service of the upper classes and urban-based militia units. They were designed for short-term offensive and defensive campaigns. The "unity" of the region was not realized at the level of a politically and militarily dominant *oman* and a spatially extensive network of administrative seats subordinate to a paramount administrative center. It was realized at the level of a dominant regional trading center and dispersed networks of lower-level commercial central places, and at the level of the mercantile "empire" of the Akani, which was based on trade towns.

For the most part the holders of military and political posts in the different polities were urban based and "mercantilist" oriented. There existed a strong

social congruence between trade, as represented by brokers and merchants, and the state, as represented by officeholders. Thus brokers, merchants, and officeholders belonged to the widely dispersed "brotherhood of nobles," membership in which was restricted to the rich and the "well-born." The social exclusivity of the "brotherhood" was reinforced by the luxurious lifestyles that its members enjoyed.

The upper-class mode of existence was contingent on ready access to trade, land, and labor. Access to these sources of social wealth meant that the upper classes had to control the means of administration, the means of destruction, and the means of production. Control over these elements yielded an economic surplus that constituted the upper classes' means of subsistence. During the course of the seventeenth century the officeholders in the various states imposed heavier levies on their subjects. Rising revenue demands were linked to the governing classes' growing need for wealth (which could be sold for imported merchandise) and cycles of expanded reproduction. These demands affected the producers, in particular the peasant population. The produce that the peasants had to sell in the towns as surplus approximated or perhaps surpassed the produce that they retained as subsistence.

Understandably, sections of the peasantry became impoverished. Many families migrated to the towns in order to improve their economic circumstances. Not all succeeded. In the coastal ports some fell into the ranks of the urban poor and thus became dependent on various forms of public relief for their subsistence. Other peasants did not move into the urban settlements but took to a life of brigandage. During the seventeenth century rural banditry emerged on a significant scale. Other forms of social and political conflict became evident: riots, revolts, and insurrections. Many of these can be linked to disputes over the appropriation and distribution of the surplus. Under the conditions of tributary and slaveowning relations of production there were structural and social limits to the amount of surplus officeholders could appropriate without evoking civil strife within their respective states. For a number of these states the years of the late seventeenth century were times of crisis.

During the second period the growth and development of trade was directly linked to the imposition of increasingly heavy levies on producers and the expansion of market production. Among the peasant population market production was promoted by administrative measures. Surplus realized as money (gold) fueled trade when it was converted to merchant capital, and increasing market production (as well as expanding trade) made urbanization possible over a wide area. These developments rested on the regular transfer of social wealth from the countryside to the towns. The rural population was not, however, a passive social element. Its relationship to the urban centers was dynamic; thus during the third period large sections of the peasant population were able to achieve relative autonomy.

Reference has been made to the limitations that the prevailing relations (and forces) of production imposed on the mechanisms and volume of surplus extrac-

tion. In the third period these limits were transcended, not by massive technological innovations or new systems of material production, but by military methods. This period witnesses the emergence of militarized, territorially expansionist states, the most important of which was Asante. The spatial and demographic scale of surplus extraction, military operations, and administration was transformed. In terms of social surplus extraction the imperial-agrarian formation was characterized by the appropriation of surplus from conquered states and districts and the large-scale employment of slaves in food crop production.

During the course of the eighteenth century Asante established its hegemony over much of the region. The need to govern conquered territories led to the emergence of a new kind of state power: a bureaucratized central political apparatus. The apparatus comprised discrete groupings (*fekuo*) of administrative/military units. These were based in Kumase, which became the dominant political center in the region. Social wealth and means of production were acquired through warfare, and tribute was paid by subjugated dependencies in greater Asante. Thus the officeholders of the Asante state depended on externally generated surplus rather than the internally generated surpluses of peasants and other free producers of metropolitan Asante. In contrast, the governing classes of the mercantile-agrarian period relied mainly on the surpluses of their own subjects. The geographical scale of surplus appropriation had changed. The wealth accumulated in eighteenth-century Kumase far exceeded that accumulated in any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century state capital. Metropolitan Asante benefited economically from military conquests and imperial administrative relations, for the wealth that these brought into the area could sustain brief cycles of expanded reproduction. Many conquered territories, on the other hand, suffered depopulation, deurbanization, and the disruption of their productive systems. For many, social reproduction was dominated by cycles of simple and even contracted reproduction.

Under the conditions of extensive military operations and imperial rule, trade, which continued to expand, was subordinated to the needs and interests of the *fekuo* officeholders of Kumase and the officeholders of the *amanto.* It is likely too that during the eighteenth century merchant capital became increasingly linked to landed property (that is, to the office-estates of the *fekuo*) and money-lending capital assumed greater social importance. Certainly the merchant of the eighteenth century did not enjoy the high esteem of his seventeenth-century counterpart. Increasingly, the conversion of the social surplus to trading capital was carried out by the political and military functionaries of the state.

Asante territorial expansion was predicated upon the military revolution that took place in the second half of the seventeenth century. The revolution involved the development of new forms of military organization, new modes of conducting war, and the adoption of the musket as the main arm. It also involved the replacement of an elitist army by a mass army. The latter was the product of free agrarian producers, who provided the bulk of the manpower

used in military campaigns. For most of the seventeenth century the peasants were seldom mobilized as front-line troops.

The emergence of the mass army presupposes, then, a different relationship between the state and the peasantry. There are indications that during the imperial-agrarian period peasants no longer paid their land tax in money; instead, they paid a fixed tax in produce. They were also subject to labor services of various kinds, in particular military service. The change in land rent payments was not restricted to the peasantry of metropolitan Asante, but was in evidence throughout the region.

The change from rent in cash to rent in kind meant that the subsistence that peasant households retained was greater than the surplus that they handed over to revenue collectors. The towns were no longer the places where they converted their produce to cash; they were places where they paid their rent in kind. The political authorities did not exact money payments, hence the need for peasant households to engage in production for the market declined. Accordingly, so did the peasants' relationship to the towns. Under mercantile-agrarian conditions it was commercial and administrative (political); under imperial-agrarian conditions it was mainly administrative. In metropolitan Asante the dominant urban settlements were primarily administrative, not trading, centers. Their commercial functions were determined by the needs of officeholders rather than the operations of merchants.

The relative decline in peasant market production very likely contributed to the movement of craft industries from the towns to agrarian villages. Crafts were ruralized and the unity of craft and agricultural production at the village level was established. This development reversed a process that had held sway from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, namely the urbanization of crafts. The craftsmen who remained in and around the towns were generally in the personal service of officeholders.

The imperial-agrarian period was characterized by another development: the consolidation of the peasant corporate agrarian system throughout the region. Certain features of the system can be identified: authoritative village councils (consisting of household and lineage heads), village lands administered by the councils, periodic village markets that served as central places for the distribution of rural surpluses, village craftsmen, village militias, and village social solidarity founded on the organizational principles of the *abusua-kese* institution. Politically the villages were treated as corporate revenue-paying units and not, as was the case under mercantile-agrarian conditions, as settlements of individual tax-paying households. In the eighteenth century peasant communities enjoyed greater control over the conditions of their production; hence, they were in a position to influence the conditions under which they were governed.

If sixteenth- and seventeenth-century peasant households were capable of generating a substantial social surplus, they were not, in most cases, in a position to accumulate any. Eighteenth-century households, however, produced a surplus, and many were able to accumulate it. Within the context of the agrarian

village system numerous households achieved a comparatively high degree of prosperity. Some, particularly those of metropolitan Asante, were able to acquire slaves either as war booty or through trade. Such slaves were incorporated into peasant family groupings as "junior" members (domestic slaves). In the Asante heartland and certain other districts they contributed to the demographic and economic expansion of the agrarian village system. Prosperous peasant households constituted an important social base for the imperial-agrarian formation.

The autonomy and self-sufficiency of the agrarian communities was not absolute. The rural settlements did not exist independent of the Asante state, nor was the state an external, superimposed entity that had little bearing on the lives of rural peoples. Thus the Asante judicial system became an important institutional means for appropriating peasant agricultural surplus. This administrative practice seems to have become firmly established in the second half of the eighteenth century. In addition, there was a large and active market in land and settlements in metropolitan Asante. Among the upper classes land, villages, and hamlets were bought, sold, and mortgaged (pawned) through the mediation of the state. By these means human and material resources were regularly distributed and redistributed among higher- and lower-ranking officeholders. The real estate transactions of these persons brought the state into direct and frequent contact with the rural population. They neutralized the relative autonomy of the peasant communities.

The relative decline of peasant market production and peasant market sales in the towns led to the increased employment of unfree laborers in food crop production and their deployment around the urban settlements. The laborers produced for urban markets, and the produce was sold by the slaves' owners. There are indications that during the eighteenth century slaves ceased to be the main labor force in gold production; their places were taken by free families. Slaves were increasingly involved in agriculture (cultivation and land clearance). During the mercantile-agrarian period matters were different: the towns relied mainly on peasant market production, and the extractive industry depended on the labor of slaves. At this time slaves were imported into the region and gold was the principal overseas export. During the imperial-agrarian period gold was imported (from Brazil) and slaves were the main export. Social relations organized around tributary and slaveowning productive systems had changed, and the old mercantile order had been replaced by an imperial one.

Abbreviations

AA	*African Arts*
AAn	*American Anthropologist*
AIEO	*Annales de l'institut d'études orientales*
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
ALR	*African Language Review*
ANBKG	Archief der nederlandsche bezittingen ter kust van Guinea
AQ	*African Quarterly*
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief
AU	*Afrika und überseè*
BA	*Baessler-Archiv*
BCAS	*Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*
BCGP	Boletim cultural de Guine Portuguesa
BGGA	*Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*
BIFAN	*Bulletin de l'institut fondamental de l'Afriquè noire*
BMHG	*Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap (Gevestigd te Utrecht)*
BSARSO	*Bulletin des séances de l'academie royale des sciences d'outremer*
BTLVN-I	*Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*
CA	*Critical Anthropology* (1970–72); *Critique of Anthropology* (1974–)
CEA	*Cahiers d'études africaines*
CIS	*Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*
CJAS	*Canadian Journal of African Studies*
CO	Colonial Office
CSSH	*Comparative Studies in Society and History*
DA	*Dialectical Anthropology*
DAG	Diverse arkivalier fra Guinea
DUA	Departementet for udenrigske anliggender
EIC	East Indies Company
EHJ	*Economisch Historisch Jaarboek*
ES	*Economy and Society*
FVGMN	*Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*
GA	Generaltoldkammerets archiv
GCR	*The Gold Coast Review*
GJ	*Guineisk(e) Journal(er)*
GK	Guineisk kompagni

GNQ	*Ghana Notes and Queries*
GSSJ	*Ghana Social Science Journal*
HA	*History in Africa*
HGU	*Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*
HSHK	Handel och sjofart handels kompanier
IESHR	*The Indian Economic and Social History Review*
IJAHS	*International Journal of African Historical Studies*
IOLR	India Office Library and Records
IS	*Insurgent Sociologist*
JA	*Journal des africanists*
JAH	*Journal of African History*
JAS	*Journal of African Studies*
JASO	*Journal of the African Society*
JDA	*Journal of Developing Areas*
JEH	*Journal of Economic History*
JHSN	*Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*
JPS	*Journal of Peasant Studies*
JSH	*Journal of Social History*
JWAL	*The Journal of West African Languages*
KHGU	Kroniek van het historisch genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht
KITLV	Koninlijk instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde
KS	*Kano Studies*
NA	*Nyame Akuma*
NDV	*Notes et documents voltaïques*
NLR	*New Left Review*
OH	*Oud Holland*
OWIC	First West Indies Company
PGM	*Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*
PRO	Public Records Office
PS	*Politics and Society*
PSS	*Philosophy of the Social Sciences*
PT	*Philosophical Transactions*
RA	Rigsarkivet
RAC	Royal African Company
REA	*Research in Economic Anthropology*
RETP	*Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*
RFHOM	*Revue française d'histoire outre-mer*
RH	*Revue hispanique*
RHES	*Revue d'histoire economique et sociale*
RHR	*Radical History Review*
RK	Rentekammeret
RKA	Riksarkivet
RR	*Research Review*
RRPE	*The Review of Radical Political Economics*
SO	*Second Order*
SS	*Science and Society*
SSH	*Soviet Studies in History*
T	Treasury Records

TGCTHS	*Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society*
THSG	*Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*
TKUA	Tyske kancelli udenrigske afdeling
TCLA	*Transactions of the Linguistic Circle of Accra*
TS	*Theory and Society*
VGK	Vestindisk-Guineisk kompagni
VSW	*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
VVWIS	Verzameling Verspreide West-Indische Stukken
WA	*World Archaeology*
WAAN	*West African Archaeological Newsletter*
WAJA	*West African Journal of Archaeology*
WASAJ	*West African Science Association Journal*
WIC	Second West Indies Company

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. This study can be regarded as a distant relation of my Ph.D. thesis ("Trade, State Formation, and Warfare on the Gold Coast, 1600–1826," University of London, 1974). It is, however, more than a revision of the thesis. It has a substantially broader empirical base and a different conceptual and theoretical focus. In addition, the present work covers a shorter time period.

2. The region was both *formal* and *functional* (or nodal). It was formal in the sense that the area was homogeneous (uniform) with respect to the spatial distribution of the systems of social production; it was functional in the sense that it was functionally tied to and organized around several linked nodes or foci. For the geographer's concept of "region" see Dudley Stamp, ed., *A Glossary of Geographical Terms* (New York, 1961), p. 389; P. Haggett, *Locational Analysis in Human Geography* (London, 1966), p. 242; P. E. James, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas* (1972; reprint ed., Indianapolis, 1975), pp. 461, 466–67. Also Allen M. Howard, "The Relevance of Spatial Analysis for African Economic History: The Sierra Leone–Guinea System," *JAH* 17, no. 3 (1976).

3. On the concepts of social formation and mode of production see Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London, 1974); Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production* (London and Boston, 1975); idem, *Mode of Production and Social Formation* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1977); Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism,* trans. Brian Pearce (London and New York, 1976), chap. 1; Ernesto Laclau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory* (London, 1979), chap. 1; Nicos Poulantzas, "On Social Classes," *NLR,* no. 78 (1973); Jonathan Friedman, "Marxism, Structuralism, and Vulgar Materialism," *Man,* n.s. 9, no. 3 (1974); Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *NLR,* no. 107 (1978); Ramesh Mishra, "Technology and Social Structure in Marx's Theory: An Exploratory Analysis," *SS* 43, no. 2 (1979); Dominique Legros et al., "Economic Base, Mode of Production, and Social Formation: A Discussion of Marx's Terminology," *DA* 4, no. 3 (1979). See also Centre d'études et de recherches marxistes, *Sur le mode de production Asiatique,* 2d ed. (Paris, 1974), and idem, *Sur le féodalisme* (Paris, 1974).

4. For a discussion of the relationship of a social formation to its "socially organized space" see the following: Milton Santos, "Society and Space: Social Formation as Theory and Method," *Antipode* 9, no. 1 (1977): 3–13; Mogens Buch-Hanson and Bue Nielson, "Marxist Geography and the Concept of Territorial Structure," *Antipode* 9, no. 2 (1977): 1–12; Sonia Barrios, "Political Practice and Space," *Antipode* 9, no. 2 (1977): 36–39; Edward W. Soja and Costis Hadjimichalis, "Between Geographical Materialism and Spatial Fetishism: Some Observations on the Development of Marxist Spatial Analysis," *Antipode* 11, no. 3 (1979): 3–11. Also Ouedraogo Dieudonné, "Genese et structure d'un espace enclave: La Haute-Volta," *NDV* 11, no. 2 (1978): 25–33. The following may also be con-

sulted: V. A. Anuchin, "Theory of Geography," in *Directions in Geography*, ed. R. J. Chorley (London, 1973).

5. See Traian Stoianovich, "Social History: Perspective of the Annales Paradigm," *Review* 1, nos. 3/4 (1978): 26.

6. The literature is extensive; however, the following may be noted: various articles in *Sur le mode de production Asiatique* and part 2 of *Sur le féodalisme*; Majhemout Diop, *Histoire des classes sociales dans l'Afrique de l'ouest*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1971, 1972); vol. 1, *le Mali*, and vol. 2, *le Sénégal*; Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (New York and London, 1976), chap. 1; L. E. Kubbel, "On the History of Social Relations in the West Sudan in the Eighth to the Sixteenth Centuries," in *Africa in Soviet Studies*, trans. Igor Gavrilov (Moscow, 1969), pp. 109–28; Thea Büttner, "The Economic and Social Character of Pre-Colonial States in Tropical Africa," *JHSN* 5, no. 2 (1970); Jean Bazin, "War and Servitude in Segou," trans. Helen Lackner, *ES* 3, no. 2 (1974); Yves Lacoste, "General Characteristics and Fundamental Structures of Medieval North African Society," *ES* 3, no. 1 (1974); Emmanuel Terray, "Long-Distance Exchange and the Formation of the State: The Case of the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman," *ES* 3, no. 3 (1974); idem, "Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman," in *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*, ed. Maurice Bloch (New York, 1975); P. P. Rey, "The Lineage Mode of Production," *CA*, no. 3 (1975); idem, "Class Contradiction in Lineage Societies," *CA* 4, nos. 3 and 4 (1979); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "The Political Economy of the African Peasantry and Modes of Production," in *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, eds. Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein (Beverly Hills, 1976); Lionel Cliff, "Rural Class Formation in East Africa," *JPS* 4, no. 2 (1977): W. G. Clarence-Smith, "Slaves, Commoners, and Landlords in Bulozi, c. 1875 to 1906," *JAH* 20 (1979). See also Henry Bernstein and Jacques Depelchin, "The Object of African History: A Materialist Perspective, Parts I and II," *HA* 5 (1978), *HA* 6 (1979); Robin Law, "Review Article: In Search of a Marxist Perspective on Pre-Colonial Tropical Africa," *JAH* 19, no. 3 (1978); idem, "The Marxist Approach to Historial Explanation," *Tarikh* 6, no. 1 (1978).

7. The social division of labor refers to the division of the population into stratified groupings on the basis of the social distribution of the means of production (productive property) and the economic (or social) surplus. The division of social labor refers to the specialization and division of functions (for example, between town and country or merchant and blacksmith) and the division of social production to different branches of economic activity (for example, farming, fishing, hunting, and crafts). See Hindess and Hirst, *Mode of Production*, pp. 63–72, 77. See also Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, ed. R. Pascal (New York, 1963), pp. 6–30; Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm (London, 1964).

8. For an earlier study that has examined these topics see K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford, 1970). Also, K. B. Dickson, *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (Cambridge, 1969).

9. The Volta-Komoé linguistic group includes Ono, Tano, and Guan. The Tano branch includes Bia (Anyi-Baule and Nzema-Ahanta) and Akan (Fante, Asante, Akyem, Bron, Kwawu, Akuapem, etc.). See H.M.J. Trutenau, "Introduction," *TLCA* 3 (1976): 7. Also J. M. Stewart, "Akan History: Some Linguistic Evidence," *GNQ*, no. 9 (1966), pp. 54–58; P.E.H. Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *JAH* 8, no. 2 (1967): 257–61; idem, "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Lower Guinea Coast before 1700, Part II," *ALR* 8 (1969): 228–32.

10. In Marxist literature the concept "mode of production" is often used synonymously with various other terms: "epochs in the process of social production," "specific historical forms of social labor," "historically determined forms of social production," "forms of the social process of production," "historical forms of social production," "systems of material production," "mode of production of material conditions of life," and "mode of acquiring

the means of subsistence." The mode of production concept derives from the theoretical position that "in the social production of life men enter into definite relations which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production." Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* ed. Maurice Dobb (New York, 1972), p. 20. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, "Karl Marx's Contribution to Historiography," in *Ideology in Social Science,* ed. Robin Blackburn (New York, 1973), pp. 265–83. For a discussion of Marxist concepts and the study of African societies see Amilcar Cabral, *L'Arme de la Théorie* (Paris, 1975), pp. 287–91, 319–21; Issa G. Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (New York and London, 1976).

11. See the references in nn. 3 and 4 for an elucidation of the concepts, forces of production, and relations of production. The relations of production constituted the "determinate structure" of a mode of production. Mishra, "Technology and Social Structure in Marx's Theory," pp. 144–46, 150–57. Also Hindess and Hirst, *Mode of Production,* chaps. 3 and 4; David Gartman, "Marx and the Labor Process: An Interpretation," *IS* 8, nos. 2 and 3 (1978): 98–100. Granting priority to the forces of production leads to a technological determinist position. For two examples see Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Political Economy of the African Peasantry," and Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa* (Oxford, 1971).

12. It should be pointed out that the process of production was related to a complex of institutions, organizations, and belief systems that did not pertain directly to economic activity. See, for example, E. J. Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society," in *Essays in Social History,* ed. M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout (Oxford, 1974).

13. Amin, *Unequal Development,* pp. 14–16. For a definition of the concept of economic (or social) surplus see Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* trans. Brian Pearce, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1970), 1:42–45; Cagler Keyder, "Surplus," *JPS* 2, no. 2 (1975): 221–24; Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), pp. 7–10.

For a discussion of slavery in the African context see A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973), pp. 23–27; Claude Meillassoux, ed., *L'Esclavage en Afrique precoloniale* (Paris, 1975); Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Meiers, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, 1977); Robert Harms, "Slave Systems in Africa," *HA* 5 (1978); Martin Klein, "Review Article: The Study of Slavery in Africa," *JAH* 19, no. 4 (1978); Frederick Cooper, "Review Article: The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *JAH* 20, no. 1 (1979); Claude Meillassoux, "Correspondence," *ES* 7, no. 3 (1978): 321–31. For a general discussion of the question of slavery see Robert A. Padgug, "Problems in the Theory of Slavery and Slave Society," *SS* 40, no. 1 (1970).

For two interesting and critical articles on the tributary mode of production within the context of Indian and Japanese social formations see Ellen Kay Trimberger, "State Power and Modes of Production: Implications of the Japanese Transition to Capitalism," *IS* 7, no. 2 (1977), and Kate Currie, "Problematic Modes and the Mughal Social Formation," *IS* 9, no. 4 (1980).

A theoretical account of precapitalist modes of production can be found in Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations,* and in the fine introduction to it by Eric Hobsbawm (pp. 9–65). The Swedish edition of this work (*Om Förkapitalistiska Productionssätt* [Stockholm, 1970]) has a stimulating introduction by Erik af Edholm (pp. 7–34).

14. Further research is required before a full understanding can be gained of the nature of the pretributary and slaveowning modes of production and the historical transition from one mode to another.

15. For a discussion of the internal dynamic of precapitalist modes of production see Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *NLR,* no. 104 (1977); Georges Ribeill, "Critique et prolongement de l'interpretation des mutations socio-historiques dans le materialism historique," *CIS* 56 (1974). See also Rodney Hilton et al., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1978).

16. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1: 322. Cf. also Michael Harbsmeier, "Critique of Political Economy, Historical Materialism and Pre-Capitalist Social Forms," *CA* vol. 3 (1978): 24–31.

17. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1:322,324. Also Karl Marx, *Capital*, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1961), 1:566.

18. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1:331–32.

19. See Santos, "Society and Space," pp. 5–7.

20. Akwamu and Denkyira were two expansionist states of the late seventeenth century; Asante expansionism occurred in the eighteenth century. One consequence of large-scale military conquests was the depopulation of subjugated districts. For an account of the "population disasters" in the area of the Akwamu state see Marion Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate: The Past Population of the Accra Region" (Paper presented at the African Historical Demography Seminar, University of Edinburgh, 1977).

21. The dating of the periods is approximate, and in the light of further research is subject to revision. The periodization itself is based on the chronological divisions found in the oral historical traditions of the *mantsei* (rulers) of Osu, Labadi, and Teshie. These traditions were recorded by the Danish factor Rømer in the 1740s. See L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 16–17, 26–27, 110, 112–26, 132–33. For early-eighteenth-century Akwamu traditions referring to periods II and III see Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 92–93 (this is the Norwegian translation of the first Danish edition entitled *En kort og sandferdig reise beskrivelser til og fra Guinea* [Trondheim, 1754]).

22. The Gold Coast was not isolated from other West African regions but was commercially linked to many of them. Undoubtedly a fuller and more comprehensive understanding of social reproduction in pre-nineteenth-century Gold Coast can be gained by studying other contemporary West African social formations (or regions) and the structure and dynamic of their systems of material production and then comparing these to the Gold Coast formation and the different phases of its historical development. A comparative historical study of regional (precapitalist) modes of production in West Africa is needed. For a stimulating study of pre-seventeenth-century European modes of production see Michael Hector and William Brustein, "Regional Modes of Production and Patterns of State Formation in Western Europe," *AJS* 35, no. 5 (1980).

During the period under study the Gold Coast was in commercial contact with a larger system—the "capitalist" world economy. See Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World-Economy," Gutkind and Wallerstein, *Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, pp. 30–57. Also idem, "Underdevelopment and Phase-B: Effect of the Seventeenth Century Stagnation on Core and Periphery of the European World Economy," in *The World System of Capitalism: Past and Present*, ed. Walter L. Goldfrank (Beverly Hills, 1979), pp. 73–83. Also idem, *The Modern World-System*, text ed. (New York, 1976). However, Wallerstein's thesis has not been without its critics. See Brenner, "Origins of Capitalist Development"; Robert S. DuPlessis, "From Demesne to World System: A Critical Review of the Literature on the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism," *RHR* 4, no. 1 (1977); Alex Dubuy and Paul V. Fitzgerald, "Review Essay: A Contribution to the Critique of the World System Perspective," *IS* 7, no. 2 (1977); Theda Skocpol, "Review Symposium: Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," *AJS* 82, no. 5 (1977); Ellen Kay Trimberger, "World Systems Analysis: The Problem of Unequal Development," *TS* 8 (1979). Cf. also J. M. Blaut, "Where was Capitalism Born?" *Antipode* 8, no. 2 (1976).

23. For a discussion of the use of documents as historical evidence and the historian's practice see E. P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978), pp. 229–42. Also M. A. Barg, "The Historical Fact: Structure, Form, Content," *SSH* 16, no. 1 (1977). See also Gareth Stedman Jones, "History: The Poverty of Empiricism," in

Blackburn, *Ideology in Social Science*, pp. 96–115; Hobsbawm, "Marx's Contribution to Historiography," pp. 269–83; Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, pp. 219–42.

24. There were definitional problems with respect to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commercial, political, and social terminology. Many of the terms and phrases carried meanings that in a twentieth-century context were either archaic or no longer in use. It was necessary, therefore, to use etymological dictionaries and, where possible, contemporary ones. Some of these are listed below:

1. Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611; reprint ed., Amsterdam and New York, 1971).
2. Kaspar von Stieler, *Der Teutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs oder Teutscher Sprachschatz*, 3 vols. (Nuremberg, 1691; reprint ed., Munich, 1968).
3. Pierre Richelet, *Nouveau Dictionnaire français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1719).
4. Hans von Aphyelea, *Dictionnaire Royal*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1772).
5. Anthony Vieyra Transtagano, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 2 vols. (London, 1773).
6. Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 5 vols. (Brunswick, 1807–1811).
7. Dr. E. Verwijs, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, 11 vols. (The Hague, 1885).
8. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 21 vols. and supplement (The Hague, 1882–1977).
9. Carl Verner Dahlerup, *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, 28 vols. (Copenhagen, 1919–1950).
10. Antonio de Morais Silva, *Grande Dicionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1949).

Several persons (for example, de Marees, Barbot, Rask, and Müller) published vocabulary lists of Akan words and phrases. Certain of these words are today archaic or no longer convey their seventeenth-century meanings. I have made extensive use of J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (Basle, 1881), in order to cope with this problem. I have also looked at Christian Protten, *En nyttig grammaticalsk indledelse til tvende hidindtil gandske ubekiendte sprog, fanteisk og Acraisk (paa Guld-Kysten udi Guinea)* (Copenhagen, 1764), and R. Rask, *Vejledning til Akra-Sproget paa kysten Guinea med et tillaeg om Akvambuisk* (Copenhagen, 1828).

25. See E. J. Alagoa, "The Relationship between History and Other Disciplines," *Tarikh* 6, no. 1 (1978): 12–20; P.E.H. Hair, "The Contribution of Early Linguistic Material to the History of West Africa," in *Language and History in Africa*, ed. David Dalby (New York, 1970), pp. 50–63.

CHAPTER 1

1. RA, GA. Guineiske Uafgjorte (Journal-) sager. "Pro Memoria, no. 9," J. F. Kipnasse, dd. Copenhagen, May 26, 1781; L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 110, 115–16; Paul Erdman Isert, *Voyages en Guinée et dans les îles Caraïbes en Amérique* (Paris, 1793), p. 270; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 10, 12, 52, 72, 73, 91; Bernhard Struck, "Geschichtliches über die östlichen Tschi-Länder (Goldküste)," *Anthropos* 18–19 (1923–24): 269–70; R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (1923; reprint ed., London, 1955), pp. 121–22, 235; idem, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929; reprint ed., Oxford, 1956), pp. 61, 72, 344; K. A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* (1951; reprint ed., London, 1968), pp. 45–47; Carleen O'Laughlin, "What is the Village? The Relevance of 'Village Studies' in West African Social Research," *GSSJ* 2, no. 1 (1972): 20–21; S. M.

Quartey, "Development of the Human Geography of Ahantaland before 1600," *GSSJ* 4, no. 1 (1977): 121.

2. See, for example, Paul C. Ozanne, "Ghana," in *The African Iron Age*, P. L. Shinnie (Oxford, 1971), pp. 55–56, 57, 60–61, 64; Merrick Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," *AQ* 11, no. 2 (1971): 118–19, 122; René A. Bravmann and R. Duncan Mathewson, "A Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima'," *IJAHS* 3, no. 1 (1970): 143–44, 145–47; H. W. Daendels, *Journal and Correspondence: Part One, November 1815 to January 1817* (Legon, Ghana, 1964), p. 33, entry for Jan. 25, 1816; and p. 39, Starrenburgh's Journal of [a] trip up the [Ankobra]: entry for Jan. 31, 1816. Also M. J. Field, "The Investigation of the Ancient Settlements of the Accra Plain," *GNQ*, no. 4 (1962), pp. 4–5.

3. "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, Elmina, 5th September 1705" in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at the Hague*, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 112. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 36; Walter Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," *THSG* 10 (1969); James R. Saunders, "The Political Development of the Fante in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Study of a West African Merchant Society," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, June, 1980), 1:94–98; Albert van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," *RFHOM* 62, nos. 226–27 (1975); W. Richards, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa in the Eighteenth Century," *JAH* 21, no. 1 (1980). Also R. A. Kea, "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *JAH* 12, no. 2 (1971); Jean-Pierre Chaveau, "Contribution à la géographie historique de l'or en pays baule (Côte d'Ivoire)," *JA* 48, no. 1 (1978): 22–23. See also Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, "The Economic Costs of West African Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Preliminary Sampling for the Eighteenth Century," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York, 1979).

4. For this characterization of precapitalist towns see Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, ed. R. Pascal (New York, 1963), pp. 43–44; Gerhard Schmidt-Renner, "Ursachen der Stadtebildung," *PGM* 109, no. 1 (1965); John Merrington, "Town and Country in the Transition to Capitalism," in Rodney Hilton et al., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1978). Cf. Amelia Mariotti and Bernard Magubane, "Urban Ethnology in Africa: Some Theoretical Issues," in *The Process of Urbanism: A Multidisciplinarian Approach*, ed. Joyce Aschenbrenner and Lloyd C. Collins (The Hague and Paris, 1978), pp. 45–54. See also Gilbert Rozeman, *Urban Networks in Ch'ing China and Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, 1975); idem, *Urban Networks in Russia, 1750–1800 and Premodern Periodization* (Princeton, 1976).

5. Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa* (Oxford, 1968), chap. 1; Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States, 1500 to 1800," in *History of West Africa*, vol. 1, ed. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 2d ed. (New York, 1976), pp. 423–33; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *JAH* 19, no. 2 (1978); Bravmann and Mathewson, "Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima'," pp. 133–34, 136–37, 141–42, 145–48; Merrick Posnansky, "The Early Development of Trade in West Africa: Some Archaeological Considerations," *GSSJ* 2, no. 2 (1972): 94–100; idem, "Archaeology and the Origins of the Akan Society in Ghana," in *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking et al. (London, 1976). Also Muhammad A. Al-Hajj, "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangara," *KS* 1, no. 4 (1968): 9.

6. For land clearance in the central forest zone see Ivor Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital and the Forest Kingdom of Asante: A Model of Early Change," in *The Evolution of Social Systems*, ed. J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands (Pittsburgh, 1978); idem, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion" (Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meeting, Los Angeles, 1979). For maize cultivation see António Brásio, ed., *Monu-*

menta missionaria Africana, 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:102; D. Calvocoressi and Nicholas David, "A New Survey of Radiocarbon and Thermoluminescence Dates for West Africa," *JAH* 20, no. 1 (1979): 17.

7. Thus, "innovations represented by the introduction of new crops can, by themselves, increase the capacity of a system of shifting cultivation by over 400% under the conditions of many of the economies of tropical Africa." See Marvin P. Miracle, "The Elasticity of Food Supply in Tropical Africa during the Pre-Colonial Period," *GSSJ* 2, no. 2 (1972): 2 and passim.

8. See Walther Manshard, "Agrarische Organisationsformen für den Binnemarket bestimmter Kulturen in Waldgürtel Ghanas," *Erdkunde* 11 (1957): 217–19.

9. See John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens, 1979), p. 49. Also, Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:93, 94, 102, 104. By 1601 the livestock industry was flourishing. See Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het Deel van Africa,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), pp. 55, 88, 121, 130. For pre-sixteenth-century cattle rearing see Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Later Prehistory of Accra," *JHSN* 3 (1964): 19–20. See also Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,* trans. and ed. R. Mauny (Bissau, 1956), p. 125; James Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," *NA,* no. 15 (1979), pp. 15–16, 17, 19.

10. For the archaeological evidence see Ozanne, "Notes on the Later Prehistory of Accra," pp. 15–16; idem, "Ghana," pp. 44–45.

11. Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology of Accra," *THSG* 6 (1963): 66, 69; idem, "Ghana," pp. 58–60, 61–63; D. Calvocoressi, "Report on the Third Conference of West African Archaeologists," *WAAN,* no. 12 (1970), pp. 73–74, 82–83; Oliver Davies, *West Africa before the Europeans* (London, 1967), pp. 241, 243, 283–90, 291, 292, 309, 321 n.30; R. N. York, "Excavations at New Buipe," *WAJA* 3 (1973): 181, 182–83; J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972); Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," pp. 120–21; idem, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," *WA* 5, no. 2 (1973): 158–59; idem, "Review Article: Brass Casting and Its Antecedents in West Africa," *JAH* 18, no. 2 (1977): p. 297; Timothy F. Garrard, "Akan Metal Arts," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979): 33–42. See also Thurstan Shaw, *Excavation at Dawu* (London, 1961).

12. See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse,* trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), p. 359.

13. Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1642,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 69; J. Berry and L. Yarak, "Linguistics and Akan Historical Reconstruction" (Paper presented at "Workshop on the Akan: Problems of Research and Teaching," Northwestern University, April 1978). See also Paul C. Ozanne, "The Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," mimeographed, Ashanti Research Project, First Conference (Legon, Ghana, 1964), p. 54; idem, "Ghana," p. 64.

14. Paul C. Ozanne, "Indigenes or Invaders?" *Antiquity* 37 (1963): 230.

15. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 26, 115, 118; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 92–93.

16. Compare with: "The size of a population undoubtedly influences the pace of social development, delaying it or speeding it up. Data on the natural movement of population, however, do not explain the structure of society or the causes of the transition from one historical formation to another. The size and density of a population . . . do not determine the character of the social system, nor are they the decisive factor in social development" (D. I. Valentey, "Introduction," in *The Theory of Population: Essays in Marxist Research,* ed. D. I. Valentey, trans. Herbert C. Creighton [Moscow, 1978], pp. 11–12). See also Schmidt-Renner, "Ursachen der Städtebildung."

17. For the use of this term in the Gold Coast context see W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene Landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz,

Austria, 1968), p. 2. *Policey-ordnung (Statsordnung); Polizeigesetz:* "duties laid down by authorities." The term *Polizei* (*Policey*) denotes (1) "a condition of order in the community" and (2) "statute(s) aimed at the institution and/or maintenance of order in the community." See Franz-Ludwig Knemeyer, "Polizei," trans. Keith Tribe, *ES* 9, no. 2 (1980): 172–80. See also Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), p. 76.

18. For a discussion of this linguistic phenomenon see M. E. Kropp-Dakubu, "Akaja–A Ga Song in Twi," *RR* 8, no. 2 (1972): 47.

19. In Dutch documents of the period various terms were used to refer to the dependent settlements and districts of a principle urban center: *aancleven, appendentie* and *dependentie, omlanden, domeynen, aangehorende districten, toebehorende landen.*

20. Cf. Allen M. Howard, "The Relevance of Spatial Analysis for African Economic History: The Sierra Leone–Guinea System," *JAH* 17, no. 3 (1976). See also Carole L. Crumley, "Toward a Locational Definition of State Systems of Settlement," *AA* 78, no. 1 (1976); Carol A. Smith, "Analysing Regional Social Systems," in *Regional Analysis,* ed. Carol A. Smith, 2 vols. (New York: 1976), 1:6–11, 16–19.

21. J. G. Christaller, *Twi Mmebusem Mpensa-Ahensia Mmoaano: A Collection of Three Thousand and Six Hundred Tshi Proverbs* (Basle, 1879), p. 76; J. B. Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God,* 2d ed. (London, 1968), p. 192.

22. See Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 251–52, 384; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 62, 63–66, 81, 83, 86–87, 88, 118.

23. See Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth* (London, 1965), pp. 71–72.

24. Ibid., p. 71. Cf. Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India," *JEH* 29 (1969): p. 52.

25. That rent/land tax was collected as produce before 1600 is suggested by some oral histories which refer to towns with barns where produce was stored. E.J.P. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante Reader,* 2 vols. (London, 1929), 1:82, 84; Quartey, "Development of the Human Geography of Ahantaland," pp. 119, 122. Cf. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 118. Referring to Great Komenda or the Agona capital a 1556 report relates: "They have about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Country, . . . that on one side of the towne there were about one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill. . . ." R. Hakluyt, ed., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,* 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904), 6: 227. The "rikes" were no doubt storage bins for grain, comparable to the "cornbarns" of tradition. For a discussion of the identity of this town see J. D. Fage, "A Commentary on Duarte Pacheco Pereira's Account of the Lower Guinea Coastlands in His *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,* and on Some Other Early Accounts," *HA* 7 (1980): 61–63.

26. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 118.

27. The district/subdistrict town corresponded to what Brun called a *stättlin* or *flecken.* Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 76, 82. Such towns were the political seats of the *oberherzen* or *ahenfo* (*henna*). The peasants or *nkuraafo* (*ackersmann, bauren, boeren, bønder, huisliden, landleute, weinbauren,* and *paysans* are the various terms found in the sources) were not independent cultivators who formed their own autonomous domestic or peasant economy, but were revenue payers enmeshed in social relations based on a tributary mode of production.

For studies of the peasantry as a social and economic category see Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966); Claude Meillassoux, "The Social Organisation of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship;" *JPS* 1, no. 1 (1973); Sidney W. Mintz, "A Note on the Definitions of Peasantries," *JPS* 1, no. 1 (1973); Teodor Shanin, "Introduction," *Peasants and Peasant Societies,* ed. Teodor Shanin (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 11–19; Judith Ennew, Paul Hirst, and Keith Tribe, "'Peasantry' as an Economic Category," *JPS* 4, no. 4 (1977): 306–16. The last article makes the point that there is no peasant mode of

production, "there are only specific forms of agricultural production, worked and managed to a greater or lesser degree by household units."

28. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 193–94.

29. For the *ooverheede*, government authorities, of Great Accra see K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 216, entry for Aug. 12, 1646; p. 217, entry for Aug. 16, 1646; p. 254, entry for Nov. 4, 1646; p. 262, entry for Nov. 16, 1646; and p. 277, entry for Dec. 10, 1646. For the establishment of town councils in Accra urban settlements (in the early [?] seventeenth century) see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 18. See also A. B. Quartey-Papifio, "The Native Tribunals of the Akras of the Gold Coast," *JASO* 10 (1910–1911): 324–26, 327. For plans to establish a subdistrict capital (?) in coastal Eguafo (or Afutu) see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 192, entry for June 27, 1646; p. 202, entry for July 18, 1646; and p. 205, entry for July 25, 1646.

30. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 118. The damba was a gold weight, 384 of which equaled one ounce troy weight.

31. The price of 6 dambas per chest was the lowest recorded rate in the coastal towns at the end of the century. None of the early-seventeenth-century sources gives the then-current price of *millie* (a generic term used to designate maize, millet, and Guinea corn). For *millie* prices in the 1690s see William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 298. On the basis of two late-seventeenth-century documents it is suggested here that an adult consumed an average of fifteen or twenty *millie* stalks a day. See letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 25, 1682 in "Correspondence from the Outforts to Cape Coast Castle 1681–1699. A Guide to Rawlinson c. 745–747," ed. D. P. Henige (Madison, 1972) (hereafter "Correspondence"); ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. July 22, 1687. Both accounts refer specifically to the daily *millie* consumption of slaves kept in the forts. In the absence of other contemporary figures the above-mentioned daily *millie* consumption rates are used.

32. The *millie* yield-per-acre figure is based on an 1846 estimate of maize production in the coastal polities. See "Lieut.-Governor Winniett's Report [1846]," in *Records Relating to the Gold Coast Settlements from 1750 to 1874*, ed. J. J. Crooks (1923; reprint ed., London, 1973), p. 307. Cf. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 303. *Millie* yields depended, of course, on rainfall, soil quality, and so forth.

33. Free gold-producers, for example, were taxed at the rate of one-half of their daily winnings. Between the late sixteenth and the late seventeenth centuries the tax imposed on a fisherman increased from one-tenth of his daily production to over one-half. During the 1640s the Dutch director-general of Elmina Castle paid the Afutuhene an annual land tax (?) of 864 dambas in gold at the time "milye was planted in the earth." Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 31, entry for Apr. 1, 1645; and pp. 156–57, entry for Apr. 5, 1646. This figure can be compared to the 144 dambas which a water carrier received as his or her annual subsistence allowance in 1659. See chap. 8 herein for a discussion of urban incomes.

34. For descriptions of seventeenth-century farming methods see de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 383–84, 385; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 115–17, 166, 170–72; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 192–96, 198–200, 204–5, 207–8, 210, 211, 213; Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 69–70.

35. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 112–13. See also letter from J. Brown, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1696, in "Correspondence." Money lending in the Gold Coast involved loans either to the upper classes for purchases of luxuries, tribute and/or tax payments, and war expenditures or to the lower classes to allow them to meet their revenue obligations. Credit was essentially consumer credit.

36. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 384–85; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 118.

37. Cf. de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 337–38, 340–44, 384–85, 395; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 101–2, 118.

38. Cf. de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 217–18, 320, 372, 395; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 98–99, 101–2, 112–13, 118.

39. Wilks, "Land, Labour, and Capital," pp. 517–24. Also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 31, 1660; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 296; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 65, 167, 198; "Correspondence," passim. Cf. also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 68. "Resolutie Boeck voor de Regeringhe wegens de generale geoctroyeerde Westindische Comp. der vereenigh. Nederlanden, resideerende binnen de Limiten van het Noorder District van Africa in Guinea op het Casteel St. George del Mina aanvanckelyck met de Directie van den Directeur Generael Johan Valckenb. op primo February 1656 loopende tot 10 Juni 1664: entries dd. Aug. 19, 1658, and June 27, 1663" (hereafter Resolutie Boeck); Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:94.

40. These figures are based on early-nineteenth century rates of appropriation. See PRO, CO 267/74. Earl Bathurst from N. Campbell, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 24, 1826; B. M. Christiansen, "Breve fra og om Guinea," *Valkyrien* 2 (1831), p. 275. Cf. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 114; RA, GA. Dokumenter ved den Guineisk Journal. Sager til Guineiske Journaler 1801–02. "Udkast til en historisk og geographisk beskrivelser over de allierede Provindser ved de danske besiddelser paa kysten af Guinea," P. Thonning, dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 24, 1801, pp. 59–60.

41. Bravmann and Mathewson, "Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima'," pp. 139–40, 139 n. 14, 145–46, 148; Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," pp. 118–19; idem and R. Mcintosh, "New Radiocarbon Dates from Northern and Western Africa," *JAH* 17, no. 2 (1976): 166.

42. Ozanne, "Ghana," pp. 45, 48, 49. This demographic phenomenon coincided with what is believed to have been a dry climatic phase along the Guinea Coast. See Sharon E. Nicholson, "The Methodology of Historical Climate Reconstruction and Its Application to Africa," *JAH* 20, no. 1 (1979): 47.

43. Paul C. Ozanne, "Report on Field-Work at Banda and Wenchi," *RR* 1, no. 1 (1965): 19–20, 21–22; R. N. York, "Excavations at Bui: A Preliminary Report," *RR* 1, no. 2 (1965): 36–38, 39; Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 241, 292–93, 295, 314, 316; R. Duncan Mathewson, "Kitare: A Preliminary Report," *WAAN*, no. 3 (1965); idem, "The Painted Pottery Sequence in the Volta Basin," *WAAN*, no. 8 (1968); idem, "Some Notes on the Settlement-Mounds of Central Gonja," *RR* 4, no. 2 (1968); idem, "Excavations at Jakpasere–1968," *RR* 4, no. 3 (1968); Colin Flight, "The Settlement-Mounds of Central Gonja," *RR* 4, no. 3 (1968); Ozanne, "Ghana," pp. 49, 55, 56; R. Duncan Mathewson and Colin Flight, "Kisoto Bowls: A Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Pottery Type in Northern Ghana," *WAJA* 2 (1972); York, "Excavations at New Buipe." See also Oliver Davies, *The Archaeology of the Flooded Volta Basin*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology no. 1 (Legon, Ghana, 1971), pp. 17–19; René A. Bravmann, *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa* (Cambridge, 1974), chap. 4.

44. See Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 12, 32, 36, 37, 39–40. Also Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," pp. 63, 64–65, 67–69.

45. See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages*, 6:208, 226–27, 244; Valentim Fernandes, "Roteiro Quatrocentista," in *Os mais antigos roteiros da Guiné*, ed. Damião Peres (Lisbon, 1952), pp. 24, 25; Paul C. Ozanne, "Ladoku: An Early Town near Prampram," *GNQ*, no. 7 (1965).

46. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 47–48, 51, 52; Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 283, 284, 287, 313; Ozanne, "Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," p. 54 and fig. 2, between pp. 53 and 54; idem, "Ghana," p. 64; Kwasi Boaten, "The Asante before 1700," *RR* 8, no. 1 (1971): 50–51, 60–61, and p. 62, map. Also K. Y. Daaku, "Pre-Ashanti States," *GNQ*, no. 9 (1966), pp. 12–13.

47. Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 283, 287, 290. Also Rattray, *Ashanti*, p. 325.

48. Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 287–90; David Kiyaga-Mulindwa, "The Earthworks of the Birim Valley, Southern Ghana" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1978).

49. Ozanne, "Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," p. 57;

idem, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," pp. 64, 65; idem, "Review Article: Excavation at Dawu," *THSG* 6 (1963): 119–22.

50. "1516–1619: Escravos e minas de Africa," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes*, ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 6:18, 19; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658.

51. Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 205, 283, 290. See also K. Y. Daaku, "A History of Sefwi: A Survey of Oral Evidence," *RR* 7, no. 3 (1971): 34–37, 42.

52. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 80. See also Elpalonso de Sandoval, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbresiritos, disciplina i catechismo evangelico de todos Etiopes* (Seville, 1627), pp. 7, 51.

53. See Armando Coresão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, eds., *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1960), 3:67–70 for a discussion of the map.

54. Ibid., 5:181, 185–86. At his death Motta is said to have left his son, Bernardo da Motta, "An account of the lands of Guire Serafee with the lands painted and illuminated. . . ." "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:20.

55. For example, in 1513 Goncala Valada traveled to the two inland polities of "Portuguese Acanes" and "Castilian Acanes," and at the end of the century an unnamed Portuguese visited the gold mines of "Aboros" which, according to the report, were twenty-four leagues north of Great Accra ("Cara"). "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; A. Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), pp. 12–13, 20–21.

56. For an account of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartographical symbols see Raymond Lister, *How to Identify Old Maps and Globes* (Hamden, Ct., 1965), pp. 68, 69, 70.

57. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111.

58. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19, 26; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111, 112; 5:593–94; "Copia da carta del capitan de la Mina [1623?]," in *Documentação ultramarina Portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67), 2:481.

59. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:20.

60. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 1:544–45. Cf. Diedrich Westermann, "Texte in der Ge-Mundart des Ewe," *AÜ* 39, no. 1 (1954): 1–2, 4.

61. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 2:246; 3:109, 110, 111.

62. See, for example, Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 4–5, 7, 8, 30, 32–33, 39–41, 42, 61–62; Brown, *Gold Coast*, 1:53–56, 58, 59, 61, 74, 120; 2:52.

63. This map is reproduced in *GNQ*, no. 9 (1966). The original is to be found in ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

64. "Axim" is not shown on the reproduction, which also contains other omissions (for example, "Kleen Inkassa" and "Dahoe") and, in places, inaccurate translations (such as the description of "Insoco").

65. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 184.

66. See, for example, KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Hermann Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

67. J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (Basle, 1881).

68. R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs* (Oxford, 1916), p. 125.

69. ARA, WIC 122. Verbond gemaeckt tusschen . . . Nicholaas Sweerst, Directeur-General . . . ende Amoissie Assirvie, Coninck, Assirvi Amuissie, Fetere, ende Afferij Takij, Tjamij, . . . dd. the town of Aguaffoman, Jan. 14, 1688.

70. PRO, T 70/376. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 16, 1699.

71. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 6.

72. Cf. Christian Protten, *En nyttig grammaticalsk indledelse til tvende hidindtil gandske ubekiendte sprog, Fanteisk og Acraisk (paa Guld-Kysten udi Guinea)* (Copenhagen, 1764), p. 2: *mang* (equals *oman*), "a town" (*bye*), "country" (*land*), "polity" (*rige*). Also Boaten, "Asante before 1700," p. 71. For an account of Protten's life (1715–1769) see István Fodor, "Zur Geschichte des Ga (Accra): Protten (1764) und Oldendorp (1777)" in *Zur Sprachgeschichte und ethnohistorie in Afrika*, eds. Wilhelm J. G. Mohlig et al. (Berlin, 1977).

73. Christaller, *A Dictionary*.

74. For a discussion of cognitive regional maps in a nineteenth-century Asante context see Thomas Lewin and Dennis Fitzsimons, "The Political Organization of Space in Asante: Part II," *Asante Seminar*, no. 5 (1976), p. 18. Cf. Enid Schildkrout, "The Ideology of Regionalism in Ghana," in *Strangers in African Societies*, eds. William A. Schack and Elliot P. Skinner (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 183–85 and passim. See also Chauveau, "Contribution à la géographie historique de l'or en pays baule (Côte d'Ivoire)," pp. 36–41, 47–49.

75. The chart was reproduced as a frontispiece in *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, ed. Elizabeth Donnan, 4 vols. (1935; reprint ed., New York, 1965), 1.

76. The Akyem ("Akim") *oman* is shown lying south of Kibi. The southward expansion of this state occurred in the 1730s. Prior to that date most of its settlements lay north of the Birim River. For a recent study see Ronald R. Atkinson, "Old Akyem and the Origins of Akyems Abuakwa and Kotoku, 1675–1775," in *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. B. K. Schwartz, Jr., and Raymond E. Dumett (New York, 1980). According to de Bellefond, Akyem lay ninety miles (*lieues*) from the seaboard; in 1704 it was said to be seven days' journey from Elmina. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 213; "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, 31st August 1704," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 105.

77. See, for example, PRO, C 113.36 part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; PRO C 113.34 part 2. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 30, 1717; "Valuation of the African Forts, dd. Feb. 16, 1710," in Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History*, 2:109–11.

78. See, for example, PRO, T 70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 29 and Oct. 23, 1697; letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, Aug. 29, 1698, in "Correspondence."

79. See letter from T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Sept. 4, 1693, in "Correspondence."

80. Cf. letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 12, 1681, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T 70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Jan. 16, 1697, and King of Aguaffo dr. to sundries, dd. Apr. 6, 1698. Also "Valuation of the African Forts, dd. February 16, 1710," in Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History*, 2:110.

81. Akron was consolidated out of districts that before 1645 had formed part of western Agona. For the revolt of these districts against the ruler of Agona and their later submission to the *brafo* of Fante see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 5, entry for Jan. 28, 1645; and p. 201, entry for July 14, 1646. Kabes Terra probably emerged as a polity in the 1670s as a result of the merger of several southern Etsi districts under *ahenfo*, or political leaders, from Mankessim. In the 1650s there were a number of Mankessim *ahenfo* residing in Etsi towns. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652: entries for July 25, 1653, and March 5, 9, and 12 and May 24, 1654. For a 1681 reference to Kabes Terra see RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 February 1681 biss den 13 May [1681] auff Friedrichsberg.

82. See, for example, Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria*, 1:210, 430, 441, 442, 444–45; 2:246, 551; 3:110, 111.

83. Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975), chap. 1.

84. For references to towns with seventy or more quarters see, *inter alia*, Brown, *Gold Coast*, 1:61, 105; Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, pp. 61 n. 2, 218; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London, 1951), p. 185; idem, "The Tradition of Tafo (Ashanti)," *THSG* 4, pt. 2 (1960): 31.

85. Elmina, the most populous port on the coast, was approximately two miles in circumference. S. van Brakel, "Eene Memorie over den Handel der West-Indische Compagnie omstreeks 1670," *BHMG* 35 (1914): 95.

86. For Asebu see R. B. Nunoo, "Excavations at Asebu in the Gold Coast," *WASAJ* 3 (1957). For Great Accra see Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Historic Archaeology of Accra," *THSG* 6 (1963): 52, 68; and also E. Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 103; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 110. For Great Komenda (?) see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages*, 6:226–27.

87. Ozanne, "Notes on the Historic Archaeology of Accra," pp. 63, 69; idem, "Notes on the Later Prehistory of Accra," pp. 10, 18; idem, "Ladoku: An Early Town," p. 6; Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," pp. 16, 18.

88. In October, 1657, the Enkassa capital was described as "a very important town." See Daendels, *Journal and Correspondence*, p. 211, entry for Oct. 18, 1816. For contemporary references to Ahanta Abrem see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 16, 25, and 28, 1659, and May 21 and 22, 1660.

89. A map by J. Elandts, dating from between 1653 and 1659, depicts "Abuma" and "Sumane" as large town settlements. See ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 149. Map of the Coast of Guinea between Ioni and Rio da Volta, n.d.

90. Tilleman, *En liden*, pp. 102, 105–6. Also, Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Historic Archaeology of Accra," *THSG* 6 (1963): 68.

91. Ozanne, "Report on Field-Work," pp. 21–22; idem, "Ghana," p. 56; Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," p. 118; E. Effah-Gyamfi, "Aspects of the Archaeology and Oral Traditions of the Bono State," *THSG* 15, no. 2 (1974): 222. Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana* (London, 1958), p. 124; idem, *At the Court of an African King* (London, 1962), p. 168. (See also James Anquandah, "An Archaeological Survey of the Techiman-Wenchi Area," in *Ashanti and the Northwest*, ed. J. Goody and K. Arhin, *RR* supplement, no. 1 (1965).

92. Posnansky, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," p. 158; idem, "Excavations at Begho, Ghana, 1979," *NA*, no. 15 (1979), p. 25; Effah-Gyamfi, "Aspects of the Archaeology and Oral Traditions of the Bono State," pp. 222–23.

93. Struck, "Geschichtliches über die östlichen Tschi-Länder," 470; Brown, *Gold Coast*, 1:105.

94. For Afutu see Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 4. For Great Komenda see John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 154. For Asoko see "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vaisseau 'Le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702*, ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 63. Tibierge says the town had five quarters.

95. Loyer, who visited Asoko in 1702, relates that the town had 200 houses and between 1,000 and 1,200 residents. Godfrey Loyer, "Relations du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, p. 184. However, his estimate of the population probably refers to only one of the town's five quarters.

96. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 12; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," p. 19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111. In the 1690s Great Accra, or rather the site of its ruins, was described as very large; a decade later the site was said to measure several miles in circumference. Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 103; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 110.

97. Brown, *Gold Coast*, 1:61.

98. In the early nineteenth century the town's population is said to have exceeded 10,000. See Larry Yarak, "A Dutch Account of the Asante-Fante War of 1806–1807," *Asantesem*, no. 8 (1978), p. 47. Cf. Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 46.

99. These centers included Yabiew, Ahanta Abrem, and "Ampago," and, between the Tano and Ankobra rivers, "Sumane," "Abuma," "Ilony," "Janfontia," "Maboue," "Maforee," "Bongere," "Chiau," Ankobra, and Abokro, among others. References to these places can be found in the treaties and agreements which the Dutch company concluded with coastal governments west of Axim. See, for example, ARA, ANBKG 222, passim.

100. For the population estimate of the Akwamu state see Marion Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate: The Past Population of the Accra Region" (Paper presented at the African Historical Demography Seminar, University of Edinburgh, April, 1977), p. 281. Tilleman stated that Akwamu had twenty-two large and small towns which could together mobilize 7,000 armed men. Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 106.

101. See Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate," pp. 277–78, 281.

102. For references to the growth of the Accra urban population see Ozanne, "Indigenes or Invaders?", p. 230; Marion Johnson, "Indigenes or Invaders?" *Antiquity* 39 (1965): 59–60. For sixteenth-century agricultural production see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111, 112. Also Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 118. For the situation in the seventeenth century see Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Africaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie*, 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 82; "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324.

103. Tilleman, *En liden*, pp. 110, 114; ARA, WIC 98, Rapport van't geene ons ondergeschreven op en in de reyze na Aquamboe bejegent is, J. van den Brouke and N. du Bois: entry for Mar. 25, 1703. However, Bosman reported that at times Akwamu towns had to import provisions from other places. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 70. See also letters from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 25, 1682; M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Feb. 1, 1687; and R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, May 22, 1687, in "Correspondence."

104. For the estimate see Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate," pp. 277–78, 281. Cf. Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 166, 173, 181.

105. For Fante cf. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 77; Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 46; letter from C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Dec. 14, 1697, in "Correspondence." For the Afutu state see Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 48.

106. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situs Orbis*, trans. and ed. Raymond Mauny (Bissau, 1956), p. 120 (text); Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 8:45.

107. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 65; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 20.

108. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 20. In 1659 it was reported that factionalism and internal dissension were ongoing problems in the port. See KITLV. Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 428. The division between the well-to-do and the poor was doubtless the social basis of the town's domestic conflicts.

109. Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 77, 85.

110. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 206; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 80; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 55. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 210. A fishing canoe carried two or three men.

111. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 194–95; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 74; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages*, 6:202; Barbot, *Description*, p. 170. William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London, 1744), p. 123.

112. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 8:45, 409.

113. For the militia see Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 56.

114. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 191–92; Barbot, *Description*, p. 154; letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Komenda, Jan. 19, 1682, in "Correspondence."

115. For these estimates see K. B. Dickson, *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 68. Bosman estimated that (Great) Kormantse had between 700 and 1,000 fishermen. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 58.

116. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 80; Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 69. For the Afutu town of Simeo see ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634. For other references to this town see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 23, entry for Mar. 7, 1645; p. 67, entry for Aug. 2, 1645; and p. 156, entry for Apr. 4, 1646; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea*, p. 34.

117. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 232–33, 315–17. For the household and retinue of Jan Claessen Cutta, the state treasurer of the Afutu polity from about 1663 to about 1675, see Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 67–68, 110–11. For references to the retinue (*geselschap*) of Amadu ("Amedouw"), the exiled ruler of Kormantse, see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 192, entry for June 27, 1646; p. 194, entry for June 30, 1646; p. 202, entry for July 18, 1646; and p. 205, entry for July 25, 1646.

118. See, among others, KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 416; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 251–52, 255–56; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 82–83; "Relation du voyage fait sur les costes d'Afrique," in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique*, ed. H. Justel (Paris, 1674), p. 74; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 36, 63, 82, 172; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 3, 4, 105, 251.

119. For "dancing houses" see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 179. For "inns" and landlord-brokers see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 49, 255. Also letter from T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, July 28, 1686, in "Correspondence."

120. For military guilds see chapter 4; for merchant guilds see chapters 6 and 7. There are no contemporary references to artisan guilds. However, cf. "Traditional artists belong to guilds or associations, even though they work by themselves. . . . For example, there are separate societies for carvers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, weavers, potters, leather workers, and other craftsmen." Emmuanuel V. Asihene, *Understanding the Traditional Art of Ghana* (London, 1978), p. 50. Also J. B. Christensen, *Double Descent among the Fanti* (New Haven, 1954), p. 73. The origins of the artisan guild system probably date back to at least the sixteenth century. Cf. A. B. Quartey-Papafio, "The Use of Names among the Gas or Accra People of the Gold Coast," *JASO* 13 (1913–14): 173, 174; idem, "Apprenticeship among the Gas," *JASO* 13 (1913–14): 420.

121. For the "brotherhood of nobles" see chap. 3. For references to prostitutes see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 265–66, entry for Nov. 24, 1646; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 228; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 38, 181; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 40; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 211–14. Albert Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978), pp. 230, 231. The early-seventeenth-century word for *prostitute* was transcribed by de Marees as *Etigafo/Etigafou* (equals *een lichte vrouw of een Hoere*).

122. At best, these and other estimates concerning seventeenth-century town populations offer only—to borrow a phrase from Braudel—"the faintest of guidelines." Estimates of the sizes of occupational groups are taken from a variety of seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century sources. For what they are worth these estimates can be compared to figures available for nineteenth-century urban settlements. In early-nineteenth-century Elmina the craftsmen were said to represent 10 percent of the able-bodied adult male population, 5,000 of whom were "fighting men." In Cape Coast, with a population of around 8,000 (1803), there were 150 traders and brokers and 300 to 400 day laborers. See H.

Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa* (1812; reprint ed., London, 1967), pp. 88–89; R. Porter, "The Cape Coast Conflict of 1803: A Crisis in Relations between the African and European Communities," *THSG* 11 (1970): 27, 28–29. The traders, brokers, and day laborers represented between 6 and 7 percent of the Cape Coast population at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Information relating to the coastal town of Beyin ("Bein"), located between Axim and Half Assini, reveals that in the late 1860s merchants and craftsmen comprised less than 3 percent out of an estimated total of 5,000 inhabitants. If petty traders or hawkers are included, this percentage would have exceeded 5 percent. See ARA, ANBKG 1101. Rapport omtrent den staat van het beheer in de afdeeling Apollonia over the jaar 1868; ARA, ANBKG 740. Beschryving eener Reis van Bein naar Oerkfroh en Assanta, J. Chuen, dd. Bein, Sept. 24, 1869. Crafts were more ruralized in the nineteenth than in the seventeenth century. For reference to means of subsistence in various towns and villages in the nineteenth century see J. A. de Marée, *Reizen op en Beschrijving van de Goudkust van Guinea,* 2 vols. (The Hague and Amsterdam, 1817), 1:99, 126, 142, 151, 171, 191, 193, 217–19; H. C. Monrad, *Bidrag til en skildring af Guinea-Kysten og dens indbyggere, og til en beskrivelse over de danske colonier paa denne kyst* (Copenhagen, 1822), pp. 96 n., 136–37, 226–27, 228, 249–50, 251, 252, 253, 254, 299 n. 1, 307 note; C. A. Jeekel, *Onze Bezittingen op de Kust van Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1869), pp. 10, 12, 14, 36–37; ARA, ANBKG 1101. Rapport ontrent den staat van het beheer in de afdeeling Apollonia over het jaar 1868; ARA, ANBKG 1101. Rapport nopens het beheer der afdeeling Apollonia gedurende het jaar 1869; ARA, ANBKG 740. Beschryving eener Reis van Bein naar Fransche poste te Assinie in Nov. 1869, J. Chuen, dd. Bein, Jan. 18, 1870; René Baesjou, ed., *An Asante Embassy on the Gold Coast: The Mission of Akyempon Yaw to Elmina, 1869–1872* (Leiden and Cambridge, 1979), app. 2. Some nineteenth-century towns had fairly high concentrations of craftsmen. In mid-nineteenth-century Accra it was observed that twenty artisans were at work in one of the port's goldsmiths' shops: "some assaying–some melting–others blowing fires with small bellows–more hammering on Lilliputian anvils; others portioning with charcoal, and more fashioning chains for rings or bracelets. . . ." T. J. Hutchinson, *Impressions of Western Africa* (1858); reprint ed., London, 1970), p. 69. For a discussion of the ruralization of crafts within a changing military context see chap. 4 in this volume.

123. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 201, entry for July 14, 1646; letters from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, May 18, 1695; John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Apr. 17, 1698; and R. Sheldon, dd. Dixcove, July 27, 1698, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 6.

124. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 274–77. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 319; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 304, 339–40.

125. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 232–33, 241, 247, 274, 296; Müller, *Die africanische,* passim.

126. For the town of Afutu see Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 2, 102–3, 104, 108–11, 113. For references to other state capitals see, inter alia, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; "Correspondence," passim.

127. For one example, late-seventeenth-century Nyanaoase, the Akwamu capital, see RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Aug. 4, 1688; letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Apr. 22, 1688; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Dec. 17, 1697, in "Correspondence"; Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 105–6, 108; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 14.

128. "Patrimonial domain over land is exercised where control of occupants of land is placed in the hands of lords who inherit the right to the domain as members of kinship groups or lineages, and where this control implies the right to receive tribute from the

inhabitants in return for their occupance. The domain becomes the inheritance of a line of lords, their patrimony."

Prebendal domain over land "is not heritable, but granted to officials who draw tribute from the peasantry in their capacity as servants of the state. Such domains are not lineage domains, then; rather they represent grants of income–*prebends*–in return for the exercise of a particular office." Another form of prebendal domain involved an official's right to a certain portion of the revenues due the state. See Wolf, *Peasants*, pp. 50–51.

129. With respect to the periodization suggested in the Introduction the first situation would correspond to the period of expanded reproduction; the second to that of simple reproduction. Both situations represented different phases or stages in the historical development of the tributary mode of production. The matter, however, is complex, and further research is required before firm conclusions can be drawn. Of relevance here is the political economy of nineteenth-century Asante, which in certain of its aspects bears a resemblance to the second situation. However, see Ivor Wilks, "The Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail: An Essay on Wealth in Asante," *REA* 2 (1979): 23–30; T. C. McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects in the History of the Manwere *Fekuo* of Kumase: An Essay in the Political Economy of the Asante State," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980): 190–202. See also Marion Johnson, "Ashanti Craft Organization," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979): 62–63. 78. 80–81.

130. Slave labor was one of the mainstays of the nineteenth-century regional economy. See "Sir C. MacCarthy to Earl Bathurst, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 16 May 1822"; "Petition of the Principal Mulatto Females of the Gold Coast to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 29 March 1841"; "G. Maclean to Lord John Russell, dd. 13 April 1841"; "Pine to Labouchere, dd. Sierra Leone, 1 October 1857"; "Grievances of the Gold Coast Chiefs, dd. 9 August 1864," in *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of Ghana History, 1807-1957*, ed. G. E. Metcalfe (London, 1964), pp. 74, 161, 162–63, 195, 264–65, 300–301; Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," p. 526. For a general discussion of slavery in West Africa see Martin Klein and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Slavery in West Africa," in *Uncommon Market*.

131. For references to epidemics (*pestelentie*) in the coastal towns in 1646 and 1657 see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 162, entry for Apr. 17, 1646; p. 174, entry for May 8, 1646; p. 176, entry for May 12, 1646; p. 177, entries for May 13 and 17, 1646; and p. 179, entry for May 26, 1646; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. July 13, 1657. A wide range of plants was used in the treatment of various ailments and diseases. See James Petiver, "A Catalogue of Some Guinea-Plants, with Their Native Names and Virtues," *PT* 19 (1695–97): 677–86, for a list of forty medicinal plants with transcriptions of their Akan names. For a general discussion of diseases and disease environments in precolonial African societies see K. David Patterson and Gerald W. Hartwig, "The Disease Factor: An Introductory Overview," in *Disease in African History*, ed. Gerald W. Hartwig and K. David Patterson (Durham, N.C., 1978), pp. 3–11. See also Eugenia W. Herbert, "Smallpox Inoculation in Africa," *JAH* 16, no. 4 (1975); D. Maier, "Nineteenth Century Asante Medical Practices," *CSSH* 21, no. 1 (1979).

132. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Sept. 5, 1653, and Mar. 5 and 12, 1654; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 86; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 111; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; de Marees, *Beschrijvinghe*, pp. 90, 170; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111, 112; Müller, *Die afrikanische*, p. 210.

133. For the Cape Coast "gardens" see Smith, *New Voyage to Guinea*, pp. 126–27; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 45. For references to farms around other towns see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 28, 1659; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), p. 74; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 152, 155, 177, 178, 180; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 183, 191, 194; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 38, 110.

134. Barbot, *Description*, p. 191. Also Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 22, 23.

135. For the caravan traffic see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 87. Also Branco, "Da Mina ao Cabo Negro, 1574–1620," 1:26.

136. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 87; Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 71.

137. For references to daily *millie* consumption and estimated *millie* yields per acre see nn. 30 and 31 to this chapter. It is likely that within the environs of towns the ratio between land under cultivation and fallow land was 1:1. Farming was based on the methods of rotational bush fallow.

138. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 71. For estimated sizes of contemporary African peasant farms see W. B. Morgan, "Peasant Agriculture in Tropical Africa," in *Environment and Land Use in Africa*, ed. M. F. Thomas and G. W. Whittington (London, 1969), p. 243; M. B. Gleave and H. P. White, "Population Density and Agricultural Systems in West Africa," in Thomas and Whittington, *Environment and Land Use in Africa*, p. 279; Wilks, "Land, Labour, and Capital," pp. 491, 494–95.

139. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 70. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 105.

140. Cf. Boserup, *Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, p. 71. It was certainly the case that peasant women went to the town markets regularly, "loaded like mules" (*gheladen als Esels*). De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 64. If the women head-loaded fifty pounds weight each, 200 of them could have supplied a market with 5 tons of produce in one day.

141. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 245, entry for Oct. 16, 1646 and n. 2; and p. 259, entry for Nov. 10, 1646; RA, VGK. Dokumenter angagende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, ført paa Guineakysten af det octr. danskafricanske Kompagnis directør, Kommandant paa Fredriksborg, Bartholomeus von Groenestein, 1667–74, passim (hereafter Regnskab); "Correspondence," passim; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 298.

142. Dierick Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert, 1623*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1913), p. 74. See also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 47, 48–49, 51.

143. Cf. Brun's descriptions of dwellings in Mouri and those in the surrounding peasant farming communities. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 71. Cf. also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 28 and drawing no. 1, pp. 32–33 and drawing no. 2, pp. 35–36 and drawing no. 3, and p. 181 and drawing no. 16. According to de Marees, a peasant (*boer/huisman*) was known as *abofra*. In the seventeenth century this term was used to denote a servant, an attendant, or a person of low social status.

The socioeconomic significance of money rent in precapitalist social formations is underlined by Marx: "The transformation of rent in kind into money-rent . . . presupposes a considerable development of commerce, of urban industry, of commodity-production in general, and thereby of money circulation. It furthermore assumes a market-price for products, and that they be sold at prices roughly approximating their value. . . ." Karl Marx, *Capital*, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1961), 3:797.

144. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:24; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 112–13. For opposition between merchant ("town") and peasant ("country") see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 109. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 421.

145. For food crop production in the Amanfro–Cape Coast hinterland in the 1660s see de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 380–82, 385; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 23, 191, 197, 198, 203ff. Besides *millie* other food crops were grown, but for the purposes of the present discussion only *millie* is considered.

146. With regard to the land tax in the 1650s and 1660s the revenue collector took what he deemed reasonable. The tax assessment was therefore arbitrary and ad hoc in nature. See de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 384–85. A significant portion of the 2 million or more dambas in gold which the Afutuhene regularly distributed among the leading families of the privileged classes must have been derived from peasant production. There is, of course, the widespread ahistorical and determinist (and metaphysical) view that "Black Africa is the

one place in the world where agriculture was least liable to produce a surplus." See Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production," in *African Social Studies: A Radical Reader*, ed. Peter C. W. Gutkind and Peter Waterman (New York, 1977), p. 83. For a similar perspective see Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa* (Oxford, 1971), passim. For a reply to the Goody position see Polly Hill, "Comparative Agrarian Relations in Karnataka (South India) and Hausaland (Northern Nigeria)," *IESHR* 16, no. 3 (1979): 254.

147. It was the responsibility of one state official, the *brafo*, to quell such upheavals. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 113; also p. 38.

148. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 381–82.

149. Cf. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 74–75; Barbot, *Description*, p. 159; "Mémoire ou Relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 40. Also "Correspondence," passim.

150. KITLV, H 67. [Verzameling stukken van commerciele aard der WIC 1652–74.] Verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1662. The towns were Axim, Butri, Takoradi, Shama, Elmina, Mouri, Egya, and Small Accra.

151. The number of chests is based on the assumption that each resident consumed an average of twenty stalks a day. The price per chest given here was the lowest one cited in a Danish accounts journal of the late 1660s and early 1670s. See Regnskab, passim.

152. For salt production at Nkyenefo in the 1660s see Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 251–52. The price for salt is taken from Barbot, who relates that Akwamu traders purchased it from Accra producers at this rate. Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 324–25. An early-eighteenth-century letter suggests that a salt-making center could produce from 200 to 1,000 chests a month. PRO, C 11 3:36 Part 1. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 31, 1722. For some centers the salt-making season lasted five months (November to March); others (for example, Nkyenefo) produced salt the year around.

153. See Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 4–5, 252.

154. Ibid., p. 240. However, cattle prices cited in the Danish accounts journal ranged between 120 and 600 dambas. Regnskab, passim.

155. Most of the cattle and other livestock were bought by the upper classes–*der Reichsten und Vornehmsten im Lande.* Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 240. The Wimba cattle market served not only the Afutu upper classes but also those of other polities. For the livestock trade at the Danish Company's trading posts see Regnskab, passim. Between 1668 and 1672 the Danish commandant of Fort Fredriksborg imported from the Accra state over twenty head of cattle a year.

156. This estimate, which merely posits a probable order of magnitude, can be compared to 1673 Dutch gold purchases at three neighboring ports: Elmina, 1,112,064 dambas; Mouri, 224,586 dambas; Little Komenda, 190,520 dambas. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H 67. [Verzameling stukken van commerciele aard der WIC 1652–74.] 1673 gout ontfang in alle de forten.

157. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 252.

158. The presence of daily markets in these towns indicates that a segment of the population had to buy its food. See James Lange, "An Account of a Voyage Made to Cape Verd and the Coast of Guinea [1622–25], in *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: or, a Compleate Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. John Harris, 2 vols. (London, 1765), 1:389; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 3, 251; letter from Edward Barter, dd. Kwasikrom, July 4, 1695, in "Correspondence."

159. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 February 1681 biss den 13 May [1681] auff Friedrichsberg.

160. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 371–72.

161. Ibid., p. 395.

162. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; Resolutie Boeck: entries dd.

Aug. 22, 1656; Jan. 16, 1657; and Feb. 11 and May 15 and 23, 1664; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. [Expense-accounts for the years 1659–62], passim; "Correspondence," passim.

163. For references to food shortages in the state see ARA, OWIC 56. Arent Jacobsen van Amersfoorst to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Nov. 20, 1640; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 82. Produce was brought from Akwamu, Kamana, Agona, Fante, Afutu, and other places. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 34–35, entry for Apr. 9, 1645; p. 46, entry for May 13, 1645; and p. 89, entry for Nov. 25, 1645; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 6, 1660; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 82, 88; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324. See also Regnskab, passim. Accra food imports presuppose a network of centralized markets which made it possible for food surpluses in certain districts to reach places where produce was in demand.

164. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 67. [Verzameling stukken van commerciele aard der WIC 1652–74.] Verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1661; verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1662; 1673 gout ontfang in alle de forten. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 82.

165. The assumed monetary value of the seventeenth-century Accra-Akyem trade derives from a late-eighteenth-century oral tradition. See Isert, *Voyages en Guinée*, p. 217.

166. See, for example, KITLV, Leiden msc. H 69. Contract gemaeckt tusschen Generael Jacob van der Wel ende den coninck van Groot Accra, dd. the lodge at Small Accra, Aug. 4, 1649; Regnskab, passim.

167. Cf. letters from R. Hassell, dd. Egya, Feb. 19, 1681; R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 2, 1683; and J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, July 18, 1695, in "Correspondence."

168. See letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo May 22, 1687, in "Correspondence." See also Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324.

CHAPTER 2

1. Gilbert Rozman, *Urban Networks in Russia, 1750–1800, and Premodern Periodization* (Princeton, 1976), p. 33. Cf. Gerhard Schmidt-Renner, "Ursachen der Städtebildung," *PGM* 109, no. 1 (1965): 25–29.

2. Cf. R. J. Johnson, *Spatial Structures: Introducing the Study of Spatial Systems in Human Geography* (New York, 1973), pp. 12, 17. One geographer has commented that "the organization of human activity is essentially hierarchical in character" and "human occupance is focal in character." See B. J. Garner, "Models of Urban Geography and Settlement Location," in *Models in Geography*, ed. R. J. Chorley and P. Haggett, reprint ed. (London, 1968), p. 305. See also E. E. Lampard, "Historical Aspects of Urbanization," in *The Study of Urbanization*, ed. P. H. Hauser and L. F. Schnore (New York, 1967), pp. 527–46 passim.

3. Garner, "Models of Urban Geography," p. 305.

4. See Lampard, "Historical Aspects of Urbanization," pp. 530–31, 540, 541, 542, 543, 545.

5. In my view this phenomenon was contemporaneous with the emergence of the "system" of corporate peasant village communities. Previously, urban-based organizations (such as militias) and productive activities (such as crafts) were established or increasingly carried out in rural communities. For the craft villages of nineteenth-century Asante see Marion Johnson, "Ashanti Craft Organization," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979): passim. See also R. S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 301–2, 310; Ivor Wilks, "The Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail: An Essay on Wealth in Asante," *REA* 2 (1979): 23–29 passim. The ruralization of crafts was a precondition for the appearance of periodic general markets in peasant villages. Unfortunately, there exist no detailed histories of markets and marketing in the region. However, see Marion Johnson, "Migrants' Progress," ps. 1 and 2, *BGGA*

9, no. 2 (1964), and *BGGA* 10, no. 2 (1965). Alfred Frischen, "Die Periodischen Märkte des Anlolandes in Sudost Ghana," *Erdkunde* 26 (1972); Vernon G. Fagerlund and Robert H. T. Smith, "A Preliminary Map of Market Periodicities in Ghana," *JDA* 4 (1970). See also Robert H. T. Smith, "West African Market-Place: Temporal Periodicity and Locational Spacing," in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, ed. Claude Meillassoux (Oxford, 1971); B. W. Hodder, "Periodic and Daily Markets in West Africa," in Meillassoux, *Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets.*

6. It is my view that the rise of these towns as imperial administrative centers was closely linked to the emergence of the "system" of corporate peasant communities, the latter serving as the social and military bases of the Akwamu and Denkyira polities. See chap. 4 to this volume.

7. For a discussion of early-eighteenth-century Akwamu imperial administration see Ray A. Kea, "Administration and Trade in the Akwamu Empire, 1681–1730," in *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. B. K. Swartz, Jr., and Raymond E. Dumett (New York, 1980).

8. For Bono Manso and Ahwene Koko see E. Effah-Gyamfi, "Aspects of the Archaeology and Oral Traditions of the Bono State," *THSG* 15, no. 2 (1974): 220, 223–25; Merrick Posnansky and R. Mcintosh, "New Radiocarbon Dates from Northern and Western Africa," *JAH* 17, no. 2 (1976): 166; D. Calvocoressi and Nicholas David, "A New Survey of Radiocarbon and Thermoluminescence Dates for West Africa," *JAH* 20, no. 1 (1979): 16–17; J. Boachie-Ansah, "Excavations at Bonoso and Ahwene Koko: A Preliminary Report," *NA*, no. 8 (1976), p. 29; James Anquandah, "Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, Legon 1976–77," *NA*, no. 10 (1977), p. 31. For Ladoku see Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Later Prehistory of Accra," *JHSN* 3 (1964): 10, 12, 18; idem, "Ladoku: An Early Town near Prampram," *GNQ*, no. 7 (1965), p. 6; Calvocoressi and David, "A New Survey," p. 17; James Anquandah, "The Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Report on 1976/77 Fieldwork," *NA*, no. 10 (1977), pp. 25–26; idem, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," *NA*, no. 15 (1979), pp. 15–18.

9. For references to the establishment of town and village settlements between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries see, for example, Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 5, 12, 28, 32, 36, 37, 40–43, 47, 61, 62, 73; J. Agyeman-Duah, "Mampong-Ashanti: A Traditional History to the Reign of Nana Safo Katanka," *THSG* 4, p. 2 (1960): 21, 22–23; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, "The Tradition of Tafo (Ashanti)," *THSG* 4, pt. 2 (1960): 30–31; idem, "Villages Founded in Nkwanta State, 1650–1750," *GNQ*, no. 7 (1965), passim; Kwasi Boaten, "The Asante before 1700," *RR* 8, no. 1 (1971): passim; K. Y. Daaku, "A History of Sefwi: A Survey of Oral Evidence," *RR* 7, no. 3 (1971): 36–37, 38, 42; S. M. Quartey, "Development of the Human Geography of Ahantaland before 1600," *GSSJ* 4, no. 1 (1977): passim.

10. Paul C. Ozanne, "Ghana," in *The African Iron Age*, ed. P. L. Shinnie (Oxford, 1971), pp. 47–48. For Bighu's dates see Merrick Posnansky, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," *WA* 5, no. 2 (1973): 158; idem, "The Archaeological Foundations of the History of Ghana," in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Ghanaian Historiography and Historical Research*, ed. J. O. Hunwick (Legon, Ghana, 1977), p. 11. For the Dyula trade see Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States, 1500 to 1800," in *History of West Africa*, vol. 1, ed. J. F. A. de Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 2d ed. (New York, 1976), pp. 423–33.

11. For the trade in "Mandinga" textiles and Akani brass basins see chaps. 6 and 7. For a sixteenth-century Moroccan reference to Bighu see H.P.J. Renaud, "La Première mention de la noix de kola dans la matière médicale des arabes," *Hesperis* 8 (1928): 51–52.

12. See Merrick Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," *AQ* 11, no. 2 (1971): 120–21; idem, "The Early Development of Trade in West Africa: Some Archaeological Considerations," *GSSJ* 2, no. 2 (1972): 97–98; idem, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," pp. 156, 157, 158; idem, "Archaeology and the Origins of the Akan Society in Ghana," in *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking et al.

(London, 1976), pp. 51, 52, 53, 56; James Anquandah, "Excavation at the D2 Site on the Dwinfuor Quarter of Beeo," *NA*, no. 7 (1975), pp. 17–18; L. B. Crossland, "Summary of Excavations at the Nyarko and Dwinfuor Sites of Begho, 1975," *NA*, no. 7 (1975), pp. 19, 20, 21; Merrick Posnansky, "Ghana," *NA*, no. 8 (1976), p. 26. For Old Bima and Ahwene Koko see René A. Bravmann and R. Duncan Mathewson, "A Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima'," *IJAHS* 3, no. 1 (1970): 138–39, 141; Boachie-Ansah, "Excavations at Bonoso and Ahwene Koko," p. 29.

13. See Paul C. Ozanne, "Report on Field-Work at Banda and Wenchi," *RR* 1, no. 1 (1965); Paul Ozanne, "Ahwene Koko: Seventeenth-Century Wenchi," *GNQ*, no. 8 (1966), p. 18; R. N. York, "Excavations at New Buipe," *WAJA* 3 (1973); Bravmann and Matthewson, "Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima'"; Jack Goody, "The Mande and the Akan Hinterland," in *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, ed. J. Vansina et al. (Oxford, 1964), passim; Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa* (Oxford, 1968), passim.

14. See, for example, René A. Bravmann, *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa* (Cambridge, 1974), chap. 4 passim.

15. For Kitare see R. Duncan Mathewson, "Kitare: A Preliminary Report," *WAAN*, no. 3 (1965); Frank Willett, "A Survey of Recent Results in the Radiocarbon Chronology of Western and Northern Africa," *JAH* 12, no. 3 (1971): 364. For Akroso Beposo and Duffor Adidome see Oliver Davies, *West Africa before the Europeans* (London, 1967), p. 316; R. Duncan Mathewson, "The Painted Pottery Sequence in the Volta Basin," *WAAN*, no. 8 (1968), p. 29, n. 4. For village and town sites along sections of the Volta river see Oliver Davies, *The Archaeology of the Flooded Volta Basin*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology no. 1 (Legon, Ghana, 1971), pp. 9, 10–11, 18–19.

16. For a reference to inland fairs see Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), p. 255.

17. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Africaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssine*, 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), pp. 82–83, 87, 88. For a reference to the mid-sixteenth-century marketing cycle at Small Accra and Abonse (?) see R. Hakluyt, ed., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904), 6:242–43.

18. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 83.

19. John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 184.

20. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.; RA, VGK, Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Memorial, Christian Cornelissen, dd. Copenhagen, Oct. 16, 1680.

21. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 88.

22. Ibid., p. 86.

23. Letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, July 3, 1698, in "Correspondence." The letter does not refer to Benda by name. The identification of the market town with Benda is assumed.

24. For these markets see ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Rademacher, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

25. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 416.

26. For a general theoretical discussion of "mercantile slavery" see Claude Meillassoux, "Correspondence," *ES* 7, no. 3 (1978): 328–29. For a somewhat different perspective see Jack Goody, "Slavery in Time and Space," in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), passim.

27. Cf. Eustache de la Fosse, "Voyage à la côte occidentale d'afrique en portugal et en espagne, 1479–1480," ed. R. Foulche-Delbose, *RH* 4 (1897): 182.

28. Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), p. 63.

29. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 251–52. For the sixteenth-century Elmina market see John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens, 1979), pp. 50, 90. Also António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana*, 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:90–91, 103; 4:634–35.

30. For landlord-brokers see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 48–50; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf Dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 190, entry for June 24, 1646; and p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; Dierick Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert, 1623*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1913), p. 74. For the terms *aban* (*abban: fortresse*) and *ntontofro* (*tontefrù: ein Schlosse*) see W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), chap. 10; "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 342.

31. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 183–84. For the spatial distribution of ports after 1650 see ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 149. Map of the Gold Coast between Ioni and Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 48. Map of the Gold Coast from Rio de Sueiro de Costa to Pompena, n.d.; ARA, Collectie Leupe nos. 140–142. Maps of the Coast of Guinea from Iseny to the Bight of Benin; Pieter Goos, *De Zee-Atlas ofte Water-wereld waer in vertoont werden alle de zee-kusten van het bekende des aerd-bodems* (Amsterdam, 1668). See also ARA, WIC 98. Relaas en Rapport gedaan door den Heer Dir. Gen. W. de la Palma over de Expeditie gedaan op den Berg van Ankober, aan de rieviere van dien zelven naam mitsgaders van Igwira en Abecrou, en de attacque op her France Fort tot Assine, passim; ARA, WIC 98. Relaas van den Dir. Gen. W. de la Palma zyne reyze na de comptoire Apam en Accra, t zedert den 15 Maart tot den 7 April 1703: entry for Mar. 17, 1703.

32. Da la Fosse, "Voyage à la côte occidentale," pp. 181–82. For settlements on the coast in 1471 see A. Foutoura da Costa, "Descobrimentos portugueses no Atlântico e na costa ocidental africana do Bojador ao cabo, de Catarina," in *Congress de Mundo Português*, 19 vols. (Lisbon, 1940–[42]), 3:243–86; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule*, pp. 7–8. For the use of Islamic weights in late-fifteenth-century Shama see Timothy F. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights: 1:The Origin of the Goldweight System," *THSG* 13 no. 1 (1972): 14–15. For Dyula trade see Wilks, "Mossi and Akan States," pp. 423–33.

33. For mid-sixteenth-century ports see Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages*, 6:193, 195–96, 202, 204–5, 206, 216–17, 218, 224, 225, 226, 228, 240–41, 242–47. See also "Vertoog of Deductie, opgesteld voor de Staten-Generaal der Vereen. Nederlanden, door den Directeur-Generaal van de Nederlandsche bezittingen ter Kuste van Guinea, J. Valckenburgh, waarin de oorsprong en de regtstitels van de bezittingen der Nederl. West.-Ind. Compagnie ter Kuste, worden aangetoond Anno 1656" (hereafter "Vertoog of Deductie"), in *De Oorsprong van Neerlands bezittingen op de kust van Guinea*, ed. J.K.J. de Jong (The Hague, 1871), pp. 52–53.

34. For ports in the second half of the seventeenth century see Goos, *De Zee-Atlas;* H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *HGU* 53 (1932): passim. "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 en 1688," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702*, ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), pp. 7–14.

35. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 58–60. Also ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 66, 76, 79.

36. For references to nonurban settlements see ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; ARA, WIC 98, Relaas van den Dir. Gen. W. de la Palma zyne reyze na de comptoire Apam en Accra, t

zedert de 15 Maart tot den 7 April 1703: entry for Mar. 17, 1703. Cf. also William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 243; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978): 243.

37. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 81, 83, 88, 122–23, 207–8; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Chas. de la Roncière, *Historie de la marine française*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1899–1932), 4:709.

38. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 6, 1660.

39. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vaisseau 'Le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, p. 58. Between 1601 and 1729 the prices cited for two- to twenty-one-hand canoes ranged from 96 dambas to about 5,000 dambas in gold.

40. ARA, Aanwinsten 1902, XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Mar. 19, 1707.

41. For references to the export of produce and food crop production see "Correspondence," passim.

42. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 54; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 209.

43. For a 1688 estimate of the ports' gold exports see "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," pp. 8–14, 29. Regnskab, passim.

44. For taxation at Kormantse, a major port, see ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys der Saacken van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck et al, dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656. For Dutch customs duties and other tax payments at various ports see ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aande heeren bewinthebbers vande geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voor de Voorige verhandelinge, passim. Cf. also Regnskab, debit account of the chartered Danish African Company's current account, passim.

45. For landlord-brokers (*herberge, huisvester, tolken, waerdin, weert*) see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 49–51, 59, 80, 255, 257; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 76, 100, 105; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629. For references to produce markets in the subcoastal towns see Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 3, 251; letters from N. Pepperell, dd. on board *The Discovery*, Mar. 30, 1692; and Edward Barter, dd. Kwasikrom, July 4, 1695, in "Correspondence"; Barbot, *Description*, p. 155.

46. In 1503 the Portuguese built a chapel in the Afutu market square. Mass was to be held every fifteen days. Presumably, it coincided with the town's great periodic market. See Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 1:191–93. For a reference to other subcoastal towns with markets see Valentim Fernandes, "Roteiro Quatrocentisto," in *Os mais antigos roteiros da Guiné*, ed. Damião Peres (Lisbon, 1952), pp. 24–25.

47. For the Volta gold trade see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 1:544; P.E.H. Hair, "Some Minor Sources for Guinea, 1519–1559: Encisco and Alfonce/Fonteneau," *HA* 3 (1976): 33, 34. For archaeological evidence of the Ladoku-Volta trade see Ozanne, "Ladoku: An Early Town," p. 6.

48. A mid-sixteenth-century Portuguese reference to the discovery of "new mines" fifty leagues east of Elmina probably refers to the establishment of a regular gold-trading market at Small Accra. See John W. Blake, *West Africa: Quest for God and Gold, 1454–1578* (London, 1977), pp. 81, 213 n. 34. The Abonse market may date from this time.

49. The town of "Spice," mentioned by de Marees, may be the same as Ladoku. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 90. Also Barbot, *Description*, pp. 185, 186, 215. For much of the seventeenth century gold was not traded for overseas export at Ladoku and the ports east of Osu. See, for example, "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 67–68; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 385–86. Cf. also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 40–41. Following the destruction of the Abonse-Great Accra

urban complex between 1677 and 1680, a gold export trade developed at Ladoku and such ports as Tema ("Alampo"), Lay, and Great Ningo. Barbot, *Description*, pp. 185, 233, 319; letters from J. Perrin and R. Griffeth, dd. Accra, Feb. 23, 1682, and Edward Barter, dd. Alampo [dd. Aug., 1694], in "Correspondence." Slave exports, however, were more important. See "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 14; Barbot, *Description*, p. 186; "Correspondence," passim. See also RA, VGK. Breve og documenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681, 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Febrarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij [1681] auff Friedrichsberg.

50. The origins of the apanages are not known. It is likely these revenue-paying units emerged in the fifteenth century.

51. Conflicts often occurred among officeholders over control over revenues, land, and other property. See ARA, OWIC 11. Fiscal Hendrick Caarlof to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1645*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), pp. 69–70. The judicial systems of the *aman* were a considerable source of revenue for some officeholders. Barbot, *Description*, p. 287; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 191. See also ARA, OWIC 13. Articulen ende conditien beraemt en beslooten tusschen de Edelige Heer Generael Jacob Ruyghaver en den Coningh Aguaffo ofte Commendo in den Jaeren Ao. 1641; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schif Prins Willem op dem 3 April Anno 1652: entries for June 14, 1652, and Jan. 13, 1653; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Februarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij [1681] auff Friedrichsberg; de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 340–41, 367, 369–71; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 106–7.

52. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 395. The revenues received by Afutu tax collectors represented levies imposed on trade and local productive systems. Details concerning the size of tax payments are lacking. However, a capitation tax (*Hooftgelt*) paid by Kwodwo ("Codio"), a trading servant employed by the Danish African Company, amounted to 768 dambas in gold. This may have been his yearly tax obligation. See Regnskab, credit account of Daniel Müller: entry dd. Jan. 22, 1669. Redistribution of the appropriated surplus occurred at the level of the political structure. For a general discussion of taxation in precolonial West African states, see Robin Law, "Slaves, Trade, and Taxes: The Material Basis of Political Power in Precolonial West Africa," *REA* 1 (1978): 37–52. Cf. also T. C. McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects in the History of the Manwere *Fekuo* of Kumase: An Essay in the Political Economy of the Asante State," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980), for a study of the material basis of political authority in nineteenth-century Asante.

53. For "Asimakoe" see ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for July 24, 1653, and May 24, 1654. For Oburum Ankama I see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 46.

54. Specialized periodic markets included slave and livestock markets. See ARA, OWIC 11. Dagregister: entry for June 6, 1660; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 88; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 240.

55. For the "upper croomes" and "bricklayers" see letters from R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Apr. 18, 1688; and T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 2, 1694, in "Correspondence." For "Summanfoecrom" see ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Apr. 9, 1707: letter from A. Schoonhyt, dd. Komenda, Apr. 9, 1707.

56. For archaeological data on urban craft industries in the coastal zone see R. B. Nunoo, "Excavations at Asebu in the Gold Coast," *WASAJ* 3 (1957): passim; Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology of Accra," *THSG* 6 (1963): passim; idem, "Adwuku: Fortified Hill-Top Village in Shai," *GNQ*, no. 7 (1965), pp. 4–5; idem, "Ladoku: An Early Town," pp. 6–7; Oliver Davies, *West Africa*, pp. 242 fig. 80, 243; D. Calvocoressi, "Report on the Third Conference of West African Archaeologists," *WAAN*, no. 12 (1970),

pp. 73–74; D. A. Penfold, "Excavation of an Iron-Smelting Site at Cape Coast," *THSG* 12 (1971): passim; Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project Report," p. 26; idem, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," pp. 16, 18–20. For the Afutu gold mines see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 194–95; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 67–68. See also de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 250, 319–20, 393; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 273–77; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 22, 1660; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for Aug. 14, 1706, and Jan. 28, 1707; ARA, WIC 1166. Memorie betreffende de Portugueesche handel op do Kusten van Guinea, n.d.; letters from A. Richards, dd. Anashan, June 1, 1682; R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 2, 1687; T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 11, 1687; N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Sept. 8 and Dec. 7, 1693; E. Searle, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 7, 1694; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Nov. 7, 1697, in "Correspondence."

57. Unfortunately, the sources do not specify the number of settlements which were located in the environs of the various subcoastal state capitals. See "Copia da carta del capitan de la Mina traduzida em castelhano [1623?]," in *Documentação ultramarina Portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67), 2:482; PRO, T70/5. Letter from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 5, 1706; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for Oct. 3 and 6, 1706; "Correspondence," passim; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111, 112; Barbot, *Description*, p. 175.

58. For villages and hamlets around Little Komenda see ARA, OWIC 43. Rapport en de verthooninghe van de voyage reyse ghedaen met het schip den Neptunis van der Vere door Willem Cunyngham reis naar Kust van Guinea en Brasilie 17 Maart 1625–19 Juni 1626: entry for Oct. 22, 1625; "Correspondence," passim. For the settlements in the Amanfro–Cape Coast area see Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 5; Penfold, "Excavation of an Iron-Smelting Site," passim.

59. For "Sumane" see ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 149. Map of the Coast of Guinea between Ioni and Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Hermann Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam. Nov. 23, 1679. For Kyerepon see letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Oct. 21 and 31, 1686; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Nov. 24, 1697, in "Correspondence."

60. For "Jumoo" province see KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 427; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 20, 1659. For the "Jumoo" governor's town see letters from T. Johnson dd. Sekondi, Feb. 11, 1694; and T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 16 and 24, 1696, in "Correspondence." See also letters from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, May 21, 1695, T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Apr. 6, 1697; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Aug. 3, 1698, in "Correspondence." See also ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI, no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for July 19, 1706: letter from P. C. LeCandele, dd. Shama, July 19, 1706.

61. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 22.

62. For the lower Pra trade see ARA, OWIC 13. Conditien op ordre van de Heer Ruighaver gemaekt met den Koning van Jaby, dd. Aug. 30, 1641; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 427, 429; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H68. Resolutie Boeck voor de Regeringhe wegens de generale geoctroyeerde Westindische Comp. der vereenigh Nederlanden, resideerende binnen de limiten van het noorder District van Africa in Guinea op het Casteel St. George del Mina aanvanckelyck met de directie van den directeur-generael Johan Valkenb. op primo February 1656 loopende tot 10 Juni 1646: entries dd. Apr. 8, 1656, and June 6, 1664 (hereafter Resolutie Boeck); *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis; Or a General View of the World, So Far as Relates to Trade and Navigation* (London, 1728), p. 250.

63. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 359. Also PRO, T70/380. Sundry accounts dr. to stock

capital of the RAC of Eng . . . for the goods, wares . . . and for debts due by sundry persons, . . . dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 1, 1713.

64. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 84–85. Also Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 78.

65. For Abrem produce exports to Elmina see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 74–75. For Abrem trade at Little Komenda see KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 429.

66. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for May 18 and July 25, 1653; Mar. 5, 9, and 12, Apr. 4 and 6, May 7, 11, and 24, and Oct. 25 and 26, 1654. The town of Etsi may have functioned as a caravanserai. See ARA, OWIC 51. J. van der Bergh to The Assembly of XIX, dd. in the yacht *Doendracht* before Mouri, June 22, 1636; ARA, OWIC 56. Arent Jacobsen van Amersfoort to The Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Dec. 17, 1640.

67. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for May 24, 1654.

68. Kabes Terra seems to have been the leading political center in the southern Etsi *afamu,* however the town of Etsi had a larger Akani merchant community. See ibid., passim. Cf. also ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramzoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; RA, VGK. Breve og documenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Februarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij [1681] auff Friedrichsberg. Kabes Terra and Etsi, doubtless, served as markets for neighboring peasant communities. Cf. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Mar. 5 and 12, 1654.

69. For the Sunkwa fish market see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 87; Barbot, *Description,* p. 190. Akani traders traveled through the Sunkwa district on their way to and from the coast. The town where the market was located probably functioned as a caravanserai. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658.

70. For Akwamu trade see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 83; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 324–25. Also Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," pp. 63, 64.

71. For Akwamu merchants' trade at Adanse and Manso see Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 324–25. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 261–62, entry for Nov. 16, 1646; and p. 279, entry for Dec. 15, 1646. For Akwamu-Agona commercial and political relations see KITLV, Leiden msc. 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 437; Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," pp. 63–64.

72. Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," p. 64; idem, "Ghana," pp. 60, 62; Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project Report," p. 26. Also idem, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," pp. 16, 20. These towns were no doubt involved in the aggrey bead (*accory*)–Kwakwa cloth trade of Great Accra. For this trade see ARA, OWIC 11. The director-general to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Frigate *Eendracht* in the roads of St. Thome, Mar. 18, 1647; and the director-general to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 17, 1647.

73. For Dawu pottery "gaming counters" see Thurstan Shaw, *Excavation at Dawu* (London, 1961), p. 54. For references to the use of "counters" or pottery discs as gold weights see Effah-Gyamfi, "Aspects of the Archaeology and Oral Traditions of the Bono State," p. 223; Merrick Posnansky, "Archaeology, Technology and Akan Civilization," *JAS* 2 (1975): 33; Anquandah, "Excavation at the D2 Site," p. 17.

74. For Dawu craft industries see Shaw, *Excavation,* passim. For "counters" at various seventeenth-century town sites see Ozanne, "Ghana," p. 63.

75. See M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State, 1730–1850* (London and Evanston, 1973), pp. 125, 126, 131.

76. Bernhard Struck, "Geschichtliches über die östlichen Tschi-Länder (Goldküste)," *Anthropos* 18–19 (1923–24): 469–70; Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics,* pp. 14–15, 42, 125–28, 131. For urban (?) settlements in the Krobo hills see I. N. Debrah, "Ghana National Museums and Monuments Board: Fieldwork-Archaeology," *NA,* no. 8 (1976), p. 39.

77. For a nineteenth-century account of pre-1700 migrations see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 4–6, 8, 30, 31, 32, 36, 39–41, 42, 47–48, 61–62, 91–92. For the material culture see Davies, *West Africa,* pp. 283–90, 292, 312, 314; Ozanne, "Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology," passim; idem, "Ghana," passim; Anquandah, "Accra Plains Archaeological and Historical Project," p. 20.

78. See Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 190. Also KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 392, 420.

79. See Daaku, "History of Sefwi," pp. 34–36, 44; Albert van Dantzig, "South-Western Ghana and the Akan-Speaking Areas of the Ivory Coast: A Survey of the Historical Evidence," in Hunwick, *Proceedings of the Seminar,* pp. 57–62; Jean-Pierre Chauveau, "Contribution à la géographie historique de l'or en pays baule (Côte d'Ivoire), *JA* 48, no. 1 (1978): 20–21, 27.

80. ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 276. See also ARA, OWIC 8. To General Jan Jochumssen Sticker, dd. Amsterdam, July 7, 1633; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 53, entry for June 2, 1645; and p. 80, entry for Oct. 10, 1645; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: passim; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," passim; letter from T. Buckeridge, dd. Dixcove, May 10, 1694, in "Correspondence."

81. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658.

82. "Encassar grande" is generally identified with the Sefwi area. See Daaku, "History of Sefwi," p. 33.

83. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 420.

84. "Aharia" was known as a "district of great reknown" (*een Lantschap van groote naam*). "Aharia" and "Ahasia" were also the names of towns.

85. Davies, *West Africa,* p. 290.

86. For Aowin as a political power see Daaku, "History of Sefwi," pp. 33–34, 44; van Dantzig, "South-Western Ghana," p. 61. Also PRO, C 113.36. Pt. 1. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 28, 1721. In the 1680s or 1690s Aowin became a tributary of the Denkyira *oman;* around 1715 it became an Asante dependency. Nevertheless, Aowin remained commercially important throughout the period as an exporter of gold. ARA, WIC 97. J. van Sevenhuysen to the Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, May 30, 1701; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts, passim; PRO, C 113.36 Pt. 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; PRO, C 113.36 Pt. 1. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 2, 1720; Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie," pp. 251–52, 260.

87. Between 1681 and 1683 a new ruling dynasty established itself in the area, with Asoko as its capital. The dynasty and its adherents were "Ochin" (=Twi) from Assin ("Issiny"). The conventional date for the establishment of this dynasty is 1670. See van Dantzig, "South-Western Ghana," p. 59: Jean-Claude Nardin and Hermann Spirik, "Un Nouveau document pour l'étude des populations lagunaires de la Côte d'Ivoire du début du XVIIIe siècle: Le voyage du Jean Godot à Assinie (1701)," in *Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences,* ed. Science Council of Japan, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1968), 3:80. Also Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 186–88. The 1681 to 1683 date is

based on the following sources: letter from C. Towgood, dd. ye Ann sloope in Komenda road, Feb. 9, 1683, in "Correspondence"; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienweder, 1694), pp. 52–54, 60, 61–62, 69; Barbot, *Description*, p. 147.

88. For the territorial boundaries of the state see "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 63; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 188, 189. The population figures are based on a 1698 estimate of the state's military manpower resources. See "Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1698 par le Chevalier Damon" in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, p. 77.

89. For these villages see "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 52–53, 54, 58, 59, 63, 64.

90. Ibid., p. 58. See also letter from T. Buckeridge, dd. Dixcove, May 10, 1694, in "Correspondence."

91. The sources do not make specific references to these villages, however cf. Barbot *Description*, p. 147. Also von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung*, pp. 52–53, 59, 69.

92. See "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 66; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 180, 181, 185, 186, 199.

93. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 58, 59, 63, 64; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 188.

94. The sources do not mention communities of craftsmen around Asoko, however it is unlikely that this town differed from other state capitals which invariably had specialized craft villages in their environs. Loyer's account indicates that upper-class Asoko families enjoyed the services of potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, shield makers, umbrella makers, stool makers, and other craftsmen.

95. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 66; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 179–80. The fishermen were known as "Veterez" (=Mekyibo/Ehotile).

96. Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 178–79, 185.

97. Ibid., pp. 179–80. Also Jean Baptiste Labat, ed., *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée îsles voisines et Cayenne*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1731), 1:202–3. "Compas" is to be identified with the land of the Aboure (or Ebrie) people.

98. For the Assini-Axim trade see ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for May 22, 1652; ARA, OWIC 13. Verclaaring van Janso, Matton en Dessang, dd. Axim, May 17, 1656. Also "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 54, 55, 56; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 420; "Relation très curieuse du voyage que M. le Chevalier Damon a fait aux Indes pour faire un établissement à Issigny" in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, pp. 103–4. For the overland route between Elmina and "Abine" see KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, July 13, 1657. This route passed through Axim and extended as far as Assini. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 68. Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. Aug. 22, 1656.

99. See "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 63; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 160, 203.

100. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 62–63.

101. For Aowin ("Adouemy"/"Aouesny"), "Egban," and "Abouga" see ibid., pp. 63, 64; "Relation du voyage de Guynée," pp. 77–78. Also "Relation très curieuse du Voyage," p. 103.

102. "Mémoire ou Relation," pp. 7–8.

103. Cf. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 167, 168, 169, 174, 175.

104. For upper-class profits from trade see ibid., pp. 107, 178. For imported commodities purchased by the upper classes see "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 60–62. The production of terra cotta sculptures, which were placed on the graves of important personages, very likely expanded during this period. Cf. Patricia Crane Coronel, "Aowin Terracotta Sculpture," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979): pp. 34–35.

105. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 62; "Relation du voyage de Guynée," pp. 77–78; "Relation très curieuse du Voyage," p. 103; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 190. Also "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, October 10, 1703," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at the Hague*, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 93.

106. For the probable use of slaves in gold production see "Relation du Voyage de Guynée," p. 76. For references to settlement patterns and craft and gold production sites see Davies, *West Africa*, p. 242, fig. 80; Coronel, "Aowin Terracotta Sculpture," pp. 30, 31, 33–35. Also N. R. Junner, *Gold in the Gold Coast* (Colchester, 1935), pp. 36, 39, 40–50, 66.

107. Coronel, "Aowin Terracotta Sculpture," p. 34.

108. Claude-H. Perrot, "Ano Asemã: Mythe et histoire," *JAH* 15, no. 2 (1974): 209–11 and n. 50. Tibierge refers to Ano Asemã ("Anascheman") in 1692 ("Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 67).

109. For a reference to "Abahiny" see Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 190.

110. Ibid.

111. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 420. By the mid-eighteenth century the Axim-Aowin-Bighu route was no longer in use. See Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 15.

112. Cf. Daaku, "History of Sefwi," passim.

113. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 11–12; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 195. Cf. also ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina 1715–88. Entry for Dec. 13, 1715: letter from Butler, dd. Axim, Dec. 10, 1715; entry for Dec. 31, 1715: letter from Butler, dd. Axim, Dec. 28, 1715; and entry for Jan. 9, 1710: letter from Butler, dd. Axim, Jan. 9, 1716.

114. The combined military forces of Ankobra, Abokro, Egwira, and Axim may be estimated at around 10,000. Cf. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 181. See also ARA, WIC 97. Rapport (aan den Heer Directeur Gener. J. van Sevenhuysen) gedaan door Fiscaal en Commissarissen van haar E. verigtinge en bevindinge in't visiteeren van de Comptoiren bewesten Elmina gelegen soo wegen der selve situatie, . . . W. Bosman et al., dd. Apr. 1701.

115. For gold production in the Ankobra basin see "1516–1619: Escravos e minas de Africa," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes*, ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 6:19; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Goute Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 426, 427; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, Junner, *Gold in the Gold Coast*, pp. 21–24, 26–28, 43–44, 45, 46.

116. See "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:111.

117. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:94, 102.

118. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. "Vertoog of Deductie," p. 56; ARA, OWIC. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 5, 1659; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 423–24.

122. See ARA, WIC 1166. Extract uyt de Declaratie over de Limitscheydinge van't Lantschap Axem, dd. Nov. 25, 1656; ARA, ANBKG 6. Deductie van Johan Valkenburgh directeur generaal over de Noort Custe van Africa op de Replicque de selve by en van wegens Johan Philip Kruysens, commandand der . . . Sweetse Africaanse Comp, . . . dd.

Dec. 16, 1656; "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 54–55; ARA, Legatie Archief Pruisen no. 3665. Papieren en bescheyden dienende tot het tweede lidt van haar hoogh mogende resolutie, dd. June 30, 1687, pp. 16–17.

123. ARA, ANBKG 6. Deductie van Johan Valkenburgh, directeur-generaal over de Noort Custe van Africa, op de Republicque de selve by en van wegens Johan Philip Kruysens, commandant der . . . Sweetse Africaanse Comp. . . . dd. Dec. 16, 1656.

124. ARA, ANBKG 222. Acte van cessie en opdragt des Landschaps Jumoree by de besitters en possesseurs derselve Landstreek, dd. the town Ilony, Jan. 10, 1654; ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys van den persoon van Mena Sirma, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Nov. 25, 1656; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

125. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 149. Map of The Coast of Guinea between Ioni and Rio da Volta, J. Elandts, n.d.; ARA, ANBKG 222. Renovatie der acte van vassalagie door verleend aan de inwoonderen van't Landschap Abripiquem, dd. the town of Maboue, Abripiquem province, Aug. 6, 1658. Also ARA, Collectie Leupe supplement no. 86. Map of the Gold Coast in Guinea, n.d.

126. For Axim's trade see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:93, 102; ARA, OWIC 11. Letter from Heyndrick Caarlof, Fiscaal, dd. Elmina, Sept. 20, 1647; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, Legatie Archief Pruisen no. 3665. Bewys van der Landen Axieme, of Axems Jurisdictie, A. Hogenhoeck et al., n.d.; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts, passim.

127. See ibid., Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Accort tusschen den Generael Jacob Ruyghaver en de Cabeceros van Axim, dd. Axim, Feb. 17, 1642; Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert*, p. 74.

128. For the Axim fishing industry in the 1690s see Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 6. In 1679 it was reported that most of the port's residents were fishermen. Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 281.

129. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653. See also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 6, 1659; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 421, 423–24. For the salt-making villages near the Axim port see Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie," p. 253.

130. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 2, 1681, in "Correspondence." See also PRO, T 70/365. Sundry accounts dr. to Sekondi factory, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 31, 1679, and charges of merchandise, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 30, 1680; letters from T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 11, 15, and 30, 1687, in "Correspondence"; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Aug. 14, 1706; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 149–50.

131. Cf. letter from T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 11, 1687, in "Correspondence." Canoes ranged in size from the two-hand fishing canoe to the twenty-one-hand trading canoe.

132. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 421; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 2–3. In January, 1682, *millie* imported from Anomabo was retailed in Axim at the rate of 144 dambas a chest. This price was more than twice the current rate in Anomabo. See letters from R. Thelwell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 12 and 13, 1682, in "Correspondence."

133. For this trade see Bosman, *Description*, p. 54; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 209.

134. ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Jan. 21, 1707; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 298. See also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Aug. 12, 1693.

135. In December, 1679, the Royal African Company factor at Sekondi bought seven

canoes at Axim for a combined cost of 9,456 dambas in gold; transporting the canoes from Axim to Sekondi cost an additional 2,428 dambas. The total cost of the canoes amounted to 11,884 dambas. See PRO, T70/365. Sundry accounts dr. to Sekondi factory, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 31, 1679. It may be assumed that monthly canoe sales exceeded 9,000 dambas in gold. There is no information on the volume or monetary value of the Axim salt trade. A 1659 report relates that the salt trade to Egwira was "of great importance." KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 426. For a general account of coastal salt production, see Barbot, *Description*, pp. 205–6; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 207–8.

136. See "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 8.

137. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 5–6; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 193.

138. Cf. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 86; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

139. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:110–11; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 271, 272, 273; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324; A. Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), pp. 12, 21; KITLV, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. Also E. Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om de landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 118.

140. For Akyem see ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 86–87; de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 212–13; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. See also IOLR, E/3/25. Letters from [James Conget], dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 8, 1658; and Nicholas Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 437–38; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 324, 336–37; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 118.

141. For the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries see maps 1.4 and 1.6. For the seventeenth century see ARA, OWIC 58. J. Ruychaver to the Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, Nov. 15, 1642; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 85, entry for Nov. 2, 1645; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

142. For an eighteenth-century perspective of these developments see L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 25, 26, 27, 112, 116, 132–33.

143. See Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 47, 51, 52, 60.

144. See Paul C. Ozanne, "The Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," Ashanti Research Project, First Conference (Legon, Ghana, 1964), pp. 53–54 and fig. 2; Kwasi Boaten, "Asante before 1700," passim. See also R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929; reprint ed., Oxford, 1956), pp. 73, 131, 160, 198, 218, 235; idem, *Ashanti* (1923; reprint ed., London, 1955), p. 281 n. 2.

145. See J. K. Fynn, "The Etsi of Ghana," *GSSJ* 3, no. 2 (1976): 96, 98, 99, 109. For the seventeenth-century capital of the Twifo *oman* see J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972). Apparently, a considerable area around the capital contained farms and farming villages. Cf. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 86.

146. Referring to the site of Asantemanso, Rattray wrote: "[The] forest around for miles is dotted with these mounds [kitchen-middens] and the whole of this area along the bank of the Asuben river must, at some remote period, have been the site of a great settlement" (*Ashanti*, p. 122). The town of Dampon, in the Asante-Akyem district, also covered an extensive area of land. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 53.

147. Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria,* II, p. 246.

148. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–16.

149. For Asumegya see T. Lewin, "The Structure of Political Conflict in Asante, 1875–1900," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1974), 2:199. For Akani trade throughout the area see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 218, entry for Aug. 18, 1646; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 97, 271, 272, 273. Elmina merchants regularly traded in the towns north of the Pra. See Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 29; Abraham Bogaert, ed., *Alle de Werken van W. V. Focquenbrock,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1723), 2:430.

150. Ozanne, "Archaeological Contribution to the Ashanti Research Scheme," pp. 54, 56; Oliver Davies, "The Archaeological Evidence for the Iron-Age in Ashanti," Ashanti Research Project, First Conference (Legon, Ghana, 1964), pp. 47–48; idem, *West Africa,* pp. 287, 313.

151. See Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* chap. 4, passim; Boaten, "Asante before 1700," passim. Also ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

152. Cf. Rattray, *Ashanti Law,* pp. 72, 78, 131, 256, 344; Boaten, "Asante before 1700," p. 61; K. A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 88–89; Ivor Wilks, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion" (Paper presented at the African Studies Association meeting, Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 14–16, 17. The states with formal administrative hierarchies can, perhaps, be classified as "mercantile"; here the towns served, inter alia, as places where the peasant surplus was convered to money (gold). States without these hierarchies can be classified as "agrarian"; here the peasant surplus was not realized as cash but as labor and produce. The ruling families in the "mercantile" states may be said to have been concerned with the production and marketing of gold and the management of trade. Those in the "agrarian" states were concerned with the acquisition and clearance of land and the management of land and land rights. See n. 165 to this chapter.

153. For the problem of banditry in certain coastal polities in the early seventeenth century, see "1516–1519: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:24.

154. Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 116; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 272. Also ARA, Collectie Leupe no 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

155. See, for example, Rattray, *Ashanti Law,* pp. 169, 199, 217, 218, 235, 256–57; Agyeman-Duah, "Mampong, Ashanti," pp. 22–24; Boaten, "Asante before 1700," pp. 55, 57, 58–60; K. Y. Daaku, "Pre-Ashanti States," *GNQ,* no. 9 (1966), pp. 12–13; Wilks, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," pp. 12–13, 17–18. Various oral histories stress the importance of hunters and blacksmiths in the founding settlements. Hunters were largely responsible for the demarcation of the boundaries of farms (see Ivor Wilks, "Land, Labor, Capital and the Forest Kingdom of Asante: A Model of Early Change," in *The Evolution of Social Systems,* ed. J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands [Pittsburgh, 1978], pp. 509–11). Blacksmiths, on the other hand, provided the tools necessary for farming.

156. See Rattray, *Ashanti Law,* p. 257; Wilks, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," p. 17. Can one speak about the growing commercialization of land in the seventeenth century? The economies of the Pra-Ofin basin states were monetized and their trade was expanding. The currencies were gold dust and iron discs or bars. See Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* p. 47; Rattray, *Ashanti,* pp. 323–24; idem, *Ashanti Law,* pp. 257 and 258, n. 1. Cowrie shells were not used as currency in these polities, although they were apparently imported. See letter from W. Cooper, dd. Egya, June 7, 1694, in "Correspondence," which relates that a group of Akani traders bought 2,284 dambas' worth of cowries (*bouges*). (For Marx's brief comments on West African iron and cowrie currencies, see Karl Marx, *Grundrisse,* trans. Martin Nicolaus [New York, 1973], pp. 166–67.) In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries land and settlements were regularly bought, sold, and mortgaged

(pawned). See, for example, B. M. Christiansen, "Breve fra og om Guinea," *Valkyrien* 2 (1831): p. 274; A. van der Eb, "Inboorlingenrecht van de Kust van Guinea, 1851," *BTLVN-I* 88 (1931): 293; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 86, 275–76; McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects," pp. 192, 197–98; Wilks, *Asante,* pp. 106–9, 251, 342, 567.

157. J. Berry and L. Yarak, "Linguistics and Akan Historical Reconstruction" (Paper presented at "Workshop on the Akan: Problems of Research and Teaching," Northwestern University, April, 1978), p. 4. Also Wilks, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," p. 12–13, 17.

158. Berry and Yarak, "Linguistics and Akan Historical Reconstruction," pp. 3–4 and app.

159. Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," pp. 508–11; idem, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," passim. Bowdich, in his historical account of pre-eighteenth-century Asante, refers to "an emigration of numerous enterprising or discontented families." T. Edward Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* 3d ed. (1824; reprint ed., London, 1966), p. 229. See also Kwame Arhin, "The Structure of Greater Ashanti, 1700–1824," *JAH* 8, no. 1 (1967): 67.

160. Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," pp. 517–21; idem, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," pp. 8–12.

161. Davies, *West Africa,* p. 205.

162. Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," pp. 522–26. Also idem, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," pp. 16–17. The organization of free and/or unfree labor into work teams engaged, for example, in construction was a common practice in the coastal *aman.* See, for example, Hans Jacob Zur-Eich, *Africanische Reiszbeschreibung in die Landschaft auf der Guineische Goldkust gelegen* (Zurich, 1677), pp. 97–98; letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Oct. 15, 1683; and N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Apr. 12, 1694, in "Correspondence."

163. Cf. Wilks, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," pp. 14–17. The emergence and consolidation of the peasant village system may be said to have denoted a change in the relationship between the state and the peasant cultivator. The latter was able to acquire greater control over the disposal of the agricultural surplus. With respect to the division of labor between town and village there occurred a change in the spatial distribution of the forces of production: markets and craft industries, for example, were increasingly established in rural communities.

164. Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," pp. 511–17, 522–26. Unfortunately, there are no quantifiable data on the amount of forest land cleared by agricultural production teams between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries or on increases in annual food crop production during this period. The *mmusua-kese* set labor power into motion by coordinating the mobilization and cooperation of unfree laborers in agricultural production. Organizationally, they had a tendency towards wide-ranging recruitment of manpower. They served the social needs of certain wealthy *obirempon* families, when, under the conditions of an expanding and a flourishing economy, competing demands for land, money, and material resources were high.

165. That is, the preconditions for the emergence of the *mmusua-kese* included urbanization, the separation of commerce and production, and the expanding internal accumulation of trading capital. (Cf. Wilks, "State of the Akan and the Akan States," pp. 18–21.) The *mmusua-kese,* however, were linked to production, not to trade and marketing. They were organized around the control of land and labor and the management of land rights; they may be said to have represented a division of labor engendered by an expanding agricultural economy. The ruling families of the "agrarian" states were largely responsible for the *abusua-kese* form of social organization. Both functionally and organizationally the *mmusua-kese* differed from the merchant-broker corporations ("captaincies") of the Akani (Assin) trading estate and the "brotherhood of nobles." The corporations and the "brotherhood"

were social organizations associated with the upper classes of the "mercantile" states. Like the *mmusua-kese,* they were class organizations.

166. For this characterization of the *mmusua-kese* I have relied on Delafosse's study of the *jamu/yettode* corporations of the Western Sudan. Maurice Delafosse, "Des soi-disant clans totémiques de l'Afrique Occidentale," *RETP* 1, no. 2 (1920): passim.

167. Cf. ibid., p. 106: "Seulement la société est ainsi constituée en cette contrée qu'il n'y a pas d'autres groupements que ceux ayant à leur base les familles nobles: les prolétaires sont tous les clients, les serts ou les esclaves des nobles et se sont tous répartis entre les diverses familles nobles ou les divers groupes de familles nobles." Cf. Ellis's account of twelve *mmusua-kese* of the late nineteenth century: "Tradition says that the whole of the Tshi-speaking tribes are descended from these twelve families, and this is borne out by the fact that members of them are found in tribes most widely separated. In fact, these twelve divisions are common to each one of the Tshi-speaking tribes." A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of Africa* (1887; reprint ed., Oosterhout N.B., The Netherlands, 1970), p. 207. See also van der Eb, "Inboorlingenrecht van de kust van Guinea," p. 294; John Parkinson, "A Note on the Social Organization of the Peoples of the Western Gold Coast," *Man* 11 (1911): 2–3; J. B. Christensen, *Double Descent among the Fanti* (New Haven, 1954), pp. 22–29.

168. This reformulation of social organization—and hence of social ideology—may have been the source of a novel injunction: *Obi nkyere obi ase:* "one does not disclose the origin of another." See Rattray, *Ashanti Law,* p. 65.

169. Ibid., passim; Wilks, *Asante,* pp. 110–13.

170. During the 1680s (or perhaps somewhat earlier) the Denkyira *oman* came to dominate most of the polities in and around the Pra-Ofin basin; during the 1690s it established its hegemony over states and districts located as far westward as the Tano basin. See, for example, J. K. Kumah, "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Denkyira," *GNQ,* no. 9 (1966), pp. 34–35. Asante military history can be divided into three periods: wars of consolidation in the late seventeenth century, a war of liberation against Denkyira at the turn of the century, and wars of expansion in the first half of the eighteenth century. See Ivor Wilks, "The Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail: An Essay on Wealth in Asante," *REA* 2 (1979): 8. Large-scale warfare presupposes particular kinds of social organization which made the mobilization of mass armies possible.

171. For a mid-seventeenth-century reference to banditry in and around the area see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 88. A praise poem of the Asantehene relates: "You slew Werekyerewerekyere [highwaymen] and made the paths safe." See Kwame Arhin, "Asante Military Institutions," *JAS* 7, no. 1 (1980): 23, 29 n. 54. The *Werekyerewerekyere* presumably flourished in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; cf. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 182.

172. For Asante political and military organization see Wilks, *Asante,* passim; McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980): passim; Arhin, "Asante Military Institutions"; pp. 24ff.; idem, "The Structure of Greater Ashanti"; George P. Hagan, "Ashanti Bureaucracy: A Study of the Growth of Centralized Administration in Ashanti from the Time of Osei Tutu to the Time of Osei Tutu Kwamina Esibe Bonsu," *THSG* 12 (1971): passim; Emmanuel Terray, "Contribution à une étude de l'armée asante," *CEA* 16, nos. 1 and 2 (1976). Cf. also Immanuel Wallerstein, "A World-System Perspective on the Social Sciences," in *The Capitalist World-Economy, Essays by Immanuel Wallerstein* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 156–59.

173. Cf. Wilks, *Asante,* pp. 101, 194–96, 690–91; idem, "Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail," pp. 28–30. See also Edward Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807–1874* (London, 1974), pp. 25–26; Kwame Arhin, *West African Traders in Ghana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1979), passim.

CHAPTER 3

1. Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 217–18. Also John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 270.

2. The majority of these words appear in the seventeenth-century vocabulary lists of Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), and Barbot, *Description.*

3. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 150. Thus there were sharp social distinctions between the great or principal men/women on the one hand and the "vulgar people" or "meaner sort of people" on the other.

4. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 32–33, 255. See also J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (Basle, 1881).

5. For linguistic divisions in the southern Gold Coast in the seventeenth century see P.E.H. Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *JAH* 8, no. 2 (1967): 260–61; idem, "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Lower Guinea Coast before 1700, Part II," *ALR* 8 (1969): 229, 230, 231, 243 n. 41, 245 nn. 45, 47.

6. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 32–33, 255; Müller, *Die africanische,* chaps. 9, 18. In the early sixteenth century local merchants were designated *cavaleiros mercadores* by the Portuguese. See António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 1:430.

7. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 113, chap. 9. For a discussion of the etymological and social-historical meanings of *Edel* and *Edelleute/Edelman,* see A. Gurevich, "Representations of Property during the High Middle Ages," trans. Tanya Baker, *ES* 6, no. 1 (1977): 1–7.

8. *Ofahene:* the master, head, overlord of a part or section of something, namely wealth or property in the form of land and/or people (estate). Cf. *Fidalgo:* lit., the son of something (*filho,* "son"; *algo,* "something") or a son to whom his father had something to leave, namely an honor and estate; hence noble, gentleman.

9. And, one might add, money lending. The *afahene*'s mode of existence was based on landed property and the appropriation of use values; the *abirempon*'s on trade and the realization of exchange values. In a general sense *ofahene* and *obirempon* were synonymous: both designated persons of high social status.

10. Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), pp. 165, 171.

11. Ibid., pp. 166–67, 203.

12. Ibid., p. 174.

13. Johannes Rask, *En kort og sandferdig reise beskrivelse til og fra Guinea* (Trondheim, 1754), p. 90, and also p. 171.

14. For the terms *owura* and *fram* see Christaller, *A Dictionary.*

15. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 62, 91, 92, 99, 107, 254; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 76, 82. A *Stättlin* or *Flecken* was a market town.

16. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 187–88; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 266.

17. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 254; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 101, chap. 9; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 64; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 187–88. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 266. It has been suggested that the title *ohene* originally meant "settler of the boundaries" or "prefect of the marches," and that it comes

from *ohi* (= *ohye*), "boundary." See J. C. De Graft Johnson, "The Significance of some Akan Titles," *GCR* 2, no. 2 (1927): 212–13.

18. John Barbot, *Description,* pp. 417, 418. See also "Journal d'un voyage de Traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 342: *capitaine,* "opparé"; p. 343: *roy,* "oddikourou," *reine,* "oddikourouai," *leurs enfans,* "oddikourouba."

19. See Christaller, *A Dictionary.*

20. ARA, WIC 122. Verbond gemaeckt tusschen . . . Nicholaas Sweerts, Directeur-General . . . ende Amoissie Assirvie, Coninck, Assirvie Amoissie, Fetere, ende Affere Takij, Tjamj, . . . dd. the town of Aguaffoman, Jan. 14, 1688; PRO, T70/376. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 16, 1699.

21. There were, of course, many settlements which carried the names of their founders or current rulers. They are too numerous to list here. Other ways of designating a settlement existed: "Summamfoecrom," or Asumanfokrom, village (or town) of priests; "mareen-scroom," or Marinikrom, village (or town) of the revenue collector; "Poters durp," or village of the farm (*plantagie*) owner.

22. See Christaller, *A Dictionary.* Cf. "*ahoprafo,* from *oho-nya,* 'wealth' and *pra,* 'to sweep up, gather up'; hence, perhaps, 'those who gather up wealth'" (Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* [Cambridge, 1975], p. 696 n. 118).

23. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 352–53; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 177, 182; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1642,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), pp. 47, 49; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 75.

24. See de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 314–16, 394; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 33–34, 100–101, 133, 176, 178; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 129, 151–54, 155–59; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 118–19, 135–36. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 113, 119, 120. Also Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 69, 84–85, 145.

25. Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 203. During the second half of the seventeenth century commoners of the coastal polities (Asoko excepted) were granted the right to trade freely with the Europeans.

26. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 350–51; Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d. ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 113; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 174–75, 177.

27. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 350–51.

28. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes,* ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 6:24. See also Dierick Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert, 1623,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1913), p. 74.

29. Dapper, *Beschrijvinghe,* p. 113.

30. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 47. Most commoners, of course, remained commoners.

31. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 174; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 47.

32. The description of the ceremony is taken from de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 173–77; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 47–49. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 351–52.

33. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 174–75, 177; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 47–48. One of the expenses of the Danish factors at Fort Christiansborg was the presentation of gifts to those in the Accra Kingdom who recently had been ennobled (*dennem som lader sig giør til Adel paa deris Fast*). RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Forteignelse paa de slags ware om udi Guinea blifver trocken, n.d. but after May 29, 1679. A benda was equivalent to 768 dambas.

34. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 74. *Aura-jaba* is evidently a transcription of *owura-yeda.* See Christaller, *A Dictionary.*

35. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 177.

36. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 352; PRO, T 70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 31, 1720.

37. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 135–36; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 119, 120. Cf. also "Part of Two Letters from Mr. J. Hillier dated Cape Corse, Jan. 3, 1687/8 and Apr. 25, 1688. Wrote to the Reverend Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity Colledge, Oxon," *PT* 19 (1695–97): 689.

38. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 135.

39. Ibid., p. 136; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 120.

40. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 136; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 120. The wealthy Cape Coast trader Jantie Snees (died c. 1675) had two shields, two shield bearers, and fifteen to twenty horn blowers. See de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 315. A shield bearer was called *osokyem.* See Müller, *Die Africanische,* chap. 9: *osocjem, ein Schildtrager.* According to De Marees a trumpeter or horn blower (*Trompetter*) was called *branbe.* See de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 257. Cf. Müller, *Die Africanische,* chap. 10: *abrobenfi, ein Trompete.*

41. Paul Oettinger, ed., *Unter Korbrandenburgischer Flagge: Deutsche Kolonial-Erfahrungen vor 200 Jahren: Nach dem Tage-buch des Chirurgen Johann Peter Oettinger* (Berlin, 1886), p. 46.

42. Müller, for example, refers to the *Weiber, Kebsweiber, Kinder, Blutsfreunde, Anverwandten, Schwagerschafft, Sclaven,* and *leibeigene Knechte* and *Magde* of a prominent family (*vornehmen Geschlecht*). Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 116–17, 144, 174, 178–79, 279, chap. 6. Bosman uses the term "friends" (*vrienden*) to express the notion of the large extended family. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 198–99, 202–3, 204; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978): 226, 228, 250 n. 1. See also L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 113–14.

43. For a detailed account of the *abosom* and *asuman* see Müller, *Die Africanische,* pp. 43–86 passim, 279. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 263–65; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 147–48, 153–54. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 251.

44. See, for example, Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 178–79.

45. Barbot, *Description,* p. 419; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 255; Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 9. See Christaller, *A Dictionary.* Cf. T. C. McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects in the History of the Manwere *Fekuo* of Kumase: An Essay in the Political Economy of the Asante State," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980): 191–92.

According to de Marees, a married female slave was known as *akobahiro.* The term *abofra,* which meant a servant or attendant (*ein gemeiner Diener oder Auffwarter*), is used here to denote the category of bonded free persons. In the early seventeenth century *abofra* also meant "peasant."

46. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 297–98; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 182–83; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 140–41. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 122.

47. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 296–97; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 183; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 179. Also Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 203.

48. For the archaeological evidence relating to the presence of "Donko," or northern, slaves in seventeenth-century Twifo-Heman see J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Caste Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), pp. 95–96, 97, 108–9, 111. For "Donko" slaves at Elmina in the eighteenth century see "Contracts with Natives [dd. September 2, 1739]," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague,* trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 345.

49. See John Vogt, "The Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade with Mina, 1500–1540," *IJAHS* 6, no. 3 (1973).

50. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:93; Alberto Iria, "Da fundação e governo do Castelo ou Fortaleza de São Jorge da Mina pelos Portugueses e da sua accao misionária após o descrobimento desta costa," *Studia,* no. 1 (1958), p. 53.

51. For the Winneba slave market see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 88.

52. See Vogt, "The Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade." For a further discussion of slave imports see chap. 5 herein.

53. J. Berry and L. Yarak, "Linguistics and Akan Historical Reconstruction" (Paper presented at the "Workshop on the Akan: Problems of Research and Teaching," Northwestern University, April, 1978), p. 4.

54. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 69.

55. K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 55, entry for June 11, 1645; and p. 159, entry for May 8, 1646; letters from A. Richards, dd. Anashan, Oct. 19, 1681; D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 20 and May 5, 1683; T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, July 17, 1686; T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 5, 1694; and W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Apr. 25, 1695, in "Correspondence."

56. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 254. *Bebere* (*bebiri*) means "much, many." *Anihumanifo* is a cognate of *akwanihumani* (*akoa anihumani*), "a person of no rank, of low social condition."

57. Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 17. In a personal communication Professor Ivor Wilks of Northwestern University has suggested that *odofo* is formed from *do,* "to increase, to become numerous," and *fo,* "people," hence the "numerous people," the "masses," the "commonalty."

58. For commoners as subjects and revenue producers see Barbot, *Description,* p. 287; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58–60, 98, 105–10, 118, 195; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 188, 191–92. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 268.

59. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 24, entry for Mar. 9, 1645; pp. 228–29, entry for Sept. 15, 1646; and p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 347; letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 20, 1683; T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1686; W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Sept. 25, 1686; J. Carter, dd. Whydah, Nov. 22, 1686; T. Stephenson, dd. Sekondi, June 26, 1692; J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Mar. 3, 1694; J. Brown, dd. Anomabo, July 12, 1697; and C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, Mar. 3, 1698, in "Correspondence."

60. The references are numerous. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim. "Correspondence," passim; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 363, 391; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 69–70; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 38, 56.

61. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 384–85; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 118. See also IOLR E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661.

62. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 116. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Contract gemaeckt met den Coninck van Accra, dd. In the court of the king of Great Accra, Aug. 20, 1642; KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Acte van opdraght van den Bergh Conge ten behoeve vande West Ind. Comp. der Vereenigde Nederlanden, dd. in the town of Asebu, Mar. 21, 1657; KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Acte van Sessie en opdragt der Comendese strant, Terra Pequenine, en den aencleren van dien gedaen by den Coninck en Oppersten des Lantschaps Aguaffo ten profyte van Wel. Ed. Generale Geoctroyeerde West Indische Compagnie, dd. In the town Great Komenda, Mar. 12, 1659; ARA, OWIC. Opdragt van Cabo Cors aan de Sweedse Comp., dd. May 28, 1650; ARA, ANBKG 222, passim; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. [Treaty between the Danish African Company and Afutu], dd. Dec. 20, 1659; "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 55–56.

63. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 384–85; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 118. For peasant

market trade see de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 251–53, 254–56; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 62, 63–66; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 251–54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 71. Also letters from R. Hassell, dd. Egya, Feb. 19, 1681; N. Pepperell, dd. on board the *Discovery,* Mar. 30, 1692; J. Gregory, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 10, 1692; and J. Brown, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1698, in "Correspondence." De Marees called the peasants' rent, or land tax, *lant pacht* (that is, *landpagt*); de Bellefond called it *cens.*

64. Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 60.

65. For references to markets in Assin see KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 416; PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 12 and Sept. 15, 1698; PRO, T70/374, King and country of Arcanyes dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 31, 1699. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 58, entry for June 30, 1645; p. 218, entry for Aug. 18, 1646; pp. 227–28, entry for Sept. 12, 1646.

66. Trade, like fiscal administration, formed part of the Assin state apparatus. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 417–18.

67. For the "king's rent" and merchants' tolls see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58–59, 118. Also, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 220–21, entry for Aug. 22, 1645. For the *ahenfo/abrafo,* or captains, see ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 65, 66, 76, 79, 81; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 91–92, 103–4; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 76, 82.

68. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 43. Rapport en de verthooninghe van de voyage reyse ghedaen met het schip den Neptunis van der Vere door Willem Cunyngham: entry for Oct. 22, 1625; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 10, entry for Feb. 5, 1645; p. 201, entry for July 14, 1646; p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; and pp. 270–71, entry for Dec. 1, 1646; ARA, OWIC 13. Opdragt van Cabo Cors aan de Sweedse Comp., dd. May 28, 1650; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 85.

69. For references to the levying of judicial fines see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 103–10; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 76–77.

70. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 118.

71. Ibid., pp. 101, 118.

72. Ibid., pp. 58, 92, 95, 100, 182–83; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 338–41, 347–48, 349–50; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 102, 104, 105. Also Victor Granlund, *En Svensk Koloni i Afrika eller Svenska Afrikanska Kompaniets Historia* (Stockholm, 1879), pp. 10, 20.

73. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58, 90.

74. ARA, WIC 122. Origineel contract van vreede tusschen de witte en roode aarde volkeren, dd. Elmina, Sept. 15, 1715; ARA, WIC 122. [Contract] onder de naam van witte en roode aarde volkeren, dd. Butri, Sept. 18, 1717. "White-earth" and "red-earth" peoples did not denote the names of "clans" (or "tribes") but rather *titres d'honneur* or *titres de noblesse.* They may be said to have specified *l'idée d'ordre historique et social et non d'ordre religieux.* See Maurice Dealfosse, "Des soi-disant clans totémiques de l'Afrique Occidentale," *RETP* 1, no. 2 (1920): 105–9.

75. Ratelband, *Vijg dagregisters,* p. 23, entries for Mar. 6 and 6, 1645; and p. 24, entry for Mar. 9, 1645; ARA, OWIC 11. J. A. van der Wel to the Assembly of XIX, dd. the frigate *Eendracht* in the road of the island St. Thome before Fort St. Sebastian, Mar. 18, 1647; letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 20 and May 5 and 8, 1683; J. Walker, dd. Anomabo, Aug. 13, 1687; T. Stephenson, dd. Sekondi, June 26, 1692; W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, May 3, 1695; J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, June 15 and 16 and July 12, 1697; T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, July 20, 1697 and Feb. 6, 1699, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T70/374. Captain of Abra dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 11, 1697; and Profit and loss

dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 29 and 30, 1697; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902, XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den opper coopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for May 1, 1706; de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 363. See also Rømer, *Tilforladelig Efterretning,* p. 271.

76. Barbot, *Description,* p. 258. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 295, 319–20; Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), pp. 109–14; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 190, chaps. 9 and 13.

77. IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659.

78. IOLR, E/3/26. [Treaty between the East Indies Company and Afutu], dd. Jan. 18, 1660.

79. Letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Dec. 15 and 22, 1686, and Jan. 8, 1687; and T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Apr. 12, 1694, in "Correspondence."

80. Hans Jacob Zur-Eich, *Africanische Reiszbeschreibung in die Landschaft Fetu auf der Guineischen Goldkust gelegen* (Zurich, 1677), pp. 97–98. Also Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 21–22.

81. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652: entry for June 12, 1652.

82. Ibid. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Acte van opdraght van den Bergh Conge ten behoeve van de West Ind. Comp. der Vereenigde Nederlanden, dd. the town Asebu, Mar. 21, 1657.

83. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 1, 1653.

84. Ibid., entry for Apr. 11, 1654.

85. Ibid., entries for Oct. 3, 4, and 6 and Dec. 1, 1653.

86. Ibid., entry for May 24, 1654.

87. Ibid., entry for Sept. 5, 1653.

88. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 125. For other rulers, such as the *ahenfo* of the Afutu town of Simeo and the Adom province of Mampa, who had "domains" similar to "Hennefried"'s, see ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634; letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 12 and 27 and Oct. 3 and 15, 1683, in "Correspondence." For another *ohene,* Anim, the *underfetere* of the Eguafo *oman,* see PRO, T70/374. Anim underfetere of Eguafo dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 12, 1698.

89. See letters from T. Blinsham, dd. Sekondi, Mar. 16, 1688; T. Stephenson, dd. Sept. 9 and Nov. 6, 1691, and June 26, 1692; and C. Clarkstone, dd. Dixcove, Sept. 26, 1692, in "Correspondence." Cf. John Kabes of Little Komenda, who in the 1690s had jurisdiction over about seven farming, fishing, and salt-making villages. Letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 5, 1694, in "Correspondence," Also: "Lanimo . . . who was the first king of Krobo, was both priest and King, and Sodshe of the town Kayikpo was the most powerful general of the priest, having the command of 16 towns directly under him." Lanimo and Sodshe probably held offices during the second half of the seventeenth century (between 1650 and 1680). Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), p. 73.

90. See, for example, letters from H. Vincent, dd. Dixcove, Apr. 21 and May 4, 1697, in "Correspondence." Cf. also ARA. VOC WICS 1166. Deductie opgesteldt by de Churfurstelycke Brandenburghsche Africaensche Compagnie, tot beweering van haer recht, om te varen ende handelen op ende langhs de Kust van Guinea, dd. circa 1687, pp. 6, 12, 14, 15, 23–24, 25.

91. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vraisseau 'Le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* pp. 52–53, 58, 63, 64.

92. See Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 168–69, 171, 203, 204 ff, 217–18.

93. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 54, 58, 59, 63, 64; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 188.

94. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 66; "Relation très curieuse du voyage que M. le Chavalier Damon a fait aux Indes pour faire un établissement á Issigny (1702)," Roussier, in *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, pp. 97–100; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 178–79, 187–88, 208.

95. See, for example, Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 161–62, 166–67.

96. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 62–63; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 167, 179, 180, 190, 203–4; "Relation très curieuse du voyage que M. le Chavalier Damon a fait," pp. 102–3. Cf. also "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, Elmina, 10th October 1702" in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, pp. 92–93.

97. Barbot, *Description*, pp. 240–41. See also de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 232–33; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 174; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 80, 108–9, 145.

98. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 78, entry for Oct. 1645; p. 153, entry for Dec. 14, 1645; and p. 236, entry for Sept. 28, 1646; PRO, T70/365. Charges of merchandise, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 30, 1680; PRO, T70/369. RAC to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 8, 1683; PRO, T 70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 31, 1720; "Correspondence," passim; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 299–300; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 65–67, 69.

99. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 11. Hendrick Caarlof, fiscaal, to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; PRO, C 113.36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 55–56; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 45, 46, 51; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea*, pp. 69–70; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 60, 61, 85, 106–7, 137–38, 145.

100. Wealthy persons, such as traders, were frequently appointed to political posts. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 37, 64–65; K. Y. Daaku, "Aspects of Precolonial Akan Economy," *IJAHS* 5, no. 2 (1972): 246. Cf. also "Part of Two Letters from Mr. J. Hillier, dated Cape Corse, Jan. 3, 1687/8 and Apr. 25, 1688," p. 688.

101. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 110–11.

102. Contemporary observers seldom made explicit the distinction between stool property and family or personal property. For the successors to and inheritors of Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay's office, the *dayship*, and personal property see Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 109–10, 286–87. Tay's debts with the Danish African Company—the debts comprising stool and personal debts—were "inherited" by Jan Claessen Cutta, who succeeded to the *dayship* in 1663, and by "Aurore" and "Manson," the inheritors of Tay's personal or family estate. Regnskab, Credit account of Sigmundt Jenisch: entry dd. July 18, 1669, and debit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry dd. June 5, 1672.

103. See, for example, Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 74 ff, 101–14. Also de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 247, 329–47 passim; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *HGU* 53 (1932): 254–55; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 193–95. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 269.

104. ARA, VGK. Dag-Journaler fǿrt paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for May 24 and 29 and June 3 and 6, 1700. For references to other tribute levies see letters from Edward Barter, dd. Alampo [August 1694] and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Dec. 7, 1695; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 86; Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie," p. 257.

105. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–31. A. P. Waerǿe et al. to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Sept. 8, 1730; RA, VGK. Gaeldbǿger fra Guinea 1723–1733, passim. See also ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Oct. 10, 1706; RA, Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1705–22. Knud Rost to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Dec. 10, 1719.

106. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 354–56, 364–70, 371, 383–84; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 103–4, 106–10, 116–17; Müller, *Die Africanische,* pp. 125–26.

107. ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aende heere bewinthebberes der geoctroyeerde Westindische Comp. voor de voorige verhandelinge, passim, and Dagregister van 2 April [1646] tot 11 May 1646, passim. See also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim.

108. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Forteignelse paa de slags ware som udi Guinea blifver trocken, n.d. but after May 29, 1679.

109. See de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 274; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 217–18; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 149–60. Also Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 59–60, 72–74.

110. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 69. Accort tusschen den Generael Jacob Ruyghauer en den Cabeceroš van Axem, dd. Axim, Feb. 17, 1642; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 51, entry for May 25, 1645; and n. 4 and p. 68, entry for Aug. 7, 1645; "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 63–64; ARA, OWIC 13. Ordre beraamd tusschen de Gen. Jasper van Heusen en de Caboceros van Chama waar na de visschers van Chama, en die Tol van de visch ontvangen sig sullen regulieren, dd. Nov. 13, 1660; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 79; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58–60; S. van Brakel, "Eene Memorie over den Handel der West-Indische Compagnie omstreeks 1670," *BMHG* 35 (1914): 95; Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie," pp. 252–53, 255, 258–59.

111. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 11. Hendrick Caarlof, fiscaal, to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; letters from W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, May 3 and Nov. 19, 1695; and T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, July 2 and 20, 1697, in "Correspondence"; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 69–70; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 113–14.

112. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 395. Also Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 106–7.

113. Letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Nov. 24, 1686, in "Correspondence." RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. H. von Suhm to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Feb. 8 and 18, 1725.

114. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 395, also pp. 341–44; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 98–99. Also Barbot, *Description,* p. 292.

115. RA, VGK. Sekretprotokoller ført paa Christiansborg i Guinea 1723–1750: H. Suhm, dd. Christiansborg, Jan. 1, 1727. For references to officials appointed to serve in the ports of Sekondi, Little Komenda, and Egya in the 1680s see letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Oct. 5, 1683; W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Nov. 16, 1686; and W. Cross, dd. Egya, Feb. 7, 1688, in "Correspondence."

116. Cf. letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Feb. 1, 1687; J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Mar. 3, 1694; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Dec. 7, 1695, in "Correspondence"; RA, GK. Palaberbog 1776–77. [Account of the Akwamu war by Athee, broker at Osu], J. Giønge, dd. Christiansborg, Dec. 11, 1776.

117. Barbot, *Description,* p. 287. See also letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Dec. 8, 1686, and April 30, 1687; and J. Bloome, dd. Accra, July 7, 1695, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 191.

118. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 11. The fiscal, H. Caarlof, to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; letters from R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Jan. 15 and 23, 1688; T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Jan. 22, 1696; T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, July 2 and 20, 1697; J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, July 12, 1697; G. Gore, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 7, 1699; and C. Salmon, dd. [February 1699], in "Correspondence"; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 69–70.

119. The term "administration" was used in two senses. First, it was used to denote the management of public affairs and public authority in general (that is, *Gouvernement, Regiering(en), Regimen(t)*) and those in charge of or responsible for public affairs, *Betiente, ministris, Ryks Grooten, Øvrighed*). Second, it referred to the control, command, or dominion (*Gevalt, Gewalt, Herredømme, Heerschafft*) exercised by powerful individuals (*grosse Herren,* "great caboceers"). In the seventeenth century the concept of ruling, governing, commanding, and having control or dominion over was conveyed by the words *bra* (or *bara*), "to

make, enact a law or laws, to order with authority, to lay an injunction upon, to command, esp. to forbid, prohibit", and *mmara*, "law, commandment, order, decree, edict, regulation, rule, statue." See Christaller, *A Dictionary*.

120. For Akwamu and Denkyira cf. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 64, 65, 70, 72–73, 74–75, 76; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 93–94, 95, 96, 97–99.

121. For references to a deceased Fante *amaradow* or ruler see letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Nov. 8 and Dec. 31, 1686, in "Correspondence." *Amaradow* (or *amrado/amradow*) is derived from *mmara* (see n. 119 to this chapter), and is generally defined as "governor." See Christaller, *A Dictionary*. The Fante ruler also carried the title of *brafo*, as did the rulers, or "captains," of towns. *Brafo* evidently derived from *bra* and denoted one who made or enacted laws. This title also had a military connotation: *Voorganger of Voorvechter*, "the one who goes first and fights first." See Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 57; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 210, 216 n. 60. Cf. also Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 113.

122. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 108–9, 113, chap. 9. See also RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, passim; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specifiicatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.

123. Barbot, *Description*, pp. 286, 290.

124. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 275–76, entry for Dec. 6, 1646; IOL, E/3/26. Letters from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659; and Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Jan. 14 and Mar. 1, 1660; RA, TKUA. Akter og dokumenter vedr. d. Afrikanske Komp. i Glückstadt og Kolonier paa Guinea-kysten. Letter from G. van Tetz to Johan Claessen, dd. Amsterdam, Tuesday or the King's day in the month after the rainy season, 1660; PRO, T 70/374. RAC to sundry, dd. Apr. 28 and June 1, 1687; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 67, 68, 109, 112; Granlund, *En Svensk Koloni*, pp. 62–63, 132; N. de Roever, "Twee Concurrenten van de Eerste West-Indische Compagnie," *OH* 7 (1889): 201. From about the 1640s until his death in 1662 Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay served as the *day* of the Afutu state.

125. Prior to 1654 the *brafo* was Jan Ahenekwa (died 1656); he was succeeded by his son "Aheno" (or "Ahene") (died c. 1670). For Ahenekwa see ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Mouri, Feb. 3, 1634; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 79, entry for Oct. 4, 1645; p. 159, entries for Apr. 8 and 9, 1646; pp. 166–67, entry for Apr. 20, 1646; p. 189, entries for June 20 and 21, 1646; p. 190, entry for June 24, 1646; and p. 257, entry for Nov. 7, 1646; ARA, OWIC 13. Opdragt van Cabo Cors aan de Sweedse Comp., dd. May 28, 1650; ARA, OWIC 10. Letter to Joannes Valckenburgh, dd. Amsterdam, Aug. 16, 1656; Granlund, *En Svensk Koloni*, pp. 10, 20, 21; de Roever, "Twee Concurrenten van de Eerste West-Indische Compagnie," p. 201; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea*, pp. 33–34.

126. Barbot, *Description*, pp. 172, 290. Also "Part of Two Letters from Mr. J. Hillier, dated Cape Corse, Jan. 3, 1687/8 and Apr. 25, 1688," pp. 687, 688.

127. See PRO, T70/365. Sundry accounts dr. to the current for goods and merchandise, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 12, 1679; PRO. T 70/365. Charges of merchandise, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 30, 1679; PRO. T 70/365. Sundry accounts: charges to merchandise, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 31 and Sept. 30, 1680; PRO. T 70/369. RAC to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 8 and Dec. 11, 1683, and Mar. 10, 1684; PRO. T70/378. Dey and Fettera of Fettue dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 25, 1702; PRO. T70/378. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 18, 1702; Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie," pp. 254–55.

128. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 105. The *piafo* of the Afutuhene was the equivalent of the Eguafohene's "cash-keeper." For references to the latter see letters from W. Cross, dd. Nov. 19, 1686, and Apr. 30, 1687, in "Correspondence."

129. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 104, chap. 9. Also PRO, T70/365. Sundry accounts, dd.

Cape Coast Castle. Apr. 30, 1680; Barbot, *Description,* p. 290; Bosman *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 193–95. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 269.

130. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 101.

131. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 113–14. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 271–72, entry for Dec. 1, 1646; and pp. 275–76, entry for Dec. 6, 1646.

132. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 55, entry for June 11, 1645; and p. 159, entries for Apr. 8 and 9, 1645; ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Mouri, Feb. 3, 1634; ARA, OWIC 7. The Swedish Director H. Caarloff to the Director-General J. Ruychaver, dd. Cape Coast, July 23, 1651; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 33–34.

133. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 55, 59–60, 61–62, 72–74, 75. Also PRO, C 113.36, Part 2. No. 1010: Letter from [Sir D. Thomas., dd. Cape Coast, 1709?].

134. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 75.

135. Barbot, *Description,* p. 299.

136. These and other political titles are referred to in many of the sources. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 13, passim; ARA, WIC 122, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 no. XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Damaert, passim; "Correspondence," passim.

137. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from N. Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d. For the chief royal merchant of Ladoku see Barbot, *Description,* p. 186: "One Sante, a famous Black, used to manage the commerce by the King of Lay's appointment; he settled the prices of slaves, according to their sex and age, as also of the European goods. . . ."

138. Letter from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Feb. 7, 1688, in "Correspondence."

139. Letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Nov. 16, 1686, in "Correspondence."

140. See, for example, letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Oct. 5, 1683; C. Clarkson, dd. Dixcove, Dec. 29, 1692; and J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Mar. 3, 1694, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Sept. 21, 1688.

CHAPTER 4

1. Peter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het Deel van Africa,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), pp. 91, 254.

2. J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (Basle, 1881).

3. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 179.

4. See, for example, RA, VGK. Breve og Dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), p. 114; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 164, 165, 177, 179. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 255, 261 and n. 20. The *manceboo* are referred to in a Portuguese document of 1513. See A. Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), p. 20.

For studies of Fante *asafo* companies see Ansu K. Datta and R. Porter, "The Asafo System in Historical Perspective," *JAH* 12, no. 2 (1971); Ansu Datta, "The Fante Asafo: A Re-examination," *Africa* 42 (1972); I. Chukwukere, "Perspectives on the Asafo Institution in Southern Ghana," *JAS* 7, no. 1 (1980). For general discussions of warfare and military organization in West Africa see Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa*

(Oxford, 1971), chap. 3; Robert S. Smith, *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-Colonial West Africa* (London, 1976).

5. See, for example, ARA, VVWIS 116. Copie van't contract tusschen den Directeur-Generaal der WIC. Thomas Ernsthuysen ende Cabussiers Van't dorp Taccarady, dd. Nov. 23, 1682; letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 22, 1681; R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 18, 1682; and N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Nov. 3, 1694, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T70/383. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges there dr. to sundry accounts, . . . dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 24, 1717. Cf. also letters from N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Sept. 21, 1693, and April 12, 1694, in "Correspondence."

6. See Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 15; ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for Jan. 30, 1715: letter from J. Boerhaven, dd. Bereku, Jan. 17, 1715.

7. For the term *kwa-asafo* see Christaller, *A Dictionary;* G. A. Acquah, *The Fantse of Ghana* (n.d.), p. 13. For the term *mancebo* see K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 68, entry for Aug. 7, 1645, and n. 5; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 177. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 261 and n. 20. ARA, WIC 122. Contract gemaeckt wegens het stabileeren van de logie tot Zaccondee tusschen den Ed. Heer Directeur Generaal Thomas Ernsthuysen en de caboceers van Zaccondee, dd. Nov. 23, 1682; ARA, WIC 122. Contract gemaeckt wegens het stabileeren van de logie tot Accoda tusschen den Ed. Heer Directeur Generaal Thomas Ernsthuysen en de caboceers van Accoda, dd. Dec. 12, 1682. Also ARA, VVWIC 1166. Copie van't contract gesloten tusschen den Directeur-Generaal der Nederlandsche West Indische Compagnie Thomas Ernsthuysen ende cabussier van't Dorp Taccarary, dd. Nov. 23, 1682; ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by de Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry for Jan. 5, 1684.

8. "Relation du voyage fait sur les costes d'Afrique," in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique,* ed. H. Justel (Paris, 1674), p. 74; PRO, T70/372. RAC to sundry, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 1, 1687; PRO, T70/373. RAC to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 1690; PRO, C 113.36 Part 1. No. 1664: letter from J. Phipps, [dd. Cape Coast Castle, 1717?]; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 135–36.

9. ARA, OWIC 13. Order beraamd tusschen de Gen. Jasper van Heusen en de Caboseros van Chama waar na de visschers van Chama, en die Tol van de Visch ontvangen sig sullen regulieren, dd. Nov. 13, 1660; letter from R. Elwes, dd. Egya, July 20, 1687, in "Correspondence." See also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 83–84, entry for Oct. 24, 1645; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 112.

10. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652: entry for Apr. 22, 1653; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Aug. 9, 1688; letters from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, Apr. 23 and May 1, 1695, in "Correspondence." The damba was a gold weight, 384 of which equalled one once troy weight.

11. See letter from E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Mar. 13, 1695, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 8, 279–80. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 101. Regnskab, Credit account of Ando: entry dd. Nov., 1668.

12. Payments were made in gold and merchandise. See, for example, letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 22, 1681; J. Walker, dd. Anomabo, Aug. 13, 1687; and H. Vincent, dd. Dixcove, Apr. 21 and May 4, 1697, in "Correspondence."

13. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.

14. PRO, T70/360. Sundry accounts to James Nightingale, factor for Anomabo and Egya, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 31, 1684; PRO, T70/373. RAC to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec., 1690; PRO, T70/381. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges there dr. to

sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 30 and Aug. 31, 1714; letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, July 5, 1687, in "Correspondence."

15. See ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; letters from H. Sheares, dd. Cape Coast briganteen in Allampo road, Aug. 25, 1683; T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Sept. 4, 1693; H. Vincent, dd. Sekondi, May 23, 1698; John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Apr. 17, 1698; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, May 14 and 17 and Aug. 3 and 15, 1699, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 5–6.

16. Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, "Da Mina ao cabo Negro, 1574–1620," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portugueses,* ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 1:26; António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 7:389; 8:44.

17. For a discussion of the size of the Elmina population see chap. 1. The 1640s were seemingly a period of population growth in the port: houses of stone were apparently being constructed in considerable number. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 12, entry for Feb. 11, 1645.

18. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

19. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 19, 1653; E. Tilleman, *En Liden enfoldig Beretning om det Landskab Guinea og dets Beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-Kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 80; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), p. 85. As a rule fishermen were not mobilized as a military force in times of war.

20. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Feb. 19, 1653; Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Africaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 79. Two of the Kormantse quarters were known as Nkum ("Incom") and Bantsier ("Bantier"). See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 83–84, entry for Oct. 24, 1645.

21. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 79; letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 26, 1681, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 56. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 210. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 201, entry for July 14, 1646.

22. Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 55–56; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 8:409. Also ARA, WIC 97. Rapport (aan den . . . Directeur Gener. J. van Sevenhuysen) gedaan door Fiscaal en Commissarissen van haar E. verigtinge Elmina, gelegen soo wegen der selve situatie, . . . W. Bosman et al., n.d.

23. Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 58.

24. P. Verhoog and L. Koelmans, eds., *De reis van Michiel Adriaanszoon* (The Hague, 1961), p. 245, entry for Jan. 5, 1665; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 20.

25. Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 75–76; "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. G. Debien et al, *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 305, Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 6.

26. Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 74. Around 1681 the Cape Coast militia reportedly numbered 700 or 800. See John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 298.

27. Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 90, 97.

28. ARA. Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Apr. 28 and Oct. 3 and 4, 1653; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne og deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.

29. See, for example, letters from H. Vincent, dd. Dixcove, Apr. 21 and May 4, 1697, in "Correspondence."

30. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 98. Also Barbot, *Description,* p. 292.

31. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 70–71; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 96.

32. "Description of Rivers, Capes, Places and Towns in Africa," in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1675–1676,* ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1893), p. 329. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 82.

33. Letter from E. Jacklin, dd. Whydah, Oct. 13, 1692, in "Correspondence"; Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 113–14, 129–30; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 70, 329, 395–96.

34. As well as militiamen. See Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 340–41.

35. Letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 21, 1681; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, June 20, 1695, in "Correspondence." Also Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 108–9.

36. Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 108.

37. Oheneba Sakyi Djan, *The "Sunlight" Reference Almanac of the Gold Coast Colony and Its Dependencies* (Aburi, Gold Coast, 1936), pp. 131–32.

38. Ibid., p. 132.

39. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," in Cordeiro, *Viagens, explorações,* 6:24; ARA, OWIC 51. Johannes van der Bergh to the Assembly of XIX, dd. in the yacht *Doendracht* before Mouri, June 22, 1636; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 84, 88; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 187, 188. See also "Vertoog of Deductie," p. 56.

40. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 263, entry for Nov. 17, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 28, 1653.

41. Cf. "Resolutions of the director-general and Council, Elmina: entry dd. August 26, 1717," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague,* trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), pp. 195–96: "It is abundantly clear that [Jan] Conny [of Pokoso] wants to dominate these Aximse as their lord and master by buying a group of robbers who, under the guise of being Assjantynse, pretend to have been sent in the name of the Zaay of Assantyn in order to mediate in these matters."

42. Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 36, 37.

43. For gold exports from the Accra polity see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 82–83; Barbot, *Description,* p. 185. Also K. Ratelband, ed., *Reizen naar West-Afrika van Pieter van den Broecke, 1605–1614* (The Hague, 1950), pp. 35–36, entry for Feb. 1, 1609; "Copia da carta del capitan de la Mina traduzida em castelhano [1623?]," in *Documentação ultramarina Portuguesa,* 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67), 2:481; KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Contract gemaeckt tusschen d' Hr. Generael Jacob van der Wel ende den Coninck van Groot Accra, dd. the lodge at Small Accra, Aug. 4, 1649.

44. Letter from E. Jacklin, dd. Whydah, Oct. 13, 1692, in "Correspondence."

45. In April, 1698, it was reported that "the Arcanyes" had given "the Cabbess country" 100 bendas (76,800 dambas) in gold in order to obtain military assistance against Denkyira. In June of the same year the Dutch director-general of Elmina gave the Denkyirahene 150 bendas (155,200 dambas) and "Adampo's mother" gave him 200 bendas (153,600 dambas) in gold to induce the Denkyira ruler to attack Eguafo. See letters from C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Apr. 10, 1698, and Anomabo, June 4, 1698, in "Correspondence." Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 179–81, 191; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 262–63, 268.

46. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 174, entry for May 7, 1646; p. 255, entry for Nov. 5, 1646; and p. 257, entry for Nov. 7, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Feb. 19, 1653; letters from W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, May 16 and June 21, 1695, in "Correspondence." Also "Resolutions

of the Director-General and Council at Elmina: entry dd. February 15, 1712" in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* pp. 164–65.

47. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 36.

48. Ibid., p. 88; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 76.

49. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 88. Cf. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 12, 1652; de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 334; Müller, *Die Africanische,* p. 104.

50. Barbot, *Description,* p. 155. Elsewhere Barbot relates that "Inchero, King of Commendo, [had] generally 200 men attending him as his guards" (p. 292). Also, letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1696, in "Correspondence"; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Sept. 1, 1706.

51. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vaisseau 'Le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), pp. 64–65; Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny" in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 220.

52. For Jan Ahenekwa see Michael Hemmersam; *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1645,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), pp. 33–34, and also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 257, entry for Nov. 7, 1646. For Acroissan Tay (or Jan Claessen Acroissan Tay) see IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659. Tay seems to have had an exceptionally large number of personal guards. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Feb. 9, 1654; RA, TKUA. Nederlandene A II. 1657–72. Akter og dokumenter vedr. d. Afrikanske Komp. i Gluckstadt og Kolonier paa Guineakysten. Letter from G. van Tetz to Johan Claessen, dd. Amsterdam, Tuesday or the King's day in the month after the rainy season, 1660; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 109–10.

53. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from N. Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; letters from J. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Mar. 31, 1686; and T. Stephenson, dd. Sekondi, June 26, 1692, in "Correspondence."

54. See, for example, Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 220.

55. Letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 22, 1681, and July 8, 1687; R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Mar. 11, 1688; and W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Apr. 6 and June 21, 1695, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T70/383. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 29, 1716; PRO, T70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 31, 1720. "Bendefoe" was perhaps a trahscription of Bandifo or Bandefo.

56. PRO, T70/370. Sundry accounts to James Nightingale, factor for Anomabo and Egya; dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 31, 1684; letters from J. Gregory, Anomabo, Dec. 24, 1691; and K. Hutson, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 28, 1698, in "Correspondence."

57. PRO, T70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 30, 1720; PRO, T70/387. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 30, 1723. Also PRO, C 113. 36. Part 1. No. 1664: letter from J. Phipps dd. Cape Coast Castle, [1717?].

58. See, for example, letters from R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Mar. 11, 1688; and W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Apr. 6, 1695, in "Correspondence."

59. ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for June 20, 1715: letter from G. Henrix, dd. Apam, June 16, 1715; PRO, T70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 30, 1720.

60. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 21, 1681, in "Correspondence."

61. Thus by the early 1750s Abora had five *asafo* companies: "Bentafoos," "Denkras," "Oorampis," "Ancobias," and "Rysams." Each was headed by a "captain" or "colonel" under the authority of the "captain general of Abora." See PRO, T70/1695. Names of those who took the oath at Cape Coast Castle Feb. 6, 1753, and signed the recognition.

62. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 181; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 263.

63. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 181; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 263.

64. A multiplier of five—the ratio of men fit to bear arms to the total population—would yield a gross population estimate of 820,000; a multiplier of eight would give an estimate of 1,312,000. In a recent discussion of nineteenth-century Asante demography Marion Johnson states that "the multiplier for most Akan states seems to be nearer eight than four." M. Johnson, "The Population of Asante, 1817–1921: A Reconsideration," *Asantesem,* no. 8 (1978), p. 25. Also Ivor Wilks, "The Population of Asante, 1817–1921; A Rejoinder," *Asantesem,* no. 8 (1978), pp. 28–29.

65. L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 111, 120. Also Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 103–4; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 68, 110; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 182, 184, 185; Marion Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate: The Past Population of the Accra Region" (Paper presented at the African Historical Demography Seminar, University of Edinburgh, April, 1977), pp. 273, 277–78, 281, 283.

66. Letters from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, May 22, 1682, and Mar. 14 and 22, 1683: M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Sept. 30 and Oct. 21 and 31, 1686, and Jan. 25 and Mar. 15, 1688; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Nov. 24, 1697, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Dag-Journaler, ført paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Mar. 1, 2, and 8, 1702; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. J. Thrane to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, May 29, 1703. Also Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate," pp. 273, 283, 285, 287.

67. Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 105–6; RA, VGK. Guvernør og andre betjente i Guinea vedk. 1723–54. A. Wellemsen to the directors, dd. Copenhagen, July 11, 1731. The rather heavy concentration of population in and around the capital is further suggested by the fact that the area regularly imported produce, especially after 1700. See letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Feb. 1 and Mar. 14, 1687, in "Correspondence"; PRO, C 113.34. Part 1. Letter from J. Phipps to J. Stevenson [Dixcove], dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 25, 1716; ARA, ANBKG 88. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for June 9, 1721. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 70; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 95.

68. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea, 1722–1731. A. P. Waerøe et al. to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Dec. 24, 1730; RA, VGK. Relationer om forholdene i Guinea, 1733–1748. J. Sparre to the directors, dd. Copenhagen, Feb. 4, 1734; ARA, ANBKG 97. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: letter from F. W. Gawron, dd. Apam, Sept. 17, 1730; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 110, 154. Also Johnson, "Census, Map and Guesstimate," pp. 273, 287, 289.

69. RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler fra Guinea, 1698–1721, 1723–54: entries for Sept. 15 and Nov. 9 and 16, 1730, and Feb. 6 and Apr. 14, 1731, and Dec. 16 and 26, 1732; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 154–58.

70. See Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 81, 82. Also "Elmina journal: entry for November 27, 1709: letter from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, October 15, 1709," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 146; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 56. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 210.

71. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 18, 1688, in "Correspondence." "Eggin" was presumably the same Egyin Eduenu who ruled over the Kurenstidom (or Kurentsi Amammfu bron) of Mankessim. See E. J. P. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante Reader,* 2 vols. (London, 1929), 1:77–78.

72. "Particulars of our voyage (in Capt. Reynold's ship) on the coast of Africa, dd. April 1665," in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1661–*

1668, ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1880; reprint ed., London, 1964), p. 244; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 81.

73. Certain accounts give the impression that Akron and Esikuma-Breman ("Toquoa") were well populated. See letters from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 12, 1683; N. Pepperell, dd. on board the *Discovery*, Mar. 30, 1692; and N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Sept. 21, 1693, in "Correspondence." By the 1740s many settlements in the northern districts of Akron had been destroyed, and the area had been severely depopulated. See Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 110–11.

74. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 181, 243–44; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978): 241. Cf. PRO, T70/11. Letter from S. Humfryes et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 12, 1689; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Sept. 3, 1706.

75. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 181; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 263.

76. Barbot, *Description*, p. 294; H. Sieveking, "Die Glückstädter Guineafahrt im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Stück deutscher Kolonialgeschichte," *VSW* 30 (1937): 49.

77. Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Monseradoe in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbados," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. A. Churchill, 6 vols., 3d ed. (London, 1746), 6:410.

78. In March, 1718, it was reported that an Aowin army "returned from Assiantyn with a considerable booty, including 20,000 women and children. . . ." The figure is no doubt inflated, however it suggests that at least parts of central Asante were densely inhabited. "Elmina Journal: letter from Munickhoven to director-general Butler, dd. Axim, March 21, 1718," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 188.

79. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 181.

80. See, for example, IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from Nicholas Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; letters from R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Jan. 23, 1688; and T. Wilson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1696, in "Correspondence"; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 296, 297; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 120.

81. ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

82. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 81. Also ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

83. Barbot, *Description*, p. 293.

84. Ibid., p. 294.

85. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 220.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., pp. 219–20, 224–26.

88. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 70–71; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 96.

89. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 15, 1687, in "Correspondence."

90. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 3, 1687, in "Correspondence."

91. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 51, 71; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 96.

92. For references to priests and priestesses in the coastal polities see, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 274; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 59–61; letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 7, 1687, in "Correspondence"; PRO, C 113.36. Part 2. No. 1010: letter from [Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 1709?].

93. See letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 11, 15, and 17 and Feb. 7 and 18, 1687, in "Correspondence." Also R. Elwes, dd. Egya, Jan. 17 and Feb. 3, 1687, in "Correspondence."

94. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 18, 1688, in "Correspondence."

95. Ibid.

96. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for July 19, 1654; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 6, 1659, and May 20, 1660; PRO, T70/365. Charges of merchandise to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 30, 1680; PRO, T70/374. King of Aguaffo dr. to four barrels gunpowder, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 6, 1698; PRO, T70/375. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 17 and 31 and Sept. 8, 1699. For the weaponry of militiamen and armed retainers see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 160, entry for Apr. 10, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Oct. 12, 1652, July 19, 1653, and July 19, 1954; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for May 20, 22, and 24, 1660.

97. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Oct. 12, 1652, Feb. 19, 1653, and Feb. 9 and July 19, 1654; PRO, T70/371. RAC to sundry, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 14, 1686; PRO, T70/376. RAC dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 14, 1699, and Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 21, 1699; PRO, T70/381. Acquandoe, King of Quamboe, dr. to RAC, their account current, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 11, 1714; PRO, T70/383. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges there dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 24, 1717; letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 22, 1681; T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Nov. 6, 1686; W. Cross, dd. Komenda, June 6, 1687; T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1690; and H. Vincent, dd. Dixcove, Apr. 21, 1698, in "Correspondence."

98. That retainers and mercenaries formed the nucleus of coastal armies is indicated by several sources. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 353–56; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 126, 139–40, 141. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 255, entry for Nov. 5, 1646; p. 257, entries for Nov. 6 and 7, 1646; and p. 261, entry for Nov. 14, 1646.

99. Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 36, 37.

100. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 252, entry for Oct. 27, 1646.

101. See, ARA, OWIC 11. The Fiscal H. Caarlof to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne och deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Februarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij [1681] auff Friedrichsberg; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 119. Cf. also letter from J. Carter, dd. Whydah, May 10, 1687, in "Correspondence": "Soffery Pikaninee [also known as "Offery Occaminyes"] who is the general of the Accraes and lives in much more grandeur than the King having always a good strength of soldiers at his command. . . ."

102. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 82.

103. For the Late campaign see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 252, entry for Oct. 27, 1646; and p. 261, entry for Nov. 16, 1646.

104. Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 85–86.

105. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 76.

106. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 54. Cf. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Sept. 3, 1706.

107. For Kormantse and Mouri as gold exporters see "Copia da carta del capitan de la Mina traduzida em Castelhano [1623?]" 2:481–82. For military conflicts between the two towns see Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 81–82, 85–86, 87–88; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Feb. 7 and 8, Apr. 19, and May 13, 1653; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. July 13, 1657.

108. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Apr. 28 and May 13 and 16, 1653.

109. "Particulars of our voyage (in Capt. Reynold's ship) on the coast of Africa, dd. April 1665," p. 294.

110. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 260–61, entry for Nov. 13, 1646; and p. 261, entry for Nov. 14, 1646. See also p. 223, entry for Aug. 27, 1646; p. 255, entry for Nov. 5, 1646; and p. 257, entry for Nov. 7, 1646.

111. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Oct. 12, 1652, and Feb. 9, 1654; IOLR, E/23/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 33–34.

112. Barbot, *Description,* pp. 155.

113. Letters from T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Mar. 31, 1686; T. Stephenson, dd. Sekondi, June 26, 1692; and T. Buckeridge, dd. Dixcove, July 31, 1694, in "Correspondence"; ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for Feb. 2, 1716: letter from Butler, dd. Axim, Jan. 30, 1716.

114. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 220.

115. Information on weaponry is taken from a number of contemporary sources, for example, de Marees, Brun, Hemmersam, Dapper, de Bellefond, Müller, and Bosman. For archaeological data on weapons see D. Calvocoressi, "A Funerary Site at Adańsi Ahinsan," *WAAN,* no. 12 (1970), p. 82; J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), pp. 91–92, 108.

116. See, for example, de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 92–93; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 83.

117. See de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 355–56.

118. Cf. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne och deris Ministris paa GuldKosten i Guinea, n.d.; PRO, T70/370. Sundry accounts to James Nightingale, factor at Anomabo and Egya, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 31, 1684; letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, July 5, 1687, in "Correspondence."

119. See, for example, "Correspondence," passim.

120. The towns included Axim, Little Komenda, Elmina, Cape Coast, Mouri, Anomabo, Osu, Small Accra, and Pokoso.

121. Cf. RA, TKUA. Nederlandene A II. 1657–72. Akter og dokumenter vedr. d. Afrikanske Komp. i Glückstadt og Kolonier paa Guineakysten. G. van Tetz to Johan Claessen, dd. Amsterdam, Tuesday or the King's day in the month after the rainy season, 1660; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 33–34; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 110–11, 126, 132.

122. The annual maintenance of these men may be estimated at between 5 and 20 million dambas.

123. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 362–63.

124. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 83.

125. Ibid., p. 88.

126. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 137.

127. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 182; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 263.

128. Jean Baptiste Labat, ed., *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée isles voisines et Cayenne,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1730), 1:366. Also Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 83.

129. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 83. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 93.

130. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 119.

131. Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier,* 1:366. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 356; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 93; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 56.

132. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 182; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 263. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 356–57; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 112.

133. Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier,* 1:366. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 255, entry for Nov. 5, 1646; p. 257, entry for Nov. 7, 1646; and p. 258, entry for November 8, 1646;

letters from R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Jan. 13, 1688; and T. Blinsham, dd. Sekondi, Mar. 3 and 12, 1688, in "Correspondence."

134. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 357; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 112; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 296, 297; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 83–84; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 56, 57; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 137–38.

135. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 93, 97–98; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 136–37, chap. 15; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 56. See Christaller, *A Dictionary.*

136. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 355; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 137; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 182. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 263–64.

137. See Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London, 1951), pp. 33–34; J. K. Kumah, "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Denkyira," *GNQ,* no. 9 (1966), p. 34.

138. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 73, 74–75; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 96, 97. Cf. also letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, July 3, 1698, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T70/374. King and country of Arcanyes dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 31, 1699; ARA, WIC 97. J. van Sevenhuysen to the Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, May 30, 1701.

139. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 64, 65, 70; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 93, 97. Cf. also Tilleman, *En Liden,* pp. 86, 87, 114; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 120.

140. Kumah, "Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Denkyira," p. 34. See also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 72–73; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 96.

141. For the tradition see Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States, 1500 to 1800," in *History of West Africa,* vol. 1, ed. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 2d ed. (New York, 1976), p. 440.

142. R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929; reprint ed., Oxford, 1956), p. 199, n. 2.

143. Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana* (London 1958), p. 123 and n. For the regnal chronology of this Bono ruler see Colin Flight, "The Chronology of the Kings and Queenmothers of Bono-Manso: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence," *JAH* 11, no. 2 (1970): 264.

144. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 79, 186; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 100, 101; idem, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 265. Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 61–62, 94–95. Also, letter from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Mar. 29, 1688, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entries for July 1, 20, and 26 and Nov. 22, 1688, and Mar. 14 and 20, 1689; Tilleman, *En Liden,* pp. 129–30.

145. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 186; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 61–62.

146. See, for example, ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 145.

147. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19.

148. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 95–96; H. E. van Gelder, "Scheepsrekeningen van Enkele der Vroegtse Guinea–Vaarten," *EHJ* 2 (1916); 245, 249, 251.

149. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629. Also Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 84–85.

150. ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Mouri, Feb. 3, 1634.

151. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 224, entry for Aug. 29, 1646.

152. Ibid., p. 275, entry for Dec. 6, 1646.

153. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 56.

154. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 12, 1652; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 6, 1659; IOLR, E/3/25. Let-

ter from Nicholas Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659.

155. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 20, 1653.

156. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 8, 1658. Also IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from [L. Staveley?], dd. Kormantse Castle, May 1, 1658.

157. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, Mar. 4, 1658.

158. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 19, 1659.

159. K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 150–51. Also PRO, T70/309. Voyage to the Gold Coast in the ship *Charles* and voyage to the Gold Coast in the ship *Mary*, dd. London, Sept. 26, 1662.

160. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from [L. Staveley?], dd. May 1, 1658; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, May 1, 1660.

161. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 8, 1658; IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, May 1, 1660.

162. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Regnskab, passim; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 128.

163. See, for example, RA, VGK. Breve og documenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Hans Luke, to the Administrators of the Royal African Comp., dd. Fredriksborg, Jan. 10 and 13, 1683; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dag-register 1688–1689: entry for Mar. 14, 1689; RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler fra Guinea 1698–1721, 1723–54, passim. See also ARA, WIC 97. Formulier en petitie van koopmanszschap, dd. St. George d'Elmina, Apr. 15, 1700; ARA, WIC 101. H.A.C. Schoenheysen to the Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, Feb. 20, 1710; R. A. Kea, "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *JAH* 12, no. 2 (1971): 196–99.

164. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 127.

165. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 355–56.

166. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 182; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 263–64.

167. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 219–20; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 184, 186. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 264, 266. Also RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1684, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Sept. 26, 1688; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), p. 60.

168. See Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 182; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 263–64.

169. PRO, T70/22. Letter from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 12, 1709. At times muskets with bayonets enjoyed a modest sale at the forts. See, for example, RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler 1698–1721, 1723–54: entries for July 23, Aug. 4, and Sept. 17, 1713, and Nov. 13 and 17, 1714.

170. See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede i 1680–81, 1659–1680. Cargasoner till Guinea ved skibet Hofmanden i 1680; RA, VGK. Bilag til Negotie-Journal 1688: Angaaende den Accord med O. Paulli, . . . dd. July 1688; PRO, T70/11. Letter from H. Greenhill et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 9, 1683; PRO, T70/371. Letter from R. White, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 30, 1686; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 150.

171. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. A. Waerøe to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Dec. 24, 1730; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 151–52.

172. Letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Apr. 22, 1688, and May 12, 1691; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Sept. 12, 1695, in "Correspondence." RA, VGK. Dag-Journaler ført paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Feb. 28, Mar. 14, Apr. 1, and Aug. 16 and 17,

1702; Tilleman, *En liden*, pp. 108–9, 113–14; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 60, 61. Also ARA, ANBKG 84. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entries for Jan. 1, 1717: letter from A. Snoeck, dd. Accra, Dec. 24, 1716, and Jan. 7, 1717: letter from A. Snoek, dd. Accra, Dec. 31, 1716.

173. For professional soldiers in the Akwamu army see Tilleman, *En liden*, pp. 108–9, 113–14. See also RA, VGK. Dag-Journaler fǿrt paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Jan. 26, 1700, Aug. 16, 1702, and Oct. 23, 1703; PRO, T70/381. Acquandoe, King of Quamboe, dr. to the RAC their account current, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 11, 1714; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. F. Pahl to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 14, 1727.

174. Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 108. For the "hereditary" slaves see Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 60. For Akwamu merchants' employment of slaves as porters in the late 1670s see Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324.

175. Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 125–26, 143–44.

176. Tilleman, *En liden*, pp. 108–9.

177. Ibid., pp. 113–14.

178. Kea, "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts," p. 199. Also RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. Aarsagen og oprindelsen hvorfore vii herved Accra bliver saa opholdt udi Negotien, A. P. Waerǿe, dd. Christiansborg, Aug. 30, 1730.

179. In 1698, for example, Akwamu authorities sent "20 great guns" to Assin ("the Arcanyes") when the latter was faced with a Denkyria invasion. See letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, May 8, 1698, in "Correspondence."

The cannon was popular with the *ahenfo* of other polities throughout the seventeenth century. The weapon's popularity lasted until about the second decade of the eighteenth century. For references to cannon see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 95; ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 260, entry for Nov. 13, 1646; and p. 265, entry for Nov. 23, 1646; IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from Nicholas Fevicke, dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 23, 1658; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 19, 1659; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Dec. 6, 1688; PRO, T70/11. Letter from S. Humfryes et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb., 1689; "letter from Sir Dalby Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 13 May 1705," in *The Political and Commercial Works of That Celebrated Writer Charles d'Avenant*, collected and revised by Charles Whitworth, 5 vols. (London, 1771), 5:193.

180. Letter from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Mar. 29, 1688, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. A. Waerǿe to the director-general J. Pranger, dd. Christiansborg, Aug. 30, 1730; RA, VGK. Aarsagen og oprindelsen hvor fore vii herved Accra bliver saa opholdt udi Ngotien, A. P. Waerǿe, dd. Christiansborg, Aug. 30, 1730; RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler fra Guinea 1698–1721, 1723–54: various entries between Jan. 25 and Mar. 4, 1730; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 61, 94–95.

181. See Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 61.

182. Ibid., pp. 61–62.

183. Ibid., p. 61.

184. See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1705–1722. Letters from E. Lygaard to the directors, dd. Christiansborg, Sept. 18, 1707, and Feb. 23, 1708; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 60.

185. See letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Feb. 1 and Mar. 14, 1687, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Dag-Journaler fǿrt paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Mar. 2 and 19, 1702.

186. Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 60–61. See also RA, VGK. Dag-Journaler fǿrt paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Mar. 14 and Apr. 1, 1702.

187. Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 61–62.

188. See, for example, PRO, T70/3. Letter from G. Gore et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 23, 1714.

189. ARA, OWIC 11. The fiscal Hendrick Caarlof to the Assembly of XIX, dd. May 21, 1646; Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 111, 114.

190. For references to land tax payments in kind see Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 107; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 62; K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957), p. 283. See also Brown, *Gold Coast,* 1:185. In some districts peasants no longer paid land tax in money or kind by the second half of the eighteenth century; however, they still provided labor services of various kinds. See, for example, RA, GA. Dokumenter ved den Guineisk Journal. Sager til Guineiske Journaler 1801–02. "Udkast til en historisk og geographisk beskrivelse over de allierede Provindser ved de dansk besiddelser paa kysten af Guinea," P. Thonning, dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 24, 1801, pp. 56–57; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), p. 116. Changes in the form(s) of peasant revenue payments signified the establishment and consolidation of the "system" of peasant village communities. For these communities see John Mensah Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws,* 3d ed. (London, 1968), pp. 62, 63–64.

191. It is my view that this process was essentially an eighteenth-century phenomenon that was linked to the consolidation of the "system" of dispersed peasant village communities. For references to the establishment of farming villages in various districts in the eighteenth century see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* p. 275; Brown, *Gold Coast,* 1:75, 76–77; F.W.H. Migeod, "Tribal Mixture on the Gold Coast," *JASO* 19 (1919–20): 114; J. Gordon, "Some Oral Traditions of Denkyira," *TGCTHS* 1 (1952–55): 29–30, 32; J. R. Wallis, "The Kwahus–Their Connection with the Afram Plain," *TGCTHS* 1 (1952–55): 21–22; James R. Saunders, "The Political Development of the Fante in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Study of a West African Merchant Society," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, June, 1980), 1:231–42, 249–58. Cf. "Nogle bidrag til kundskab om den danske straekning paa Guinea kysten, 1774," *Archiv for Statistik, Politik og Huusholdnings Videnskaber* 3 (1797–98): 211–12, 224. The consolidation of the system of peasant communities was accompanied by the ruralization of crafts, and hence the reestablishment of the unity of agricultural and craft production. However, a great deal more research is needed before a complete understanding of the eighteenth-century economy can be gained.

192. Cf. Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 126. For village and small-town markets in the nineteenth century see ARA, ANBKG 740. Beschryving eener Reis van Bein naar Oerkfroh en Assante, J. Chuen, dd. Bein, Sept. 24, 1869; ARA, ANBKG 1102. Rapport eener Reis van Bein naar Fransche post te Assinie in Nov., 1869, J. Chuen, dd. Jan. 18, 1870; J.B.J. van Doren, *Reis naar Nederlands Oost-Indie of Land-en Zeetogten gedurende de twee eerste jaren mijns verblijfs op Java* (The Hague, 1851), pp. 157–64, 167, 168, 169; Henry Swanzy, "A Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," *TGCTHS* 2, pt. 2 (1956): 101; Marion Johnson, "Migrants' Progress," *BGGA* 10, no. 2 (1965): 21; René Baesjon, ed., *An Asante Embassy on the Gold Coast: The Mission of Akyempon Yaw to Elmina, 1868–1872* (Leiden and Cambridge, 1979), app. 2. See also H. C. Monrad, *Bildrag til en skildring af Guinea-Kysten og dens indbyggere, og til en beskrivelse over de danske colonier paa denne kyst* (Copenhagen, 1822), p. 227; J. A. de Marée, *Reizen op en Beschrijving van de Goudkust van Guinea,* 2 vols. (The Hague and Amsterdam, 1817), 1:193, 217–19.

193. The available evidence is not conclusive. However, for the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Paul Erdman Isert, *Voyages en Guinée et dans les îles Caraïbes en Amerique* (Paris, 1793), pp. 203, 260; RA, GA. Dokumenter ved den Guineisk Journal. Sager til Guineiske Journaler 1801–02. "Udkast til en historisk og geographisk besckrivelse over de allierde Provindser ved de danske besiddelser paa Kysten af Guinea," P. Thonning, dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 24, 1801, pp. 55–57, 58–59; PRO, CO 267/22. Dutch African Forts. Coast of Guinea 1804. Queries and Answers relating to the Trade, Produce, etc. of

the Dutch settlements on the Coast of Guinea; PRO, CO 267/74. N. Campbell to the Earl Bathurst, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 14, 1826; B. M. Christiansen, "Breve fra og om Guinea," *Valkyrien* 2 (1831): 274–76; ARA, ANBKG 740. Afschrift van het Journaal gehouden binnen Fort Willem III te Bein: entries for Sept. 8 and Dec. 7, 1869; ARA, ANBKG 1101. Rapport nopens het beheer der afdeling Apollonia gedurende het jaar 1869; Brown, *Gold Coast,* 2:123–24; Swanzy, "Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," p. 101. Cf. also C. A. Jeekel, *Onze Bezittingen op de Kust van Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1869), p. 48.

194. For some of the political-administrative divisions of mid-eighteenth-century Fante see PRO, T70/1695. Law agreed to by the Braffoes, Curranteers, and People of the five united Provinces of Accomfee for excluding the French from making any settlements on the Fantees Territories, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 14, 1753. For those of Asante see Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge University Press, 1975), chap. 1 and passim.

195. See, for example, Brown, *Gold Coast,* 1:197–99, 201; Djan, *"Sunlight" Reference,* pp. 115, 116, 119. The diverse political and military changes marked particular phases in the historical (and contradictory) development of productive systems based upon tributary and slaveowning social relations.

CHAPTER 5

1. John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 258.

2. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System,* text ed. (New York, 1976). Until about the mid-eighteenth century West Africa was an "external arena," not a periphery, vis-à-vis the "core" countries. Idem, "The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World-Economy," in *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa,* ed. Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein (Beverly Hills, 1976), pp. 30–37. Also, Christopher Chase-Dunn and Richard Rubinson, "Toward a Structural Perspective on the World-System," *PS* 7, no. 4 (1977). Cf. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London and Dar-es-Salaam, 1972), chaps. 3 and 4.

3. See Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *NLR,* no. 104 (1977). See also Robert S. Duplessis, "From Demesne to World-System: A Critical Review of the Literature on the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism," *RHR* 4, no. 1 (1977); Alex Dupuy and Paul V. Fitzgerald, "Review Essay: A Contribution to the Critique of the World System Perspective," *IS* 7, no. 2 (1977).

4. For agricultural production in the seventeenth century see Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 296, 383–85; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968) pp. 190–203.

For agricultural production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see PRO, CO 267/22. Dutch African Forts. Coasts of Guinea, 1804: no. 10–"Queries and answers relating to the trade [and] produce of the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guinea"; PRO, CO 267/74. N. Campbell to the Earl Bathurst, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 24, 1826; B. M. Christiansen, "Breve fra og om Guinea," *Valkyrien* 2 (1831): 274–75; F.W.H. Migeod, "Tribal Mixture on the Gold Coast," *JASO* 19 (1912–20): 114; J. Gordon, "Some Oral Traditions of Denkyira," *TGCTHS* 1 (1952–55): 29; E.J.P. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante Reader,* 2 vols. (London, 1929), 2:123, 124; J. B. Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples* (1868; reprint ed., Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 117, 118, 120–21, 126, 127, 130; "Sir C. MacCarthy to Earl Bathurst, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 16 May 1822," and "Grievances of the Gold Coast Chiefs, dd. 9 August 1864," in *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of Ghana History, 1807–1957,* ed. G. E. Metcalfe (London, 1964), pp. 74, 300.

5. Thus between the late seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries gold production

in the Akyem (Abuakwa) *oman* shifted from slave labor to the labor of free families. Erich Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 116; L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 159–60, 166–67, 168–69; "Nogle bidrag til kundskab om den danske straekning paa Guinea kysten, 1774," *Archiv for Statistik, Politik og Huusholdnings Videnskaber* 3 (1797–98): 166–67; R. A. Kea, "Population and Economy: A Late Eighteenth Century Danish Account of Asante and the South-Eastern Provinces," *Asantesem*, no. 11 (1979), p. 58; Horton, *West African Countries*, p. 126.

Two recent articles refer to the important role of free family labor in nineteenth-century gold production. See Kwame Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading among the Ashanti of Ghana," *JA* 48, no. 1 (1978): 92; Raymond E. Dumett, "Pre-Colonial Mining and the State in the Akan Region: With a Critique of the Terray Hypothesis," *REA* 2 (1979): 43–48. It is also likely that by the nineteenth century corvée labor had become more important in gold production than slave labor (Dumett, "Pre-Colonial Gold Mining," pp. 51–52).

6. See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), pp. 94–98; Brenner, "Origins of Capitalist Development," passim. Coquery-Vidrovitch, on the other hand, contends that precapitalist African societies lacked an internal dynamic, being characterized by "technological backwardness," "congealed" social structures, and "stagnation"; hence "external factors," specifically long-distance trade, played the determining role in the history of these societies. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "The Political Economy of the African Peasantry and Modes of Production," in Gutkind and Wallerstein, *Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, passim.

For two interesting studies which have examined the relationship between production and exchange see Werner Peukert, "Quantitative Methoden in der Africanische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichtsforschung," *Paideuma* 22 (1976); and M. J. Rowlands, "Local and Long Distance Trade and Incipient State Formation on the Bamenda Plateau in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Paideuma* 25 (1979).

7. Marx, *Grundrisse*, pp. 148, 524, 533–34; Claude Meillassoux, "Introduction," *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, ed. Claude Meillassoux (Oxford, 1971), pp. 80–82.

8. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 415–16.

9. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 253. See also Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), pp. 65–68; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 253–54.

10. Karl Marx, *Capital* 3 vols, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (Moscow, 1961), 1:351–52; Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, trans. Brian Pearce, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1970). 1:65–68.

11. See, for example, ARA, Legatie Archief Pruisen. Bewys van der Landen Axieme, of Axems Jurisdictie, A. Hogenboeck et al., n.d.; de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 250, 319–20; Barbot, *Description*, p. 258; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 41, 81–82, 83, 87–89, 121–22, 125–26, 129–30; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vaisseau 'Le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702*, ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 66; Père Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, pp. 180–81. Also Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 284.

12. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1:65–66.

13. Blacksmiths in the seventeenth-century town of Twifo-Heman, for example, used palm nut kernels, presumably sold by peasants, for fuel. See J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), pp. 64–65.

14. Cf. "Blacks are willing to spare what they can before they stow their corn in their

houses which after will be hard to get of them at a great rate." Letter from W. Cooper, dd. Egya, Sept. 11, 1694, in "Correspondence."

15. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 48; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 207.

16. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 25.

17. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, December 25, 1629; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 81, 83, 88, 90, 164–73; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 185, 186, 191–94; António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:94, 98, 101, 102, 103, 111; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 16, 17, 61. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 197.

18. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 251–53, 255–56; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 63–66; Müller, *Die Africanische,* pp. 202, 203, 250–54; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), p. 71.

19. Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations,* ed. Eric Hobsbawm (London, 1964), p. 118; Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:58, 65–66, 81.

20. See Claude Meillassoux, "From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology," *ES* 1, no. 1 (1972); Yu. I. Semenov, "Theoretical Problems of 'Economic Anthropology,'" *PSS* 4 (1974). Also George Lukas, *History and Class Consciousness,* trans. Rodney Livingstone, 2d ed. (London, 1971), pp. 55–59; Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations,* passim.

For a summary of formalist and substantivist views on precapitalist African societies see B. Marie Perinbam, "Homo Africanus: Antiquus or Oeconomicus? Some Interpretations of African Economic History," *CSSH* 19 (1977): 156–70. Both views ignore the structural "logic" of precapitalist economic systems and analyze them in terms of industrial capitalism and liberal economics.

21. For a reference to these trading groups see Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,* trans. and ed. Raymond Mauny (Bissau, 1956), pp. 123, 125. The separation of production and commerce represented an extension of the division of labor. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology,* ed. R. Pascal (New York, 1963), pp. 47–48. Also Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:81.

22. Marx, *Grundrisse,* pp. 148–49, 200–201, 671–72; Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:81, 184.

23. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:80–82. (C=commodity; M=money; M'= money + profit). For references to exchange patterns that conform to these two commodity circuits see, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 255–56, 320–21; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 250–51, 253–54, 258, 260; letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Alampo, Apr. 6, 1681, in "Correspondence."

24. Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 856.

25. Barbot, *Description,* p. 147. See also ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–16, 420, 421, 424, 426, 428; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), pp. 55–56; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 84–85, 87; "Extract du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 62, 63; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 167; "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324–25.

26. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 137; Albert Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 120. Also, Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 168. Cf. the case of Jan Claessen Acroisan Tay, who, although occupying the important post of state treasurer, turned down a higher office; the Afutu

kingship, because he wanted to continue to devote himself to trade. IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659.

27. Barbot, *Description,* pp. 252, 259. Also, K. Y. Daaku, "Aspects of Precolonial Akan Economy," *IJAHS* 5, no. 2 (1972): 246; Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 29, 64–65.

28. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Africaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssine,* 2d ed., (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 112; Barbot, *Description,* p. 287; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," in *Viagens, explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes,* ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 6:24; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 26–27; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1645,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 29; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 2:90–91. There were also female merchants. For a reference to an Adom *coopwyf* named "Boffa" who traded with the Dutch at Shama see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 7, 1660.

29. ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys van de Saacken van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck, et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656; ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys van de Person van Mena Sirma, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656. See also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652, passim. Before his association with the Swedish Company Mena was a mercenary soldier; on one occasion he and his men were hired by the Axim town council.

30. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 96. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Sept., 1659, p. 407; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 174.

31. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 213. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 41, 54, 95.

32. Michael Harbsmeier, "Critique of Political Economy, Historical Materialism and Pre-Capitalist Social Forms," *CA* 3, no. 12 (1978): 25; Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:82–83, 215. In the second half of the seventeenth century interest was charged at the rate of 25 percent per annum; by the 1730s the yearly rate was 100 percent (*centum pro centum*). RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 206.

33. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 255–56; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 51–54, 62, 63; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 54, 65; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 258, 260; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 167.

34. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86; Pereira, *Esmeraldo,* pp. 65, 67; K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), pp. 246–47, entry for Oct. 17, 1646, and no. 1; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 271, 273; letters from J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 8 and 11, 1696, in "Correspondence." Also Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 324–25.

35. Karl Marx, *Capital,* ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1961) 3:328. For two accounts which provide information on the circulation and production of gold see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194–95; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 271–73.

36. Timothy F. Garrard, "Akan Metal Arts," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979): 39.

37. For one discussion of the link between merchant capital, long-distance trade, and production see Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, *Mode of Production and Social Formation* (Atlantic Highland, N.J., 1977), p. 66.

38. This, of course, was the historical role of the bourgeoisie. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (New York, 1937).

39. Cf. the role of trade and merchant capital in the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe. Rodney Hilton et al., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1978); Robert Brenner, "Origins of Capitalist Development"; Alex Dupuy and

Paul V. Fitzgerald, "A Contribution to the Critique of the World System Perspective," *IS* 7, no. 2 (1977); Robert S. Duplessis, "From Demesne to World-System"; Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff, "The Theory of Transitional Conjunctures and the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in Western Europe," *RRPE* 11, no. 3 (1979).

40. Cf. Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, pp. 109–10; Ernest Mandel, *The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx* (New York and London, 1971), pp. 122–24. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Asante towns were political-administrative, and not primarily commercial and craft centers. The towns were subordinate "both to agriculture and to the central authority," a feature associated with the Asiatic mode of production. For towns, trade, merchant capital, and crafts in Asante see Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975), passim; idem, "The Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail: An Essay on Wealth in Asante," *REA* 2 (1979): passim; Marion Johnson, "Ashanti Craft Organization," *AA* 13, no. 1 (1979).

The mercantile estate of nineteenth-century Gold Coast ports was clearly subordinate to agriculture, hence capital could not fully develop. See Susan B. Kaplow, "Primitive Accumulation and Traditional Social Relations on the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," *CJAS* 12, no. 1 (1978). For a survey of the nineteenth-century Gold Coast economy see Edward Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807–1874* (London, 1974).

41. There are no references to ennoblement ceremonies in any of the coastal *aman* in the early eighteenth century. However, in Asante wealthy men and women (*sikafo*) were ceremonially granted noble status. Nevertheless, these persons were not held in high regard by the agrarian-based political-military aristocracy. See Wilks, "Golden Stool and the Elephant Tail," pp. 12–16, 23.

42. Müller's transcription of the Akan word for bandit or brigand is *jufu*. Müller, *Die africanische*, chap. 17.

43. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:24.

44. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 150–51, on economic stratification among commoners.

45. In 1683 a group of new, inexperienced traders from the interior settled at Alampo (Tema). Letter from H. Shears, dd. Cape Coast Briganteen in Alampo road, Aug. 25, 1683, in "Correspondence". Late-eighteenth-century Accra historical traditions refer to the movement of (Adanme) peasants to the coastal towns before 1700. RA, GA. Guineiske afgjorte (Journal-) Sager. "Pro Memoria, no. 9." J. F. Kipasse, dd. Copenhagen, May 26, 1781.

46. One early-seventeenth-century account indicates that brokers in the coastal towns could accumulate a great deal of gold as a result of the services they rendered inland traders. Diereck Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert, 1623*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1913), p. 74. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 196. Cf. the eighteenth-century Accra historical traditions recorded by Rask and Rømer. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 26; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 92–93. See also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 45–46, 47, 48–51, 217; James Lange, "An Account of a Voyage Made to Cape Verd and the Coast of Guinea [1622–25]," in *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, a Compleate Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. John Harris, 2 vols. (London, 1765), 1:389.

47. On the use of slaves in food crop production see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 31, 1660; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 296; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 65, 198; "Correspondence," passim.

48. Barbot, *Description*, p. 321. Also letter from J. Carter, dd. Whydah, Nov. 22, 1686, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 330.

49. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 3d ed. (Manchester, 1971) chap. 2; idem, *Bandits* (Harmondsworth, 1972), chaps. 1 and 2; Paul Q. Hirst, "Marx and Engels on Law, Crime and Morality," *ES* 1, no. 1 (1972): pp: 50, 51. Also Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972, 1975), 2:734–54.

50. Barbot, *Description*, pp. 147, 187, 190–91, 319. Also ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743.

Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 88–89, 109–10; "Vertoog of Deductie," p. 56.

51. PRO, T70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704; entry for Sept. 1, 1703.

52. "W. de la Palma to the Assembly of X, dd. Elmina, September 5, 1705," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague*, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 112.

53. "Elmina Journal: entry for June 16, 1727: letter from van Bosch, dd. Shama, June 14, 1727," in *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 223; RA, GK. Palaberbog 1776–77. [Account of the Akwamu war by Athee, broker at Osu], J. Giønge, dd. Christiansborg, Dec. 11, 1776. Also ARA, ANBKG 84. Elmina Journal: entry for Jan. 1, 1717: letter from A. Snoeck, dd. Accra, Dec. 24, 1716.

54. Oheneba Sakyi Djan, *The "Sunlight" Reference Almanac of the Gold Coast Colony and Its Dependencies* (Aburi, Gold Coast, 1936), pp. 131–32. For a short account of "Antufi," an Asante bandit (*røver*) who with some 2,000 men "plagued the Assiantees" from the 1710s to the 1730s, see Rømer, *Tilforladelig Efterretning*, p. 182. In the Accra kingdom of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the increase in urban theft was associated with the growth of trade. The thieves were mainly needy or indigent persons. Rømer, *Tilforladeligefterretning*, pp. 114–15.

55. Cf. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, chap. 2.

56. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 1, 1653; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 68, 101–2, 112–13, 118. By the 1650s free subjects apparently owed their overlords one day of labor service per week (*en des vereyssechende een dag in de week djenste getrokken*). See "Vertoog of Deductie," p. 60.

57. Armed guards, for example, occasionally seized traders' goods and either sold them in local markets or handed them over to their patron. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 263, entry for Nov. 17, 1646; ARA, Aawinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 28, 1653.

58. The brigandlike activities of the *Siccadinger* or "clever young men"–unmarried youths without occupations–of Agona, Akron, and Akwamu in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were indicative of these developments. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 121–22, 126, 143–44. During the same period there were also "Fantyn," who, "like highwaymen," kidnapped "many innocent people in the forest, whom they sold afterwards." ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien van het Directeur–Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Apr. 4, 1710.

59. One form of outlawry included what may be termed "warlordism." For an early-eighteenth-century Adom "warlord," Jan Kango, and his eventual defeat by a coalition of military forces, see ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien van het Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Sept. 16, 1707.

60. The treaties that the coastal governments concluded with the different chartered companies are evidence of this. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H. 69, passim; ARA, WIC 122, passim; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. [Treaty between the Danish African Company and Afutu], dd. Dec. 20, 1659; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter-indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. [Treaty between the Danish African Company and Great Accra], dd. Aug. 18, 1661; IOLR, E/3/26. [Treaty between the East Indies Company and Afutu], dd. Jan. 18, 1660. Also letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Dec. 8, 1686, and May 28, 1687, in "Correspondence." There was intense rivalry and military conflict between the coastal towns for European trade. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 183–84; Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 85–88.

61. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 320.

62. Cf. "Tho' the great men are seldom traders, yet it is very much in their power to command and influence the traders to the place they recommend to them. . . ." PRO,

T70/1185. List of goods proper for a three-month trade upon the coast from Drewin to Allampoe, n.d.

63. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for June 14, 1652, and Sept. 27 and Dec. 1, 1653; Resolutie Boeck, entry dd. Jan. 16, 1657; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 435–36; letters from N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Apr. 12, 1694; J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 22, 1687; and John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Feb. 28, 1698, in "Correspondence"; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 52–53, 58, 59, 62–63, 64; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 287, 290, 292.

64. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for June 14, 1652; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 68. Resolutie Boecke: entries dd. Nov. 25, 1656, and Jan. 16 and Oct. 10, 1657; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 435–36; ARA OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for May 21 and 22, 1660; Letters from R. Hassell, dd. Egya, Feb. 19, 1681; and T. Draper, dd. Bereku, Aug. 25, 1683, in "Correspondence."

65. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 112. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 383–85; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 116–18; letter from J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 22, 1697, in "Correspondence."

66. For taxes levied on fisherman, free goldminers, and others see de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 329–30, 371; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 195; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 69. Accort Tusschen den Generael Jacob Ruyghaver en de Cabeceros van Axem, dd. Feb. 17, 1642; ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys der saacken van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656; ARA, OWIC 13. Ordre beraamd tusschen de Gen. Jasper van Heusen en de Caboceros van Chama waar na de Visschers van Chama, en die Tol van de Visch ontvangen sig sullen regulieren, dd. Nov. 13, 1660.

67. Karl Marx, *Capital,* 1:344.

68. The relations were expressed in the form of titles: *brafo, ohene, ofahene, awura, oparehene, amradow,* and the like. Such titles were not applied to slaves and commoners.

69. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Sept. 27 and Dec. 1, 1653; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 31, 1660; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge, pp. 52–53, 58, 59, 63, 64; "Correspondence," passim.

70. Cf. de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 384–85; Barbot, *Description,* p. 287; "Correspondence." passim.

71. Cf. letter from J. Browne, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1696, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 120; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 151, 154–55.

72. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 258–59, entry for Nov. 10, 1646; de Bellefond, *Relation,* 318, 370–71, 390, 391, 393–94, 395; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 68–69, 104, 149; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 166–67; letters from J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 20 and 22, 1697, in "Correspondence"; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 45, 46, 74; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London, 1951), pp. 197, 198, 201–2; idem, *The Akan of Ghana* (London, 1958), pp. 118, 119–20, 122, 125–26; idem, *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (London, 1960), pp. 89, 127; idem, *At the Court of an African King* (London, 1962), p. 79.

73. Cf. Brenner, "Origins of Capitalist Development," p. 46. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 1, 1653; letters from John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Feb. 26 and Apr. 17, 1698; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, July 7, 1698, in "Corespondence"; ARA, WIC 122. Nader accord gemaakt door den Edele Heer Directeur Generaal Pieter Nuyts . . . en de respective Hoofluyden, Caboceros en Ingezetene van Moure, dd. Fort Nassau, Dec. 10, 1707.

74. Cf. Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 605; "In pre-capitalist forms of production the development of the forces of production is not the basis of appropriation." Mandel relates that the development of a ruling class presupposes the existence of a social surplus, however this

class brings about a major expansion of the surplus and a fresh development of the productive forces. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1:60.

75. Relative surplus labor, on the other hand, was realized "through increases of labor productivity." See Brenner, "Origins of Capitalist Development," p. 30. Also Ben Fine, "On the Origins of Capitalist Development," *NLR*, no. 109 (1978), pp. 89–91 and n. 8.

76. The late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century revolts and insurrections against the rulers of several states may have been caused, at least in part, by rising revenue demands. See letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1696, in "Correspondence"; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI, no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for May 1, July 4 and 7, and Aug. 18, 1706; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 62, 91; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 324.

77. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; ARA, WIC 1166. Copie van't contract gesloten tusschen den Directeur Generael der Nederlandsche West-Indische Compagnie, Thomas Ernsthuysen, ende Cabussiers van't Dorp Taccarary, dd. Nov. 23, 1682; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659; Hans Jacob Zur-Eich, *Africanische Reiszbeschreibung in die Landschaft Fetu auf der Guineischen Goldkust gelegen* (Zurich, 1677), pp. 97–98; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 177–79; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 4. 194, 198, 272; Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 66–67.

78. Cf. Marx, *Grundrisse*, pp. 528–29.

79. See, for example, Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 167, 190; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 148, 149, 152, 153–54, 155, 156, 158, 257–58, 260.

80. Aggrey beads served as currency in Assini and the districts lying to the immediate west and northwest. Cowrie shells were current in the settlements and districts north of the forest zone and in those lying east of Bereku. Iron pins, or discs, were used as money in parts of the forest, and in some coastal towns; these currencies were replaced by gold before 1680. For the aggrey bead currency see "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 66; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 179–80; Jean-Pierre Chaveau, "Contribution à la géographie historique de l'or en pays baule (Côte d'Ivoire)," *JA* 48, no. 1 (1978): 19, 51–52. For iron money see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 66; Barbot, *Description*, p. 269; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 47; R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (1923; reprint ed., London, 1955), pp. 323–24; R. P. Wild, "Iron Disc Currency from Ashanti," *Man* 36 (1936): 78–79. For cowrie shell currency see Marion Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa, Parts I and II," *JAH* 11, nos. 1 and 3 (1970); R. N. York, "Cowries as Type-Fossils in Ghanaian Archaeology," *WAJA* 2 (1972).

81. For the circulation of Takruri (or Mali) coins in Egypt see A. Darraj, *L'Égypte sous le regne de Barbary, 825-841/1422-1438* (Damascus, 1961), pp. 100–101; E. Ashtor, *Les Metaux précieux et la balance des payments du proche-oriente à la basse époque* (Paris, 1971), p. 29; J.-C. Garcin, *Un Centre musulman de la haute-égypte médiévale: Qūs* (Cairo, 1976), p. 468. "Bald" coins circulated in Jenne and other Western Sudan and Saharan towns. Jean Devisse, "Routes de commerce et echanges en afrique occidentale en relation avec la mediterranée: Un essai sur le commerce africain médiéval du XIe au XVIe siècle, part 2," *RHES* 50, no. 3 (1972): 374–75 n. 208.

82. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 60–61, 259; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea*, p. 54; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 62; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 253–54; Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 35.

83. Brigitte Menzel, *Goldgewichte aus Ghana* (Berlin, 1968), p. 21; Timothy F. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (2): The Weight Standards," *THSG* 13, no. 2 (1972): 150.

84. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Munt in Guinea, n.d.; RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk. Skibsekspeditioner til Vestindien og Guinea I, 1671–81. Erklarung des Guineischen Gewigtes, dd. 1680; Hemmersam, *Reise nach*

Guinea, p. 54; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 263–65, chap. 11; "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," p. 62.

85. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 253–54; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 65–66; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 200, 202, 211, 234, 237, 252–54; Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 71.

86. Barbot, *Description*, p. 234; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 61.

87. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 254, 255; Müller, *Die africanische*, chap. 11.

88. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 253–54; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 60, 61; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 86; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 253. See also Menzel, *Goldgewichte*, passim.

89. Timothy F. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1): The Origins of the Goldweight System," *THSG* 13, no. 1 (1972): 10–15.

90. For the use of gold weights at Bighu in the 1670s see ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. Archaeological work at the Bighu site has revealed small, shaped pottery discs that "conform, often to within a few tenths of a gram, to the Islamic weighting system for weighing gold or silver based on the *mitkal* (4.2 grams) and *wakia* (27 grams) used in Timbuktu and Jenne" (Merrick Posnansky, "Archaeology, Technology and Akan Civilization," *JAS* 2 [1975]: p. 33). Pottery disc weights based on the Islamic weight system were found at a pre-thirteenth-century Bono Manso site. E. Effah-Gyamfi, "Aspects of the Archaeology and Oral Traditions of the Bono State," *THSG* 15, no. 2 (1974): 223.

91. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1)," p. 14. See also Eustache de la Fosse, "Voyage à la côte occidentale d'afrique en portugual et en espagne, 1479–1480," ed. R. Foulche-Delbose, *RH* 4 (1897): 181.

92. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1)" pp. 15–16; David Birmingham, "The Regimento da Mina," *THSG* 11 (1970): 6; John Vogt, "Portuguese Gold Trade: An Account Ledger from Elmina, 1529–1531," *THSG* 14, no. 1 (1973): 103, n. 3. Also idem, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens, 1979), app. d.

93. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1)," pp. 17, 20.

94. Ibid., pp. 17–20. In 1652 and 1655 several Great Accra merchants were given troy ounce weights by the Dutch factors of Elmina. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for June 2, 1652, and Jan. 3, 1655.

95. Timothy F. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (4): The Dating of Akan Goldweights," *THSG* 14, no. 2 (1973): 165–66.

96. Ibid., p. 166.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., pp. 166–67. These weights may have been buried towards the end of 1732. An Akyem army occupied Akwatia ("Akuva") in December of that year. RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler fra Guinea 1698–1721, 1723–1754: entries for Dec. 16 and 20, 1732.

100. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 35; Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (2)," p. 161.

101. Müller, *Die africanische*, chap. 13; *sica-tamfu, ein Goldschmid.* Albert Ott, "Akan Gold Weights," *THSG* 9 (1968): 17–18, 20–22; Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (4)," passim. Also idem, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (2)," p. 149.

102. Ott, "Akan Gold Weights," p. 18.

103. Ibid., p. 17; Menzel, *Goldgewichte*, p. 21.

104. ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 255; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 259, 268, 269.

105. For references to the increasing production and circulation of *kakraas* see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 164–65, entry for Apr. 23, 1646; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 82. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II" p. 101.

106. Timothy F. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (3): The Weight Names," *THSG* 14, no. 1 (1973): 1–16.

107. Cf. Marion Johnson, "The Nineteenth Century Gold 'Mithqal' in West and North Africa," *JAH* 9, no. 4 (1968): 552.

108. For gold falsification see von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung,* p. 56; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 83, 87, 197–99; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description;* pp. 73–74, 82–83; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 265–67; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 78–79; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 55. For fines see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 109; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 66. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 255; "Chicka emou," *vals gout.*

109. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 109.

110. Ratelband, *Vijf Dagregisters,* p. 209, entry for Aug. 4, 1646. See also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Jan. 7, 1653; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 197–99.

111. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 81. See also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 94–95; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:110, 111; PRO, T 70/5. Letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 4 and 6, 1706.

112. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 83; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 67–68; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 81–83. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 101–2.

113. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 82.

114. Ibid., p. 74. See also letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Dec. 8, 1686; and J. Pinck, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 8, 1694, in "Correspondence."

115. See *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497–1840,* 7 vols. (Lisbon, 1962–71), 3:463; J. W. Blake, trans. and ed., *Europeans in West Africa, 1450–1560,* 2 vols. (London, 1942), 1:93; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule,* p. 91.

116. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for May 19, 1653, and Apr. 21, 1655; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 1, 1659; RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de Salige Heer von Groenenstein, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

117. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 61. Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1)," pp. 16–17.

118. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 89, 90; Garrard, "Studies in Akan Goldweights (1)," p. 13.

119. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 199 and n. 3. Also Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 67–68.

120. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58–59, 259.

121. Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Mouseradoe, in Africa; And thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbados," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels,* ed. A. Churchill, 6 vols, 3d ed. (London, 1746) 6:222. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 85–86; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 102–3.

122. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Munt in Guinea: Folgens bericht von Christian Corneliss. und Johan Conraad, so ein langst von Guinea gekommen, n.d.

123. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:22–23.

124. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 53, entry for June 2, 1645; and p. 80, entry for Oct. 10, 1645; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. In June, 1692, French traders at Assini purchased 30,720 dambas' worth of gold in only two days. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 51, 52. See also ARA, OWIC 8, Letter to General J. J. Sticker, dd. Amsterdam, July 7, 1633; ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1641; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 4, 1654. The post-1650 increase in Tano valley gold exports may have been due to growing Akani trading capital investment in the area.

125. Archaeological evidence has shown that Bighu, Old Bima, Ahwene Koko, Bono Manso, and other urban centers flourished during the seventeenth century. The economic prosperity of these places can be attributed to an expanding gold trade. For references to the Bighu gold trade see KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 420; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 149, 158, 273. For the gold trade between Jenne and Bighu (Bitū) see Abderrahman es-Sadi, *Tarikh es-Soudan,* trans. O. Houdas (Paris, 1964), pp. 11 (text), 22 (trans.). For the trade between Bighu ("Bergo"), Katsina ("Cachena"), Egypt, Tripoli, "et de quelques autres parties du Levant" see Th. Monod, "A propos d'un document concernant la conquête du Soudan par le Pacha Djouder (1591)," *BSARSO* 4 (1964): 775–76. Also Muhammad A. Al-Hajj, "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa," *KS,* no. 4 (1968), p. 9.

126. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:109. New mines, for example, were opened in the upper Birim polity of Tafo in 1598, in Adom in the 1690s, and in Aowin in 1701. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 25; "Relation très curieuse du voyage que M. le Chevalier Damon a fait aux Indes pour faire un établissement à Issigny (1702)," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 103.

127. N. R. Junner, *Gold in the Gold Coast* (Colchester, 1935), p. 14. Garrard estimates that "the total Akan gold production between 1400 and 1900 was somewhere in the region of 14 million ounces" (Timothy F. Garrard, "Akan Metal Arts," *AA* 13, no. 1 [1979]: 41).

128. Vogt, *Portuguese Rule,* app. c. Also Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho, *L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux xv^e^ et xvi^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1969), pp. 213–17, 218–19, 373–75, 429.

129. Valentim Fernandes, *Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal,* ed. and trans. P. de Cenival and Th. Monod (Paris, 1938), p. 87; A. Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), pp. 5, 18.

130. The Dyula purchases were probably greater. In 1572, for example, it was reported that coastal peoples sold gold to inland traders in exchange for merchandise. The implication is that the traders took the gold to inland marketing centers such as Bighu. The gold probably came from the mines in the Afutu and Eguafo states, both of which were the main gold-producing polities on the coast. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:109. For the gold workings of Eguafo and Afutu, see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194–95; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 57. Also Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 67.

131. K. Ratelband, ed., *Reizen naar West-Afrika van Pieter van den Broecke, 1605–1614* (The Hague, 1950), p. 36, entry for Feb. 1, 1609; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 79; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:20.

132. Hermann Wätjen, "Zur Geschichte des Tauschhandels an der Goldküste um die mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *FVGMN* (1915), pp. 549–51; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 67. [Verzameling stukken van commerciële aard der WIC, 1652–74]: "Verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1661" and "Verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1662."

133. Barbot, *Description,* p. 228; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse, sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 et 1688," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 7; "Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1698 par le Chevalier Damon," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* pp. 81, 82; Bosman, *New and Accurate Discription,* p. 89.

134. "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," pp. 8–14, passim. Also "Correspondence," passim.

135. For gold exports to Ardra in the 1660s see Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 129, 149, 158. The trans-Saharan gold trade flourished in the seventeenth century. The Gold Coast extractive industry was no doubt a significant contributor to it. For the trans-Saharan trade see Paul Masson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque, 1560–1793* (Paris, 1903), pp. 92, 165 nn. 177–79, 233 and n. 2, 318–20. Seven-

teenth-century Egypt imported large quantities of gold yearly from Takrur, that is, Muslim West Africa. One late-seventeenth-century account estimated that 1,200,000 to 1,400,000 *wiqiya* worth of gold was imported nearly every year. Terenz Walz, *Trade Between Egypt and Bilad As-Sudan* (Cairo, 1978), p. 51 and n. 6, also p. 89.

136. In the Afutu polity alone the Afutuhene distributed annually more than 2 million dambas' worth of gold among his courtiers and other notables. According to one report the Egwira town of Abakwa imported more than 120,000 dambas in gold monthly from Adom and Wassa in the early 1650s. See ARA, Aawinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 395.

137. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 195; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:110. Also Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, pp. 177, 178; "Relation très curieuse du voyage que M. le Chevalier Damon a fait," p. 103.

138. Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 57; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 80–81. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 101. Also Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 178. These yields were comparable to those of the nineteenth century. See Dumett, "Precolonial Gold Mining," p. 44.

139. For the reference to these slaves see Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 77–78.

140. In 1698 it was reported that 200 men working a rich auriferous reef could produce enough gold in one day to fill "sex coffres d'un pied en carre chacun." "Relation du voyage du Guynée," pp. 77–78. See also Rǿmer, *Tillforladelig efterretning*, p. 177.

141. See Ivor Wilks, "Land, Labour, and Capital and the Forest Kingdom of Asante: A Model of Early Change," in *The Evolution of Social Systems*, ed. J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands (Pittsburgh, 1978).

142. See Marx, *Grundrisse*, pp. 398–401, for an analysis of "the multiplification of simultaneous working days."

143. De la Fosse, "Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique," p. 181.

144. Ibid., p. 182. Hair and Dalby postulate that *berrenbucs* was a transcription of Arabic *murābiṭ*. D. Dalby and P. E. H. Hair, "A Further Note on the Mina Vocabulary of 1479–80," *JWAL* 5, no. 2 (1968): 129.

145. John Vogt, "The Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade with Mina, 1500–1540," *IJAHS* 6, no. 3 (1973); idem, *Portuguese Rule*, pp. 57–58, 71–73. See also Pereira, *Esmeraldo*, pp. 127, 135; A. F. C. Ryder, *Materials for West African History in Portuguese Archives* (London, 1965). passim.

The Portuguese regularly presented slaves as gifts to important *ahenfo*. Alberto Iria, "Da fundoção e governo do Castelo ou Fortaleza de São Jorge da Mina pelo Portugueses e da sua acçao missionária após o descrobimento desta costa," *Studia*, no. 1 (1958), p. 45; Vogt, "Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade," pp. 454, 456 and n. 7.

146. Pereira, *Esmeraldo*, pp. 123, 125. For the Tafo ("Boroes" or "Aboros") see "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19.

147. Vogt, "Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade," pp. 454, 457; idem, "Portuguese Gold Trade," p. 93. The slaves came from the Benin and Kongo Kingdoms, Arguin, and the Malaguetta coast.

148. Vogt, "Early São Tomé–Principe Slave Trade" p. 467; idem, *Portuguese Rule*, pp. 136, 147.

149. Lange, "Account of a Voyage Made to Cape Verd," p. 388. In the early seventeenth century English ships were contracted to convey slaves from São Tomé to São Jorge. See Vogt, *Portuguese Rule*, p. 157.

150. Da Mota, "Mande Trade in Costa da Mina," pp. 12, 20; Pereira, *Esmeraldo*, pp. 65, 67. See also the historical traditions of the Ligby Dyula. T. M. Mustapha and Jack Goody, "Wenchi and Its Inhabitants," *Ashanti and the Northwest RR*, no. 1 supplement (Legon Ghana, 1965), p. 157.

151. Wilks, "Land, Labour, and Capital," pp. 519–20.

152. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 417.

153. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana," pp. 95–96, 97, 109, 111, 135.

154. Iria, "Da fundação e governo do Castelo," p. 53. Also Ryder, *Materials for West African History*, p. 23. Elmina fishermen and traders were settled in many of the main coastal towns by the second half of the sixteenth century. See "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 52–53.

155. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:93. According to the Portuguese account the value of this trade was "great."

156. For the trade of Kwakwa merchants at Cape Apollonia, Axim, and Cape Three Points see ARA, OWIC 11. Letter from H. Caarlof, fiscal, dd. Elmina, Sept. 26, 1647. For a reference to a female Kwakwa slave at Axim see ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys der Saacke van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656. This slave was the mother of "Coroquo."

157. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 88.

158. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 1660. However, the number of slaves sold at Winneba varied considerably. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 308, entry for Jan. 28, 1647; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Jan. 22, 1655.

159. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 6, 1660.

160. Ibid., entry for [May?] 1660.

161. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 82. For Accra slaves at Elmina and Mouri see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 32, entry for Apr. 4, 1645; and p. 80, entry for Oct. 9, 1645.

162. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 393–94. Some of these merchants probably traded at Benin (see chap. 6). According to some seventeenth-century accounts Ardra was a tributary dependency of the Benin Kingdom. See S. van Brakel, "Eene memorie over den Handel der West-Indische Compagnie omstreeks 1670," *BMHG* 35 (1914): 96; Richard Andree, "Seltene Ethnographica des Städtischen Gewerbe-Museums zu Ulm," *BA* 4 (1914): 15. According to Ryder, Ardra was already a Benin tributary in the 1540s. A.F.C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485–1897* (London, 1969), p. 73.

163. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 65, 198. During the 1640s and 1650s many of the slaves exported from the Ardra kingdom came originally from Oyo. Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600–1836* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 219–20. Such slaves would have been transported by canoe to the Gold Coast ports. An Elmina trading canoe could carry at least twenty-two slaves. ARA, WIC 1024. Letter from M. Witte, dd. Company's lodge at Ofra, Ardra [1683?].

164. For Danish slave sales see RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681; Regnskab, passim.

165. Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. Oct. 28, 1656. The slaves were probably sold at the rate of one benda in gold each. See Resolutie Boeck, entry dd. Dec. 6, 1658. For other references to Dutch slave sales see Resolutie Boeck, entry dd. Aug. 24, 1663; ARA, OWIC 7. Letter from Sigmundt Jenisch Johannesburgh, fiscaal, dd. Aug. 28, 1656, ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 13, 1659.

166. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 12, 1687, in "Correspondence." Also letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 4, 1682, in "Correspondence."

167. ARA, WIC 1024. Letters from M. Witte, dd. Company's lodge at Ofra, Ardra [1683?], and Ofra, Dec. 31, 1684; letter from J. Carter, dd. Whydah, Nov. 22, 1686, in "Correspondence"; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 50–51. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 208.

168. Thomas Astley, ed., *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 4 vols.

(1745–47; reprint ed., London, 1968), 3:11. Many of the slaves sold at Ofra and Whydah had come through Fon country ("Fumce Lant") and from a town near Apa where a great market was held about once every two weeks. ARA, WIC 1024. To the director-general, dd. [Ofra], Mar. 14, 1680; letter from A. Wendover, dd. Apa, July 17, 1682, in "Correspondence."

169. See, for example, Regnskab, passim; "Correspondence," passim. Also, ARA, OWIC 56. Arent Jacobsen van Amersfoort to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 10, 1640.

170. Cf. "The trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men, and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of blacks" (Barbot, *Description,* p. 270).

171. Cf. Claude Meillaussoux, "Correspondence," *ES* 7, no. 3 (1978): 328–29; idem, "Historical Modalities of the Exploitation and Overexploitation of Labour," *CA* 4, nos. 13 and 14 (1979): 9–11.

172. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 182. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 407.

173. Letters from W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Mar. 31 and Apr. 16, 1695; and T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 16, 1698, in "Correspondence"; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 159–60, 166–67, 168–69.

174. Paul C. Ozanne, "Notes on the Later Prehistory of Accra," *JHSN* 3 (1964): 22; Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa* (Oxford, 1968), chap. 1; René A. Bravmann and R. Duncan Mathewson, "A Note on the History and Archaeology of 'Old Bima,'" *IJAHS* 3, no. 1 (1970); Paul C. Ozanne, "Ghana," in *The African Iron Age,* ed. P. L. Shinnie (Oxford, 1971), p. 47; Merrick Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," *AQ* 11, no. 2 (1971): 115–16; idem, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," *WA* 5, no. 2 (1973): 155–59; idem, "The Archaeological Foundations of the History of Ghana," in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Ghanaian Historiography and Historical Research,* ed. J. O. Hunwick (Legon, Ghana, 1977), pp. 11–12; Frank Willet "A Survey of Recent Results in the Radiocarbon Chronology of Western and Northern Africa," *JAH* 12, no. 3 (1971): 364; M. Posnansky and R. Mcintosh, "New Radiocarbon Dates from Northern and Western Africa," *JAH* 17, no. 2 (1976): 165, 166–67; D. Calvocoressi and Nicholas David, "A New Survey of Radiocarbon and Thermoluminescence Dates for West Africa," *JAH* 20, no. 1 (1979): 16–17; Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States, 1500 to 1800," in *History of West Africa* vol. 1, ed. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 2d ed. (New York, 1970), pp. 423–32; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *JAH* 19, no. 2 (1978). Also H. P. J. Renaud, "La Première mention de la noix de kola dans la matière médicale des arabes," *Hesperis* 8 (1928): 51–52, 54–55; Monod, "A propos d'un document," 775–76.

175. For this trade see J. Heers, *Gênes au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), pp. 64–73, 473–82; Braudel, *Mediterranean,* 1:466–71, 474–75; Devisse, "Routes de commerce et echanges en Afrique Occidentale." Also Magalhaes-Godinho, *L'Économie de l'empire portugais,* pp. 122, 126–27, 291, 292, 293–94, 296–97, 299, 304, 312–13; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600,* trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973), p. 128.

176. Fernandes, *Description de la côte,* p. 87.

177. Ibid., pp. 87, 89; Pereira, *Esmeraldo,* pp. 65, 67. Also Merrick Posnansky, "The Early Development of Trade in West Africa: Some Archaeological Considerations," *GSSJ* 2, no. 2 (1972): 98–99; idem, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," pp. 155–56, 158; idem, "Archaeology, Technology, and Akan Civilization," pp. 30–34.

178. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:94.

179. For archaeological references to pre-eighteenth-century fortified town and village sites in the forest zone see Oliver Davies, *West Africa before the Europeans* (London, 1967), pp. 283–90; David Kiyaga-Mulindwa, "The Earthworks of the Birim Valley, Southern Ghana" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1978).

180. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts refer to deep mining in

various parts of the region. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 177–79; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194, 195; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 272; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 57; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den opper coopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Apr. 16, 1707.

181. For an account of the tools used in the nineteenth century see Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading," pp. 90–92. Also Meyerowitz, *Sacred State,* pp. 199–200, 201. Old mining shafts along the Jimi River, about ten miles northwest of the seventeenth-century town site of Twifo-Heman, contained potsherds, brass pans and buckets, gold weights, spoons and scale pans, gold jewelry, stone celts and perforated stones which may have been used as digging stick weights. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana," p. 81. See also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194–95, Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 178–79 and Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 272, for early references to goldminers' tools.

182. For references to blacksmiths and other craftsmen see letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 19, 1681; N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Dec. 7, 1693; E. Searle, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 7, 1694; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Nov. 7, 1697, in "Correspondence"; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 53, 81, 88; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 220, 274–77. Also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 264–65; Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante,* 1:57.

183. For references to craftsmen attached to the courts and households of the *ahenfo Kese* and the *ahenfo* see de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 393–94; letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Dec. 1691; and J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 26, 1696, in "Correspondence."

184. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 195. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 389. For nineteenth-century tax assessments on gold production see Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading," pp. 93–94; Dumett, "Pre-Colonial Gold Mining," pp. 50–51. Also Meyerowitz, *Sacred State,* pp. 201–2.

185. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

186. This development had already occurred by the early 1570s. See "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:111. For agricultural production in and around the Ankobra valley see ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:94, 102; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 6–7, 11–12, 25. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 195. For a discussion of trade, production, and politics in seventeenth-century Wassa see Larry Yarak, "Political Consolidation and Fragmentation in a Southern Akan Polity: Wassa and the Origins of Wassa Amenfi and Fiase, 1700–1840" (Paper, 1976), pp. 1–13.

187. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 388–90. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:109; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 25. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 199.

188. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 88; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 6–7, 54, 286, 287, 289, 298. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," pp. 195, 209. Also ARA, Legatie Archief Pruisen. Bewys van der Landen Axieme, of Axems Jurisdictie, A. Hogenboeck et al., n.d.: Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:94, 101, 102, 103. Cf. T. Hirst, *The Geology of the Tarkwa Goldfields and Adjacent Country,* Gold Coast Geological Survey no. 10 (London, 1938), p. 6.

189. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 218, entry for Aug. 18, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 93–95; Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 180; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 80–81. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 101. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 76.

190. The evidence for this is circumstantial. Certain oral histories associate pre-1600 towns with large "barns" full of produce that apparently had been supplied by peasants in

the form of a land tax. Cf. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante,* 1:82, 84; S. M. Quartey, "Development of the Human Geography of Ahantaland before 1600," *GSSJ* 4, no. 1 (1977): 119, 122. During the seventeenth century the rulers of some coastal polities received produce daily from their royal estates, which were worked by slave and/or corvée labor. The produce was used for the maintenance of the royal household. See de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 337–38, 340, 383–84; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 101–2. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 102, 112; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 198. In the early-eighteenth-century Asoko (or Assini) state slaves engaged in full-time salt production were apparently supplied with produce from *ofahene* farms that had been worked by slaves and corvée labor. See Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 168–69. See also "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge," pp. 63–64.

191. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 390. Cf. also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 75–76, who refers to a gold trader whose dependents (*volk*) were involved in gold production.

192. For mining concessionaires in nineteenth-century Asante see Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading," pp. 92–93. For references to land grants and land sales in various parts of the region see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 10, 34, 42, 86, 275–76; T. Lewin, "The Structure of Political Conflict in Asante, 1875–1900," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1974), 2:196, 214, 306, 308, 315, 329, 331, 335, 337, 340, 342; Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 106–10; idem, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion" (Paper presented at the African Studies Association meeting, Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 17–18. Cf. also Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 113.

193. Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 178–79. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194–95. Cf. Junner, *Gold in the Gold Coast,* p. 11; Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading," p. 92. See also Meyerowitz, *Sacred State,* pp. 199–200, 201.

194. Cf. Tilleman, *En Liden,* p. 116, who relates that the overseer of the slave miners was called "Bomba."

195. Various contemporary accounts, without offering precise figures, indicate that great numbers of people were involved in the exploitation of gold. Rǿmer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 178–79; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 194–95; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 272; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den opper coopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Apr. 16, 1707. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653.

196. Cf. Claude-Helene Perrot, "Or, richesse et pouvoir chez les anyi-ndenye aux XVIII^{e} et XIX^{e} siècles," *JA* 48, no. 1 (1978): 109. Also Dumett, "Pre-Colonial Gold Mining," pp. 46–47.

197. Marx, *Grundrisse,* pp. 398–99. Also idem, *Capital,* 1:445–46, 447:

> A single person cannot carve a working day of more than say, 12 hours, out of the natural day, but 100 men co-operating can extend the working day to 1,200 hours. The shortness of the time allowed for the work is compensated for by the large mass of labor thrown into the field of production at the decisive moment. The completion of the task within the proper time depends on the simultaneous application of numerous combined working days; the amount of useful effect depends on the number of workers; this number, however, is always smaller than the number of isolated workers that would be required to do the same amount of work in the same period. . . . The combined working day produces a greater quantity of use-values than an equal sum of isolated working days, and consequently diminishes the labor-time necessary for the production of a given useful effect.

198. Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 399. Also idem, *Capital,* 1:441, 442: "Even without an alteration in the method of work, the simultaneous employment of a large number of workers produces a revolution in the objective conditions of the labor process; . . . a portion of the means of production are now consumed jointly in the labor process. . . . Not only do we have here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new productive power, which is intrinsically a collective one."

199. For the negative effects of the eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic slave trade on gold production see Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning*, p. 25; Walter Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," *THSG* 10 (1969); Wilks, *Asante in Nineteenth Century*, p. 679.

200. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 407.

CHAPTER 6

1. K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford, 1970) chap. 2. Also Richard Bean, "A Note on the Relative Importance of Slaves and Gold in West African Exports," *JAH* 15, no. 3 (1974): 35-36.

2. Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, chap. 4 and passim.

3. "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 et 1688," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687-1702*, ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), pp. 26-27. In 1641 it was reported that the months of March and April were generally bad times for trade at the European trading stations because farmlands were being cleared and cultivated. ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1641. See also "Correspondence," passim.

4. The commerce of private traders was very important. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 415; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Aug. 8, 9, and 29, 1693; letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 8, 1683, in "Correspondence"; "letters from N. Buckeridge et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 28, 1698, and March 5, 1699," in *The Political and Commercial Works of That Celebrated Writer Charles d'Avenant*, collected and revised by Charles Whitworth, 5 vols. (London, 1771), 5:182, 184; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), pp. 5-6. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 193-94.

5. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 91. Also ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het register der resolutie gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Jan. 21, 1689.

6. "Vertoog van bewindhebbers en handelaars op de Westkust van Afrika handel drijvende, aan de staten-Generael, waarin de toestand van den handel wordt beschreeven Oomstreeks 1607)," in *De Oorsprong van Neerlands Bezittingen op de kust van Guinea*, ed. J.K.J. de Jonge (The Hague, 1871), pp. 30-32; Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Guinea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het Deel van Afrika*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), pp. 45-46, 52-55; H. E. van Gelder, "Scheepsrekeningen van enkels der vroegste Guinea-vaarten," *EHJ* 2 (1916): 241-43, 244-57.

7. Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870* (Oxford, 1972), p. 47. See also Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, "Da Mina ao Cabo Negro, 1574-1620," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portugueses*, ed. Luciano Cordeira, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 1:33.

8. "1516-1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," in Cordeira, *Viagens explorações*, 6:23. Also Branco, "Da Mina ao Cabo Negro," 1:27-28, 38; Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basel, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), pp. 32-33, 37-39; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639-1642*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 26. A Portuguese report of 1607 lists the following Gold Coast exports: gold, ivory, silver (*prata*), pepper (*malegeta*), resin (*anime*), civet extract (*algalia*), civet cat (*gatos*), wax (*cera*), and slaves. "1607. Estabelecimentos e Resgates Portuguezes na Costa Occidental de Africa," in Cordeira, *Viagens, explorações*, 4:14.

In the early sixteenth century the Portuguese transported slaves, palm oil, leopard skins,

cotton cloths, and blue beads (*coris*) from Benin, Rio dos Forcados, and Rio dos Escravos to São Jorge da Mina. These items were exchanged for gold. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,* trans. and ed. Raymond Mauny (Bissau, 1956), p. 139.

9. John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), pp. 273, 377, 384, 386, 391. Also Dierick Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-Vaert, 1623,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1913), p. 75; Thomas Astley, ed., *A New and General Collection of Voyages and Travels,* 4 vols (1745–47; reprint ed., London, 1968), 2:215, 523, 524.

For the Dutch coasting trade see K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan van Valckenburgh, passim; Resolutie Boeck: passim; S. van Brakel, "Eene memorie over den Handel der West-Indische Compagnie omstreeks 1670," *BMHG* 35 (1914): passim.

10. "Vertoog van bewindhebbers en handelaars" in de Jong, *De Oorsprong van Neerlands Bezittingen,* pp. 31–32. Textiles were also a major trade item of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They accounted, on the average, for 25 percent of total annual sales at São Jorge da Mina. See John Vogt, "Notes on the Portuguese Cloth Trade in West Africa," *IJAHS* 8, no. 4 (1975): passim; idem, "Portuguese Gold Trade: An Account Ledger from Elmina, 1529–1531," *THSG* 14, no. 1 (1973): 93.

11. For textile and other imports into Gold Coast ports see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA. Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI, 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts, passim; ARA, WIC 180, passim; ARA, WIC 484, passim; ARA, WIC 97. Formulier en Petitie van Koopmansz., dd. St. George d' Elmina, Apr. 15, 1700. RKA, HSHK, Africanska Kompagniet I 1649–95. Krusenstiernes Relation om Affricanske Compagnie, dd. Flensburg, June 25, 1658, and Memorie van Cargasoenen voor divers Quartieren op de Cust van Aphrika beginnende van Cape Verde, n.d.; RKA, HSHK, Africanska Kompagniet II a. Fractura over Cargosen in't schip Christina, dd. Hamburg, 1660. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738, passim; RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk Skibsekspeditioner til Vestindien og Guinea I (1671–81) and II (1687–1710), passim. PRO, T70/1223, passim; PRO, T70/1230, passim; PRO, T70/309, passim. Also *The Golden Coast, or a Description of Guinney* (London, 1665), pp. 16–19, 54; Victor Granlund, *En Svensk Kolonie i Afrika eller Svenska Afrikanska Kompagniets Historia* (Stockholm, 1879), p. 128; Georg Nørregaard, "Varer til Guinea," *Handels og Søfartsmuseet paa Kronberg* (Elsingor, 1951), passim; P. J. Griffiths, "Africa and the Indies Trade in the Seventeenth Century, Principally in the Period 1657–1663" (M.A. diss., University of Birmingham, 1972), chap. 2.

12. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; A. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485–1897* (London, 1969), p. 93. For the trade in Kwakwa cloths see ARA, OWIC 51. Jacob Ruychayer to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Sept. 6, 1641; ARA, OWIC 11. J. J. Sticker to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Fort Nassau, Feb. 3, 1634. The Dutch sold Kwakwa cloths in the "Calabary" river and they sold Ardra cloths to traders from the Kwakwa coast. ARA, OWIC 56, Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1642; ARA, OWIC 7. S. Jenisch to Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Aug. 17, 1656.

13. ARA. Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: various entries for the years 1658, 1659, and 1660; Resolutie Boeck: entries dd. Apr. 1 and Aug. 22, 1656, and July 2, 1658. At least six different kinds of Benin cloths were sold at Gold Coast ports: three band ("Ambassis"), four band ("Mouponoque"), five band, "caldes," "tyman," and "mundee." For Benin textiles see Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans,* pp. 93–95. There were two kinds of Kwakwa cloths—five band and six band (in large and small sizes and with coarse or fine texture)—and there were five to ten or more types of Ardra and Whydah textiles, such as plain, striped, brocaded, multicolored, etc. Cape Verde cloths were also sold in appreciable numbers.

14. ARA, OWIC 7. Letter from S. Jenisch to Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Aug. 28, 1656; Granlund, *En Svensk Kolonie,* p. 128. For English imports of Benin cloth see IOLR, E/3/28. Letters from Tho. Hendra, dd. Kormantse Castle Nov. 13 and Dec. 12, 1664; ARA. Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim.

15. ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Jan. 13, 1685; PRO, T70/1229 and 1230. Warehouse books kept at Cape Coast Castle [1685–91]. For the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century cloth trade see E. Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), pp. 46–47, 128–29, 153; PRO, T70/22. Accounts of goods remaining at Cape Coast Castle, dd. Nov. 27, 1705; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 15; "Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1698 par le Chevalier Damon," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 82. By 1717 the Gold Coast demand for Benin cloths had declined. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans,* p. 151 n. 2.

16. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Goutkust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), p. 158. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 186.

17. António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 1:210; A Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa de Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), pp. 6–7, 11–12, 20; Godfrey Loyer, "Relation de voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 190.

18. The prices of imported goods had declined since the beginning of the century. In 1608, for example, 60 to 90 pieces of linen (*lijwaet*)—90 to 120 ell—cost 768 dambas (or 1 benda), but in 1633, 92 to 122 pieces could be bought for this price. See K. Ratelband, ed., *Reizen naar West-Afrika van Pieter van den Broecke, 1605–1614* (The Hague, 1950), p. 25, entry for Mar. 4, 1608; and p. 33 entry for Oct. 6, 1608.

19. Ratelbend, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 67. [Verzameling stukken van commerciele aard der WIC 1642–74]: "Verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1661," "verhandelt op de Gout Cust . . . in't jaer 1662," and "1673 gout ontfang in alle forten."

20. IOLR, E/3/25. Letters from L. Staveley, dd. Kormantse Castle, Feb. 22, 1658; and James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, July 3, 1658; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1959; IOLR, E/3/28. Letter from Tho. Hendra, dd. Kormantse Castle, Nov. 13, 1664. Also Resolutie Boeck: entries dd. Oct. 23 and Dec. 1, 1658.

21. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, Dec. 27, 1658; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659. Between 1658 and 1663 seventeen East Indies Company ships carried nearly 17 million dambas' worth of gold from the Gold Coast to India. See Griffiths, "Africa and the Indies Trade," chap. 2. In the early sixteenth century Portuguese ships transported gold from Elmina to India. See Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho, *L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux xv^e^ et xvi^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1969), pp. 318–19.

22. Müller, *Die Africanische,* pp. 257–58.

23. Regnskab, passim. Also Nørregaard, "Varer til Guinea," pp. 56–66.

24. In the early seventeenth century twenty to forty Dutch ships traded at Gold Coast ports yearly. See "Vertoog van bewindhebbers en handelaars," p. 31; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 79; "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:20, 23. For annual ships' traffic during the second half of the century and in the early eighteenth century see KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan van Valckenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, Jan. 1, 1656; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 387, 411; ARA, VVWIS. Kort relaas behelfende de voor deelen die op de Republiek, WIC en Ingezetenen deser Lande Kunne trekken by 't openstellen van de vry vaart op de Kusten van Africa en America, . . . pp. 3, 5, 7; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra

Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Letter from J. Thrane, dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 30, 1701; "letter from van Sevenhuysen to the Assembly of Ten," dd. Elmina, Apr. 15, 1700, in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague,* trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), p. 71.

25. See, for example, letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 2, 1681; R. Hassell, dd. Accra, May 5 and June 12, 1683; T. Bucknell, dd. Sekoñdi, June 5, 1681; N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, May 26 and June 23, 1694; G. Clay, dd. Accra, May 20, 1694; and Edward Barter, dd. Alampo, Aug. 4, 1694, in "Correspondence."

26. PRO, C 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle [1721?]. See also L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 85–86; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 160. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 253. For a recent study of the "forty" day calendar see P. F. W. Bartle, "Forty Days: The Akan Calendar," *Africa* 48, no. 1 (1978). Also T. C. McCaskie, "Time and the Calendar in Nineteenth Century Asante: An Exploratory Essay," *HA* 7 (1980).

27. For the *adaye* and *adamū* see Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 99. See also letter from R. Elwes, dd. Egya, Feb. 3, 1687, in "Correspondence"; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 59, 144; "Minutes of Council, dd. December 19, 1712," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 167.

The *abereku asuman* ("obricku summan") was also important in determining the day(s) for business and the day(s) when one remained at home. See Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), p. 323; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 99–100. The *abereku* was "a bird the size of a pigeon, of light brown colour . . . considered as a spirit (*osaman*) and fortune-teller," J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (Basle, 1881).

28. Barbot, *Description,* p. 259. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 216–17; Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Guineische Reise-Beschreibung* (Marienwerder, 1694), pp. 56–57; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 258, 259–60; letters from C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Jan. 17, 1699; and T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Sept. 4, 1693, in "Correspondence."

29. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 231. For the pawns of aggrey beads and gold which Antony deposited at Fort Fredriksborg see RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende Heer von Groenensteyn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674. In 1674 Antony was an *ohene* in Elmina.

30. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 216–17, 320–21, 322–23. Also Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 108; Barbot, *Description,* p. 259; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 48–51.

31. See Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 35, 78; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Sept. 3, 1706: letter from J. Landman, dd. Axim, Aug. 31, 1706.

32. Barbot, *Description,* p. 259.

33. Landlord-brokers were referred to in Dutch as *herbergeiers* or *huisvesters;* in Akan as "sanfo." A female landlord-broker was called a *waerdin* in Dutch and "ebbredde" in Akan. See de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 255, 257; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 76, 105. Also letter from T. Bucknell dd. Sekondi, July 28, 1686, in "Correspondence." For the warehouses (*Päckhäuser*) of the landlord-brokers see Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 269. For a general discussion of landlord-brokers in West Africa see Polly Hill, "Two Types of West African Trade and Markets in West Africa," in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa,* ed. Claude Meillassoux (Oxford, 1971), pp. 310–16.

34. For the merchant corporation of Little Komenda see letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Apr. 22 and July 30, 1687, in "Correspondence." Akani merchant corporations are discussed in chap. 7.

35. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 254–57; Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 10. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 321–22.

36. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; Regnskab, passim. The "trade ounce" and the assortment trade associated with it did not exist in the seventeenth century, or at least not until the end of the century. Both were linked to the slave, not the gold, trade. Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* p. 36. See also Marion Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth-Century West African Trade," *JAH* 7, no. 2 (1966).

37. A number of brokers and merchants engaged in smuggling in a big way. See Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. Aug. 13, 1658; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 147, 260; James Lange, "An Account of a Voyage Made to Cape Verd and the Coast of Guinea [1622–25]," in *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, a Compleate Collection of Voyages and Travels,* ed. John Harris, 2 vols. (London, 1765), 1:388; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 5–6. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," pp. 193–94.

38. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 185, entry for June 13, 1646.

39. Ibid., p. 205, entry for July 26, 1646.

40. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 9, 1683, in "Correspondence."

41. Letters from R. Hassel, dd. Fredriksborg, Sept. 3, 1687, and Apr. 4, 1688, in "Correspondence."

42. Letter from J. Pinck, dd. Sekondi, Apr. 17, 1694, in "Correspondence."

43. Letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 24, 1694, in "Correspondence."

44. Letters from M. B. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Oct. 15 and 20, 1683, in "Correspondence." See also ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by de Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Oct. 8, 1683.

45. Letter from G. Jackson, dd. Komenda, May 5, 1697, in "Correspondence."

46. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 67, entry for Aug. 5, 1645.

47. Letter from J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 11, 1696, in "Correspondence."

48. Letter from S. Lawson, dd. Tantumkweri, Jan. 26, 1699, in "Correspondence." For trade between Tantumkweri and the Esikuma-Breman towns see letter from T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Sept. 4, 1693, in "Correspondence."

49. Letter from J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 4, 1695, in "Correspondence." See also RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk. Skibsekspeditioner til Vestindien og Guinea 1671–1681. Memorial Ao. 1680. Skibet Haumanden til Guinea: entries dd. Mar. 11 and 14, 1681.

50. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for July 24, 1653.

51. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Nov. 15, 1686, in "Correspondence"; ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by de Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Nov. 24, 1693.

52. PRO, T 70/374. King and country of Fatue dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 22, 1696. See also PRO, T 70/374. King and country of Fatue dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 15, 1698.

53. For an account of the careers of these two men see Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* pp. 107–11.

54. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 61, entry for July 15, 1645; p. 70, entry for Oct. 7, 1645; and p. 190, entry for June 23, 1646. For the later trade of Acroissan Tay see IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from [James Conget], dd. Kormanste Castle, Oct. 8, 1658; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chapell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 25, 1660; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 107–8.

55. See, for example, Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 35, 78.

56. See, for example, Barbot, *Description,* pp. 147–259; Loyer, "Relation du voyage" pp. 167–68, 203.

57. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 20, 1683, in "Correspondence."

58. Letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, July 27 and 28, 1687; and R. Elwes, dd. Komenda, Aug. 14 and 16, 1687, in "Correspondence."

59. Letters from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Feb. 7 and 23, and Apr. 26, 1688, in "Correspondence."

60. Letter from J. Browne, dd. Egya, Mar. 4, 1696, in "Correspondence."

61. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 21, 1688, in "Correspondence."

62. Letter from R. Goring, dd. Dixcove, Sept. 25, 1694, in "Correspondence."

63. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Accra [Apr. or May, 1681], in "Correspondence."

64. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 2, 1655.

65. Ibid., entry for Apr. 21, 1655.

66. Ibid., entry for Feb. 16, 1655.

67. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for June 6 and 12, 1660.

68. Regnskab. Debit account of Claas Brand: entries dd. Oct. 21, 1668, and Jan. 25, 1669.

69. Ibid., entries dd. Jan. 1 and 20, 1669.

70. Ibid., entry dd. Jan. 1, 1671.

71. Ibid., Debit account of Conrad Crull: various entries between Sept. 27, 1668, and Feb. 15, 1669.

72. Ibid., entry dd. Jan. 7, 1670.

73. Ibid. Debit account of Conrad Crull, company's account: entries from Jan. 22, to May, 1670.

74. Ibid. Debit account of Conrad Crull: entry dd. June 30, 1670.

75. Ibid. Credit account of Conrad Crull, passim.

76. For a late-seventeenth-century account of this trade see Tilleman, *En Liden,* pp. 111–12, 141.

77. Regnskab. Credit account of Claas Brand, passim.

78. See Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 198.

79. See, for example, Regnskab. Debit account of Claas Brand: entry dd. May 7, 1669; credit account of Conrad Crull: entries dd. Mar. 16, Apr. 29, and June 14, 1670; and credit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry dd. May, 1673.

80. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H 69. Contract gemaeckt tusschen Generael Jacob van der Wel ende den coninck van Groot Accra, dd. the lodge at Small Accra, Aug. 4, 1649; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 10, 1659, and June 6, 1660; Regnskab, passim; letters from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, Mar. 14, 1683; M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Aug. 23, 1683; and J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Oct. 22, 1694, in "Correspondence"; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 185, 186, 233; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 327; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 4–5, 240.

81. ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1641; ARA, OWIC 11. Jacob van der Wel to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 17, 1647; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 385–408; Resolutie Boeck, passim; "Correspondence," passim.

82. See, for example, KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 393–94.

83. "Correspondence," passim; Barbot, *Description,* p. 180; Müller, *Die Africanische,* p. 240; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 6–7, 54, 200. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," pp. 195, 205.

84. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 54; Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman," p. 209. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 105.

85. See, for example, letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 12, 1682; E. Searle, dd. Anomabo, May 21 and 28, and Aug. 9 and 24, 1694; W. Cooper, dd. Egya, May 25, 1694;

and J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, July 30, 1695, in "Correspondence." Also Barbot, *Description*, p. 176.

86. See letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, May 22, 1687; and J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 12, 1695, in "Correspondence." Also Barbot, *Description*, p. 177.

87. For *millie* sales to the factors and ships of the Royal African Company see "Correspondence," passim. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 56.

88. John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens, 1979), p. 62. See also "Vertoog of Deductie," pp. 52–53.

89. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June, 1660. For Kormantse traders at Small Accra in 1645 see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 36, entry for Apr. 16, 1645. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 393–94; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 185, 186, 215, 233; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 14.

90. ARA, OWIC 81 Dagregister: entry for [June], 1660.

91. Ibid., entries for Dec. 30, 1658, and Jan. 7, 1659. Both Akoda and Ampa traded at Fort Fredriksborg as well. Regnskab. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entries dd. June and July, 1672.

92. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for [June], 1660.

93. For this trade see KITVL, Leiden msc. H 69. Contract gemaeckt tusschen den Heer Generael Jacob van der Wel ende den Coninck van Groot Accra, dd. the lodge at Small Accra, Aug. 4, 1649; Barbot, *Description*, pp. 185, 186, 233; letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, July 24, 1683, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 130, 164; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 14. An Accra man who resided in Little Komenda in 1660 may have served as a landlord-broker for traders coming from Great Accra. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 5, 1660.

94. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 3, 1683, in "Correspondence." In 1694 there were "Cormanteen people" resident in Alampo; perhaps they were associated with "Bonishee's" factory (see letter from Edward Barter, dd. Alampo, Aug., 1694, in "Correspondence"). In 1687 there were "Fanteen people" living in Soko ("English" Accra), where they sold, among other things, produce. Letter from M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Feb. 1, 1687, in "Correspondence."

95. Letter from J. Gregory, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 10, 1692, in "Correspondence."

96. For Asameni's trading stations see RA, VGK. Dag-journaler, ført paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Dec. 30, 1699, and Jan. 25 and 26, and Feb. 3, 1700. For the livestock and salt trade and the trade of private, noncompany ships see the following: letters from J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Aug. 9, 1692, Sept. 9, 1693, and Sept. 15 and Oct. 22, 1694; Edward Barter, dd. Alampo, dd. Aug. 4, 1694; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Dec. 7, 1695, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK, Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Letter from Johan Thrane, dd. Christiansborg, Jan. 26, 1699; "letter from Sevenhuysen to the Assembly of Ten, dd. Elmina, April 15, 1700," in van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 71; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," p. 14; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 235.

97. ARA, OWIC 11. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 17, 1647; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for May 21, 1652; ARA, OWIC 13. Verclaaring van Janso, Matton en Dessang, dd. Axim, May 17, 1656; ARA, OWIC 7. S. Jenisch to Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Aug. 28, 1656; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for May 19, 21, and 22 and June 3 and 6, 1660; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 385, 392, 393; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 62–63; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 182. See also Elpalonso de Sandoval, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbresiritos, disciplina: catechismo, evangelico de todos Etiopes* (Seville, 1627), p. 51.

98. Alberto Iria. "Da fundção e governo do castelo ou Fortaleza de São Jorge de Mina

pelo Portugueses e da sua acção missionária após o descrobimento desta costa," *Studia,* no. 1 (1958), p. 53.

99. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 62; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 15; ARA, OWIC 11. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 17, 1647, and letter from Heyndrick Caarloff, fiscaal, dd. Elmina, Sept. 26, 1647; ARA, OWIC 7. S. Jenisch to Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Aug. 17, 1656.

100. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by John Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 393–94.

101. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 14, 1659.

102. Regnskab. Debit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. Nov. 9, 1669.

103. Barbot, *Description,* p. 157; ARA, WIC 1024. Letter from N. Witte, dd. Company's lodge at Ofra, Ardra [1683?]; letter from J. Carter, dd. Whydah, Dec. 6, 1686, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister, 1688–1689: entry for Feb. 11, 1689; Letter from H. Meyer, dd. Christiansborg, Feb. 1, 1704. For the overland route between Accra and Ardra see ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entries dd. Sept. 7, 1690, and Feb. 18, 1692; letter from E. Searle, dd. Accra, Dec. 7, 1695, in "Correspondence." In 1717 there were Gold Coast traders ("Minaaze") residing at Whydah. ARA, WIC 103. Handel Reekening van de Akredam, dd. [Whydah], 1717. See also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 375.

104. For the trade goods in demand at Ardra see Astley, *New and General Collection,* 3: 66, 73, 83, 83. In the early eighteenth century Akyem was one of the Hueda kingdom's sources of gold. Cowrie shells and gold dust were both used as currencies in Hueda. See Astley, *New and General Collection,* 3:11; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 56.

105. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 393–94, 395; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse," pp. 14, 15; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 129, 153, 229.

106. A Portuguese letter of 1530 implies the existence of trade relations between the Accra-Ladoku area and the territory of the later Great Popo. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 1:544–45. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 230–31, does not refer to this trade. However, an anonymous document of early(?)-seventeenth-century date suggests the existence of commercial contact between Elmina and Ardra. See "Description del Puerto de Arda," in *Documentação ultramarina Portuguesa,* 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67), 2:200.

107. Astley, *New and General Collection,* 2:650.

108. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 386, 395. According to Barbot, Gold Coast traders obtained ivory "from the coasts of Quaqua and Congo, brought in canoes." Barbot, *Description,* p. 261. In the 1730s (and earlier) there were resident "Minas" at Ughoton in the Benin Kingdom. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans,* p. 193 and n. 2. Some but probably not all of the "Minas" were in Dutch service. See "Contracts with Natives [1739]," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 345.

109. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, May 8, 1683, in "Correspondence."

110. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 10, Apr. 20, and May 5, 1683, in "Correspondence."

111. For references to Abracon's duties see letters from J. Nightingale, dd. Komenda, Feb. 20 and Aug. 24, 1682; and D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Feb. 16, 23, and 24, April 20, and May 8, 1683, in "Correspondence." For the municipal "establishments" of Little Komenda see letters from J. Nightingale dd. Feb. 15, 1682; D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Feb. 16 and 23 and Mar. 30, 1683; and W. Cross, dd. Komenda, July 5, 1867, in "Correspondence."

112. See, for example, letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 26, Feb. 8, and Mar. 30, 1683, in "Correspondence."

113. Letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 24, 26, and 28, 1683, in "Correspondence."

114. Letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Mar. 9 and 30 and Apr. 21, 1683, in "Correspondence."

115. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Feb. 12, 1683, in "Correspondence." Earlier Abracon had asked for a commission of 4 angles (96 dambas) per mark gold. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Feb. 8, 1683, in "Correspondence."

116. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Mar. 30 and Apr. 6, 1683, in "Correspondence."

117. Letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 30 and May 8, 1683; see also letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Komenda, Nov. 9, 1681, in "Correspondence."

118. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Mar. 9, 1683; see also letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 6, 1683, in "Correspondence."

119. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Mar. 11, 1683, in "Correspondence."

120. Barbot, *Description*, p. 235.

121. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Mar. 11, 1683, in "Correspondence."

122. Regnskab. Credit and debit accounts of fitero Ahen.

123. Ibid. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entry dd. July, 1672.

124. Ibid. Credit and debit accounts of Abrij and Aduaffo.

125. Ibid. Credit account of Conrad Crull, company account: entry dd. Oct., 1668.

126. Ibid. Credit account of Claas Brand: entries dd. Dec. 9, 1668, and Feb. 17, 1673.

127. Ibid. Debit accounts of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. Aug., 1669; and Christian Corneliszoon: entry dd. Oct. 16, 1671.

128. Ibid. Credit account of Ando: entry dd. Feb. 28, 1669; and debit account of Christian Corneliszoon: entry dd. Oct. 16, 1671; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 5.

129. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Jan. 2, 1654.

130. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 318; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 56.

131. Each town in the state paid a tax several times a year to the state treasurer. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 340–41, 371.

132. Regnskab. Debit account of Ando: entry dd. Oct. 23, 1668; and credit account of Ando: entry dd. Dec. 5, 1668.

133. Ibid. Debit account of Ando: entries dd. Dec. 21, 1668, and Feb. 14, 1670.

134. Ibid. Credit account of Ando: entries dd. Feb. 28 and Oct. 31, 1669, and May 31 and Dec. 31, 1670. For his monthly allowance payments see Regnskab. Ando, subsistence account, passim.

135. Ibid. Credit account of Ando: entries dd. Jan. 28 and Oct. 31, 1669, and Nov., 1670.

136. See de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 368–69, 395; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 105, 115–16.

137. For slave and corvée labor in the Afutu polity see de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 296–97; 383–84; Müller, *Die africanische*, passim. Also IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659.

138. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenesteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

139. Regnskab. Credit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry dd. Aug. 20, 1669.

140. Ibid. Ando, subsistence account, passim.

141. There were forty Afutufo employed at the fort, each receiving 60 dambas (5 rigsdaler) a month or 720 dambas a year. Tay was responsible for having them hired. Granlund, *En Svensk Kolonie*, pp. 62–63.

142. Resolutie Boeck: entries dd. Nov. 29, 1663, and Feb. 11, 1664; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 67–68, 109–10, 112–13.

143. These settlements were evidently office-estates (prebendal domains) and not family lands (patrimonial domains). KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburg, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 432, 433–34; RA, TKUA. Nederlandene A II 1657–72. Akter og dokumenter vedr. d. Afrikanske Komp. i Glückstadt og Kolonierne paa Guineakysten. G. van Tetz to Johan Claessen, dd. Amsterdam, Tuesday or the king's day in the month after the rainy season, 1660; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chapell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661.

144. Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. Oct. 31, 1668.

Kwaku Finam (or fimam), who was a "trading servant" of the Swedish African Company in the 1650s and the *fetere* of the Afutu *oman* in the late 1660s and the 1670s, conducted a much bigger trade at Fredriksborg than did Cutta. For his many pawns at Fredriksborg see RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenesteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfanden so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. "Memorial," Christian Cornelissen, dd. Copenhapen, Oct. 16, 1680.

145. Regnskab. Credit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entries dd. Aug. 1669, and May 13, 1671. Müller commented that whenever high-ranking Afutu *ahenfo* requested loans or credit advances they were seldom turned down. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 267–68.

146. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

147. Regnskab. Credit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. Mar. 5, 1669; and debit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. Mar. 1, 1671.

148. Ibid. Credit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. June 20, 1672.

149. Ibid. Cutta, custom's account, passim.

150. Ibid. Credit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entries dd. Jan. 31, 1669, and Apr. 19, 1670; and Cutta, custom's account: entries for the years 1669 and 1671.

151. Ibid. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entries dd. July 18 and Dec. 11, 1669.

152. Ibid. Credit account of Jan Claessen Cutta: entry dd. July 1, 1671. In the 1650s "Acomanij" was a trading servant at the Swedish company's Cape Coast fort (see RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. "Memorial," Christian Cornelissen, dd. Copenhagen, Oct. 16, 1680). During the 1660s and 1670s he conducted an important trade at Fredriksborg. For his pawns at the fort see RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

153. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 79, entry for Oct. 6, 1645; pp. 182–83, entry for June 3, 1646; p. 206, entry for July 28, 1646; and p. 246, entry for Oct. 17, 1646.

154. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 69. Acte van Sessie en opdragt der Comendese strant, Terre Perquenine enden aencleven van dien, dd. Great Komenda, Sept. 18, 1659; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for May 20, 25, and 26, 1660.

155. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 279–80.

156. For the *marinis* of Amanfro and Cape Coast see ibid., pp. 328–30, 340–41, 364–65, 382–84; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 105.

157. Regnskab. Debit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. May 17, 1672.

158. For the Dutch trade at Cape Coast see Resolutie Boeck: various entries for the years 1662 to 1664.

159. Regnskab. Credit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry dd. 1673.

160. Ibid. Credit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. Feb. 20, 1671. "Eijsie," presumably the same person referred to as "Eussie Afadu" or "Eijffie," was probably a niece of Jan

Claessen Acroisan Tay. Both she and "Agrij" traded regularly at Fredriksborg. For their pawns see RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichsberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

161. Regnskab. Credit account of Jantie Snees: entries dd. Feb. 20 and Apr. 12, 1672.

162. Regnskab. Debit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. May 17, 1672.

163. See de Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 232–33, 313–17.

164. Regnskab. Credit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. Nov. 2, 1668. The "Ladische" are unidentified.

165. Regnskab. Credit account of Janti Snees: entries dd. Feb. 28 and Apr. 12, 1672.

166. Regnskab. Account of the sale of J. Snees's cloths, 30 pieces in one chest (*vercoop van J. Snees sijne cleeden 30 st. in een kiste*).

167. Regnskab. Credit account of Jantie Snees: entry dd. Nov. 9, 1669.

168. When he resided at Little Komenda, Snees traded with the Akani merchants there. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 26, 1660.

169. The document is unsigned. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738.

170. Regnskab, passim; RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorenden de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichsberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

171. Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, trans. Brian Pearce, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1970), 1:210.

172. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 253–55, 392; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 65–66, 197, 199; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 202, 211, 234, 253–54; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 81–82, 298. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 101.

173. Letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Feb. 27, 1696, in "Correspondence."

174. Letter from B. Hewlett, dd. Tantumkweri, Aug. 5, 1698, in "Correspondence."

175. Letter from G. Gore, dd. Komenda, June 8, 1698, in "Correspondence."

176. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Letter to the directors and administrators of the Royal Chartered Danish African Company from [Magnus Prang], dd. [Fredriksborg], May 7, 1681.

177. Regnskab, passim. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Dokumenter indkomne og udaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichsberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

178. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 267–68.

179. Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Monseradoe in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbados," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. A. Churchill, 6 vols., 3d ed. (London, 1746), 6:222. Occasionally persons refused to settle their debts with the European factors. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Jan. 10, 1653; ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Nov. 17, 1682.

180. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 407; de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 395; Müller, *Die Africanische*, p. 96.

181. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), pp. 186, 187, 201: Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, 1:80–83, 212.

182. See Marx, *Grundrisse,* pp. 186, 187; Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* 1:79.

183. For references to gold hoards see letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 17, 1687, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 139, 149; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 166–67, 174.

184. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 91, entry for Dec. 1, 1645; and p. 193, entry for June 28, 1646; De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 56, 217.

185. Granlund, *En Svensk Koloni,* p. 128.

186. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660-1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer von Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

187. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672-1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichsberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

188. PRO, T 70/365. Sundry accounts dr. to the current for goods and merchandise . . . and for debts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 12, 1679; PRO, T 70/377. Sundry persons dr. to the Company, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 2, 1701.

189. ARA, WIC 54. The Assembly of X to J. Smits, director-general in Guinea at Elmina, dd. Middelburgh, Nov. 3, 1690.

190. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 5 and 6, 1659; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65 a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 424–25.

191. ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. June 18, 1689.

192. PRO, T 70/11. Letter from S. Humfryes et al., dd. Feb. 12, 1689; letter from W. Ronan, dd. Komenda, Dec. 2, 1691, in "Correspondence."

193. PRO, T 70/11. Letter from J. Platt et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 2, 1694; PRO, T 70/11. Letter from N. Buckeridge et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 28, 1698.

194. PRO, T 70/375. King [of] Saboe dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 29, 1699.

195. PRO, T 70/376. King [of] Saboe dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 28, 1699.

196. PRO, T 70/375. King of Saboe dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 24, 1700; PRO, T 70/377. King and country of Saboe dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1701.

197. ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Jan. 4, 1695.

198. ARA. Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Sept. 1, 1706.

199. ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entries dd. July 27 and 29, 1713; ARA, WIC 122. Leijste van panden door den Heer Hironimus Haring overgegeven aan den Heer Abraham Engelgraaff Robbersz., dd. Elmina, May 12, 1716.

200. PRO. T 70/374. King and country of Arcanyes dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 31, 1699.

201. Letters from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, May 27 and July 3, 1698, in "Correspondence."

202. See, for example, RA, VGK. Negotie-Journal fra Guinea 1698-1721, 1723-54, passim; RA, VGK. Omkostningsbøger fra Guinea 1711-21, 1723-26, 1727-33, passim.

203. Letter from T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Aug. 13, 1693, in "Correspondence."

204. RA, WIC 125. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Apr. 30, 1708.

205. Letters from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 19 and 24, 1694, in "Correspondence."

206. Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* p. 118.

207. "Accounts of Fort Commenda, dd. May 29, 1714," in *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America,* ed. Elizabeth Donnan, 4 vols. (1935; reprint ed., New York, 1965), 2:189.

208. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 26-27.

209. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, Oct., 1681, in "Correspondence."

210. PRO, T 70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entry dd. June 19, 1703.

211. Ibid., entry dd. Sept. 9, 1703.

212. Ibid., entry dd. Nov. 29, 1703.

213. See, for example, RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1705-1722. Extract af Peder Østrups Gieldbog, Christian Synderman, dd. Christiansborg, Feb. 10, 1722; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter ved. skifte og afreigning efter af døder Kompagnitjenere i Guinea 1680-81, 1719-54. Rigtig extract af Knud Rostis Gieldbog over dem som hannem ere skyldige, Christian Synderman, dd. Christiansborg, Feb. 10, 1722.

214. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 112-13.

215. ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entries dd. Jan. 13 and Mar. 1, 1684.

216. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 296; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 182-83; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 203.

217. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640.

218. Letter from J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, July 18, 1695, in "Correspondence." See also ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. Oct. 28, 1702; PRO, T 70/1464. Komenda Fort Diary: entry for Feb. 23, 1715.

219. Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 76-77. Also "1516-1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:23. Brun remarked that it was customary for the borrower to hand over a son or daughter to the creditor as a pawn (*Underpfand*). Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 75.

220. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 15, entry for Feb. 16, 1645; p. 16, entry for Feb. 18, 1645; pp. 56-57, entry for June 23, 1645; and p. 58, entry for July 3, 1645.

221. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 118-20.

222. Letters from J. Rootsey, dd. Komenda, Apr. 6, 1697; G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Aug. 7, 1697, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T 70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entries dd. Apr. 19 and 21, 1703.

223. Letters from G. Gore, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 5, 1699; and C. Salmon, dd. [Egya], Feb., 1699, in "Correspondence."

224. PRO, T 70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entries dd. May 2 and 8, 1703.

225. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1659-1680. Forteignellse paa dend gield Hans Kongl. Mayts. Fortresse Frederichsborg i Guinea er udi, dd. May 29, 1679. For other references to factors' indebtedness to local notables see letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Nov. 15, 1686, and July 15, 1687; and B. Hewlett, dd. Tantumkweri, Aug. 5, 1698, in "Correspondence."

226. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 3, 1653; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698-1705. Hans Lüche to the directors and administrators of the Royal Chartered Danish African Company, dd. Fredriksborg, Jan. 13, 1683.

227. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 13. Contract met die van't Lantschap Jaby en Chama, n.d.; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 12, 1652; RA, VGK. Dag-journaler, ført paa Christiansborg 1698-1705; entry for Sept. 15, 1700.

228. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 178; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 261.

229. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 176; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 260. Also Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, p. 115.

230. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 171, 175; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 171–76 passim. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 258–260.

231. PRO, C 113, 34. Part 2. Letter from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 20, 1717. See also PRO, T 70/5. Letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 20, 1707. See also PRO, T 70/5. Letter from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 3 and 11, 1709, and Feb. 6 and 12, 1710; PRO, T 70/383. Trading charges dr. to sundry, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 31, 1716; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–1731. Letter to the directors from H. Suhm et al., dd. Christiansborg, Mar. 5, 1727; RA, VGK. Sekretprotokoller fǿrt paa Christiansborg; Guinea 1723–1730, F. Pahl et al., dd. Christiansborg, Mar. 26, 1727.

232. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 56–57, entry for June 23, 1645; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 8, 1659.

233. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 73; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 96.

234. PRO, C 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709.

235. ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for July 17 and 19, 1706: letter from P. C. Lecandele, dd. Shama, July 19, 1706.

236. For early-eighteenth-century Akwamu see Ray A. Kea, "Administration and Trade in the Akwamû Empire, 1681–1703," in *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives,* ed. B. K. Swartz, Jr., and Raymond E. Dumett (New York, 1980), pp. 371–92. For Asante see Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975), chap. 1 and passim.

CHAPTER 7

1. See Michael Harbsmeier, "Critique of Political Economy, Historical Materialism, and Pre-Capitalist Social Forms," *CA* 3, no. 12 (1978): 24, 25. Also Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory,* trans. Brian Pearce, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1970) 1:105–6.

2. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situs Orbis,* trans. and ed. Raymond Mauny (Bissau, 1956), pp. 123, 125.

3. PRO, C 113, 36. Part 2. [Letter from J. Phipps], dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 77.

4. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledugerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), p. 86.

5. Hermann Wätjen, "Zur Geschichte des Tauschhandels an der Goldküste um die mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *FVGMN* (1915), pp. 549–51.

6. Samuel Brun, *Schiffarten* (Basle, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1969), p. 78.

7. John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 228; "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 et 1688," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702,* ed. Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 7; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 89.

8. Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Monseradoe in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbados," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels,* ed. A. Churchill, 6 vols., 3d ed. (London, 1746), 6:224.

9. Letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, May 8, 1698 in "Correspondence." See also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86.

10. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–16. Also KITLV, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. July 13, 1657; E. Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), p. 119; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 77.

11. See, for example, KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 420; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), pp. 268, 271–73.

12. ARA. Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; ARA. Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Rademacher, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 149, 158, 273.

13. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 416; PRO, T 70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 22 and Sept. 15, 1698; PRO, T 70/374. King and country of Arcanyes dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 31, 1699. Also K. Ratelband, ed., *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), pp. 227–28, entry for Sept. 12, 1646.

14. ARA. Leupe Collectie no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Antonio Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana*, 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 2:246. The son of the Akani king may have been the prince who was baptized at São Jorge during the governorship of Antonio de Brito (1543–45). The prince adopted the Portuguese governor's name. See Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:110.

15. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 86. Also ARA. Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. On the occasion of a war between the Abrem and Etsi states in 1660 Akani caravans continued to have secure passage through both lands. See ARA. OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 2, 1660.

16. See, for example, Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 149, 158. Also ARA. Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629. In the sixteenth century Akani traders apparently sold textiles and metalware to *ahenfo* in the coastal polities for gold. Cf. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:109.

17. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 74, 81. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 252; Barbot, *Description*, p. 176.

18. The Akani trading system combined two spatial-commercial structures: "relay" and "network" trade. "Relay involves either that the goods pass through the hands of several merchants before arriving at their destination; or that a single merchant exchanges his goods along the route. In the network set-up, the merchant controls the goods either directly or through a representative from their acquisition until their final disposition." Claude Meillassoux, "Introduction," in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, ed. Claude Meillassoux (Oxford, 1971), p. 71. Also Jean-Louis Boutillier, "La cité marchande de Bouna dans l'ensemble économique Ouest-Africain pré-coloniale" in Meillassoux, *Development of Indigenous Trade*, p. 240.

19. The Akani of "Cocoritee" traded mainly on the coast; those of "Crijsakee," however, traded, for the most part, in Adanse, Tafo, Akyem, and Bighu ("Zocco"). See ARA. Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Hermann Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. Also ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Nov. 15, 1642.

20. References to the "intervention" of the council in trading operations are to be found in various sources of the period. Among others see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim.

21. For a reference to the important role of trade in the Assin economy see KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 417–18.

Because Akani merchants' regional commercial activities were closely linked to the political structure, their operations can be regarded as a form of administered trade. However, cf. K. Y. Daaku, "Aspects of Precolonial Akan Economy," *IJAHS* 5, no. 2 (1972): 241: "One of the interesting features of the Akan trade was that it was never state administered." For a discussion of administered trade in other contexts see Karl Polanyi et al., eds., *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires* (New York and London, 1957); Karl Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy* (Seattle and London, 1966).

22. For the *akonkofo* see K. Y. Daaku, "Trade and Trading Patterns of the Akan in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Meillassoux, *Development of Indigenous Trade*, p. 178.

23. The *batafo* were essentially wholesale dealers, distinct from market hawkers, petty traders, and retailers. See Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Guinea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), pp. 33, 254; Müller, *Die Africanische*, p. 259, chap. 10.

24. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 92–93.

25. For a reference to the *offver-kiøbmand* (that is, the legal head and representative of the merchants under his jurisdiction) see VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne och deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d. It should be noted that the Assin state council taxed the captaincies as corporate units; members of the captaincies were not individually taxed. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 18 and 23, 1659.

26. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 259–60. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 86; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 190–91, entry for June 24, 1646; Tilleman, *En liden*, p. 119.

No other inland states had a system of captaincies on the scale of Assin. In the early seventeenth century there were Abrem and Etsi brokers resident in Mouri; at the end of the century some Adom brokers settled at Little Komenda and a group of Esikuma-Breman brokers at Tantumkweri. See ARA. Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Gout Kust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, pp. 85, 86: letters from T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Sept. 4, 1693; and G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Aug. 3 and 15, 1698, in "Correspondence."

27. Cf. the relationship of Yeboah, captain of the Akani merchant-brokers of Kormantse, to the Assin political authorities. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 15 and 16, 1659. See also KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 436–37.

28. For references to the role of sixteenth-century Assin *ahenfo* in trade see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 1:430, 441, 442, 444; 2:246; 3:110; 4:85. A. Teixeira da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina According to Portuguese Documents until the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (Paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, London, 1972), pp. 20, 21.

29. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), pp. 533–34.

30. That Assin authorities had access to slaves is suggested by the praise name (?) or title (?) of an early-sixteenth-century Assin ruler, "Buamam," perhaps a transcription of Abuaman, "breaker of towns" (cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 254: *aboe*, "to break"–modern *bo/bu*). Conceivably, war prisoners from "broken" towns were available for employment as slave porters. For a reference to this ruler see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 4:85. For references to corvée and slave labor in the coastal polities at the beginning of the seventeenth century see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 49, 116–17, 182–83.

31. By 1572 much of the gold which Akani traders sold at São Jorge came from Tafo. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:110. For seventeenth-century Assin see Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, p. 93; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 271.

32. For a general discussion of guilds and the urban development of labor in precapitalist social formations see Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations,* ed. Eric Hobsbawm (London, 1964), pp. 97–98, 100–101, 112.

33. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 35; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639-1645,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 55. Also PRO, T 70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entry for Jan. 25, 1703.

34. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 33 and fig. 2; PRO, T 70/375. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 8, 1699.

35. *The Golden Coast, or a Description of Guinney* (London, 1665), p. 59. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 49.

36. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 55; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 35.

37. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 35; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 270.

38. ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. Also Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86.

39. This statement is based on the assumption that slave settlement patterns in Assin corresponded to those in the coastal *aman.* Towns with dependent settlements of unfree persons were to be found throughout the region in the eighteenth century. Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), p. 78; E. J. P. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asiante Reader,* 2 vols. (London, 1929), 2:123, 124; F. W. H. Migeod, "Tribal Mixture on the Gold Coast," *JASO* 19 (1919–20): 114; J. Gordon, "Some Oral Traditions of Denkyira," *TGCTHS* 1 (1952–55): 29.

40. Barbot, *Description,* p. 261. In the early eighteenth century a hammock-carrier, for example, received about 1½ dambas a day in wages. See Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708-1713* (Oslo, 1969), p. 122. In 1688 the Danes at Christiansborg hired a male slave belonging to an Osu *mantse,* "Matthies," at the rate of 48 dambas a month. RA, VGK. Breve og dokmenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Aug. 6, 1688.

41. Barbot, *Description,* p. 261. For the *adwumafo* see chap. 8 herein.

42. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 55. According to Müller, yam was the customary staple for persons traveling long distances. Bread made from "small milie" (*euju*) may also have been a staple for travelers and porters. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 163, 208.

43. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 415; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 69; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 271.

44. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 252, 270.

45. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 92; Albert van Dantzig. "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 104. £ 200 worth of iron bars (equaling 500 bars, each weighing about 30 pounds) would have weighed 15,000 pounds; £ 300 worth (equaling 750 bars) would have weighed 22,500 pounds.

46. According to Hopkins, "professional carriers, who were often slaves, could head-load 55–65 lb. and cover an average distance of twenty miles a day." A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973), p. 72. However, it was not exceptional for a porter to carry a load in excess of seventy pounds. See Deji Ogunremi, "Human Porterage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy," *JHSN* 8, no. 1 (1975).

47. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652, passim; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim. During the sixteenth century far fewer Akani caravans traded at the Portuguese commercial establishments, and in some years no caravans visited these places. John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469-1682* (Athens, 1979), pp. 80–81, 82–83, 98.

48. That is if each porter made one trip to and from the coast during the course of a year,

however a porter would have made several such trips, hence the actual number of persons involved in transporting merchandise would have been smaller.

49. "Correspondence," passim.

50. Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 35.

51. For an early-eighteenth-century Danish reference to *herberger* on inland trade routes see RA, VGK. Relationer om forholdene i Guinea 1733–1748. To the directors from J. Sparre, dd. Copenhagen, Feb. 4, 1734. Sparre refers specifically to the *herberger* on the route between the coastal Accra towns and Akyem.

52. See PRO, T 70/364. Profit and loss directed to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 16, 1697; PRO, T 70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entry for July 18, 1703; PRO C 113.36 Part 2. Letters from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709; and J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 30, 1717; "Information and Instruction for the sub-merchant D. V. Neyendaal, which could, and (also) should, serve as his guideline during his journey into the interior," dd. Elmina, Oct. 9, 1701, in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague*, trans and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), pp. 75–76.

53. ARA, OWIC 51. J. van der Bergh to the Assembly of XIX, dd. in the yacht *Doendracht* before Mouri, June 22, 1636; ARA, OWIC 13. Extract uyt het raport van de Heer Generael Nicolaes van Ipern noopende de voorvallen outrent het stellen van een logie tot Annemabo aende Ed. Comp. gepresenteert, dd. July 1, 1639; ARA, OWIC 58. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Nov. 15, 1642. Also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 2, 1660; ARA. Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

54. Cf. PRO, C 113.36 Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 28, 1709; PRO, C 113.36, Part 1. Letter from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 28, 1721; ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina 1715–88. Entry for Apr. 30, 1715: letter from J. Visbeck, dd. Kormantse, Apr. 19, 1715. Also Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 271, 273.

55. PRO, C 113.36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 28, 1709; PRO, C 113.36. Part 1. Letters from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 12, 1720, and June 28, 1721. Also ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679.

56. Banda ("Benda") was very likely the "croome" of the "chief cabbesheer" of the "Cabess country." In 1698 it was said to be "in the center of trade for the Arcanys, Dancras, Akims or any of the upcountry people." Letter from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, July 3, 1698, in "Correspondence."

57. For the conflict see, for example, PRO, T 70/5. Letter from J. Pearson, dd. Anomabo, July 12, 1706; PRO, C 113.36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 20, 1709.

58. The districts west of the "Oppenemin-Atchersee" section of the Arcania road seem to have been densely inhabited. See ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina, 1715–88. Entries for Apr. 20, 1715: letters from J. Visbeck, dd. Kormantse, May 5 and June 5, 1715: letter from J. Visbeck, dd. Kormantse, June 4, 1715.

59. See ibid. Entries for May 29, 1715: letter from J. Visbeck, dd. Kormantse, May 28, 1715; June 5, 1715: letter from J. Visbeck, dd. Kormantse, June 4, 1715. Also letters from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 26, 1686; and J. Brown, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1696, in "Correspondence"; L. F. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 109, 110.

For Akani trade in Asebu and Fante see ARA, OWIC 56. Arent Jacobsen van Amersfoort to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Nov. 17, 1640; ARA, OWIC 13. Extract uyt het raport van de Heer Generael Nicolaes van Ipern, noopende de voorvallen omtrent het stellen van een logie tot Annembo aende Ed. Comp. gepresenteert, dd. July 1, 1639; Ratelband, *Vijf*

dagregisters, p. 221, entry for Aug. 22, 1646; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letters dd. Elmina, July 13, 1657, and June 10, 1658.

60. See, for example, PRO, C 113.36. Part 1. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 28, 1721. Also PRO, T70/372. RAC to sundry this month, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 23, 1686; PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 16, 1697. Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 359–60.

61. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 58–59.

62. Ibid., p. 59.

63. *Golden Coast,* p. 71.

64. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 328. In 1646 the Mankessim administration raised custom duties levied on Akani traders. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters* pp. 220–21, entry for Aug. 22, 1646. In the 1650s several coastal polities also increased custom duties. See KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 429, 435–36.

65. Barbot, *Description,* pp. 274, 275. Thus the view that traders were not taxed after the early seventeenth century is inaccurate. See Daaku, "Trade and Trading Patterns," pp. 175–76.

66. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 220–21, entry for Aug. 22, 1646; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 435–36; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse, Mar. 1, 1660; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 359–60; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 268; Barbot, *Description,* p. 189; H. C. Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie aan de Goudkust," *HGU* 53 (1932): 255.

67. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 328–29. Around 1548 it was reported that the governments of the coastal (?) states imposed "heavy tributes" on all trading caravans. Vogt, *Portuguese Rule,* p. 98.

68. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 18, 1659, and June 2, 1660; ARA, ANBKG 1. Notulen van den jaare 1702 gehouden ter directie van den Directeur-Generaal Wilhelm de la Palma: entry dd. May 1, 1702; letter from J. Brown, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1696, in "Correspondence."

69. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 328–29, 359–60; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 268; PRO C 113.36. Part 1. Letters from J. Phipps, n.d. Cape Coast Castle [no. 1659] and dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 28, 1721.

70. The sum of 307,200 dambas approximated the total annual earnings of 2,105 woodcutters or charcoal burners at this time. Three hundred miners each producing a daily minimum of 24 dambas in gold could have produced a total of 314,000 dambas' worth of gold in forty-five days. These comparisons provide some idea of the magnitude of wealth concentration in Akani commercial operations. A number of seventeenth-century accounts refer to the wealth of Akani *batafo.* See, for example, Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86.

71. See ARA, OWIC 51. Johannes van der Bergh to the Assmebly of XIX, dd. in the yacht *Doendracht* before Mouri, June 22, 1636; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 58, entry for June 30, 1645; p. 67, entries for Aug. 3 and 5, 1645; and p. 86, entry for Nov. 4, 1645; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 74–75, 81; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 155, 175, 176, 225; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 35, 78; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 5, 252.

72. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 35, entry for Apr. 11, 1645; Müller, *Die Africanische,* p. 149.

73. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 195, who refers to "some great merchants who live around Elmina" (*eenighe groote Coopluyden die ontrent de Maine woonen*). Of course these merchants need not have been Akani.

74. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 69. In the 1640s the Afutu captaincy may have been the largest of those located in the subcoastal towns.

75. There were several captaincies on the coast by 1632. ARA, OWIC 2. Secret memorandum of the Assembly of XIX, dd. Aug. 16, 1632. For references to the coastal captaincies see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–18.

Attempts to establish a captaincy at Legu in the 1650s proved unsuccessful (see ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Apr. 21 and May 17, 1655; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt het messive van den Generael Jan Valkenburch: letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658). The Akani traded occasionally at Axim in the 1640s, but no captaincy was established there; at the end of the century they traded at Winneba, however no effort was made to settle a captaincy in that port. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 68, entry for Aug. 10, 1645; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 77.

76. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 36, entry for June 23, 1645; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 4, 1654.

77. See ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. In June, 1646, the principal Akani brokers on the coast returned to Assin in order to attend the funeral ceremonies of two "Cocoritee" (?) governors (*groote meesters*). Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 193, entry for June 28, 1646.

78. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 84–85, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; and pp. 137–38, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Apr. 19 and 20 and Oct. 11, 1653.

79. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 85, entry for Nov. 2, 1645; p. 142, entry for Nov. 13, 1645; p. 177, entry for May 17, 1646; and pp. 255–56, entry for Nov. 5, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Oct. 11, 1653; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 6, 142.

80. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 3, entry for Jan. 21, 1645; p. 18, entry for Feb. 25, 1645; p. 41, entry for Apr. 29, 1645; p. 54, entry for June 8, 1645; p. 67, entry for Aug. 4, 1645; p. 74, entry for Aug. 29, 1645; p. 76, entry for Sept. 19, 1645; and p. 169, entries for Apr. 30 and May 1, 1646.

81. Many of the sources of the period refer to the diverse duties and activities of the captains.

82. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 152, entry for Dec. 12, 1645; and p. 182, entry for June 2, 1646; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 6, 143, 259.

83. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 140, entry for Nov. 2, 1645; and p. 152, entry for Dec. 12, 1645.

84. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Oct. 25 and 26, 1654.

85. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 15, 1659.

86. Regnskab. Credit account of Jan Clasen Cutterique: entry dd. Apr. 22, 1671, and Jan Clasen Cutterique Custom account, entries for the year 1670. Cutterique spent nearly the whole of 1670 in "Aquea," and in 1671 he was there for two months.

87. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anaomabo, Apr. 25, 1686, in "Correspondence."

88. For references to servants and slaves see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 137–38, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 20, 1683, in "Correspondence." Thus, the attendants (*gevolch*), that is, the servants and slaves of a captaincy, were clearly distinct from the merchant-brokers (*handelsluyden*). ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Dec. 30, 1658, and Jan. 1, 1659.

89. For these women see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 137, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Apr. 20, 1653. The married daughter's father was the merchant-broker Dirck Cabo Cors; the

sister's daughter was the niece of Oten Agyei, who headed the Elmina captaincy. The husbands of both women were merchant-brokers.

90. Letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 26, 1686, in "Correspondence."

91. Cf. letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Aug. 3, 1683; R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 18, 1686; and J. Bloome, dd. Anashan, Dec. 28, 1687, in "Correspondence."

92. For these kinship terms see Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 6. According to de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 238, a father began to instruct his son in trading at the age of twelve, and this continued until the son reached the age of eighteen or twenty.

93. See Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 143, who refers to "the children" of the chief merchant-broker of the Cape Coast captaincy. During the sixteenth century the sons, grandsons, and brothers of Akani sovereigns were among those who traded with the Portuguese and in the polity of Tafo, lying north of Assin. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 1:442; 2:110; da Mota, "The Mande Trade in Costa da Mina," p. 20.

94. The structure of the captaincy bears a close resemblance to the structure of *esom-dwuma* ("central administration") in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Asante. See Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order.* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 445–55.

95. Letters from C. Salmon, dd. May 8 and 10 and June 4, 1698, in "Correspondence."

96. Willem de la Palma to Presidial Chamber, Oct. 10, 1703, in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 101. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 77.

97. For references to inheritance and succession patterns see Barbot, *Description,* pp. 248, 286; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 102; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 285–86; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 192, 193, 202–4. Albert Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 268, 269; idem, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978): 228.

98. For Koli Batafo see Frances Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti,* 2d ed. (1921; reprint ed., London, 1968), p. 2. For Kyereme Sikafo see Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* p. 50; R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929; reprint ed., Oxford, 1956), pp. 258, 273.

99. For a recent study of one important aspect of this process see Ivor Wilks, "Land, Labour, and Capital and the Forest Kingdom of Asante: A Model of Early Change," in *The Evolution of Social Systems,* ed. J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands (Pittsburgh, 1978), pp. 508–26. See also idem, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion" (Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meeting, Los Angeles, 1979).

100. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 137, entry for Oct. 30, 1645. Kwawu's immediate predecessor was "Adouauw Quaque." Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 64, entry for July 21, 1645. "Adouauw's" date of appointment is not known.

101. Ibid., p. 139, entry for Nov. 2, 1645.

102. Ibid., p. 85, entry for Nov. 2, 1645.

103. Ibid., p. 285, entry for Dec. 31, 1646; ARA Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 30, 1652.

104. Kwawu was still on the coast in 1654, and he had much influence among the merchant-brokers. His captaincy was not identified, but it was probably Cape Coast. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Oct. 26 and Dec. 4, 1654.

105. Ibid., entry for Aug. 30, 1652.

106. "Dodde" was an important person. Akani from Elmina and Mouri traveled to Afutu to attend his funeral. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 10, 1659.

107. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot Voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; ARA, OWIC 51. Johannes van den Bergh, to the Assembly of XIX, dd. in the yacht *Doendracht* before Mauri, June 22, 1636; ARA, OWIC 11. J. van der Wel to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Oct. 7, 1645. During the early 1650s Korankye's assistant

may have been Jan Franssen. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Nov. 7 and Dec. 5 and 12, 1654.

108. ARA. Aawinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 7, 1654. See also RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. "Memorial," Christian Cornelissen, dd. Copenhagen, Oct. 16, 1680.

109. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 14 and 17, 1659.

110. The Akani brokers resident in Elmina at the end of the century included "Dickie Cobbena," "Afferri Pim," "Aboadje," and "Coffij Brattafoe." See "Information and instruction for the sub-merchant D. V. Neyendaal, . . . dd. Elmina, October 9, 1701," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* pp. 77, 78. In 1690 these and possibly other merchant-brokers were in debt to the Dutch for 38,468 dambas' worth of gold. ARA, WIC 54. The Assembly of X to J. Smits, Director-General in Guinea at Elmina, dd. Middelburgh, Nov. 3, 1690.

111. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 139, entry for Nov. 2, 1645.

112. Ibid., p. 87, entry for Nov. 15, 1645; and p. 285, entry for Dec. 31, 1646.

113. Ibid., p. 285, entry for Dec. 31, 1646; and p. 286, entry for Jan. 1, 1647.

114. For Dirck Cabo Cors see ibid., p. 137, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; p. 151, entry for Dec. 11, 1645; and p. 152, entry for Dec. 12, 1645. For "Birbo Quasij" and "Ankonia" see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 7, 1659, and May 19, 1660.

115. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Nov. 17, 1654, and Jan. 3, 1655.

116. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 63, entry for July 21, 1645; p. 65, entry for July 26, 1645; and p. 74, entry for Aug. 29, 1645. Perhaps he was related to the merchant-broker "Ottyen Coffy," who resided in the town of Afutu and died there in December, 1645. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 92, entry for Dec. 8, 1645.

117. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 5 and 15, 1659.

118. Ibid., entry for June 10, 1660; Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Lentse: entry dd. Oct. 5, 1671; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681. For an account of a conflict between Yeboah and the English factors at Kormantse Castle see IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661.

119. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640.

120. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 7, 1654. "Jubo" still may have been in office in the 1670s. See RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guinea Kysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

121. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Dec. 3 and 7. 1654. The king was presumably head of "Cocoritee" political division.

122. Letters from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 25, 1686, and Jan. 1, 1687; and J. Browne, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 24, 1697, in "Correspondence."

123. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 434. Ikon had had a captaincy since at least 1653. See ARA, Aawinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for May 17, 1653. Perhaps the Ikon captain was the paternal nephew of "Primohimmejn," the head of the Egya captaincy.

124. Regnskab. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entry dd. Dec. 11, 1669.

125. Regnskab. Credit and debit accounts of Ankema, passim; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 6.

126. Regnskab. Credit and debt accounts of Jan Clasen Cutterique, passim; PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 22, 1696; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 142–43, 147.

127. "Jango Tattany" and "Cryshakai" were employed by the Royal African Company

as "company caboceers." PRO, T70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entry for May 13, 1703; PRO, T70/11. Letters from J. Platt et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 10, Apr. 25, and Aug. 2, 1694. For "Dickie" and "Akimsam" see PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 7, 1696; PRO, T70/377. Sundry persons directed to RAC, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 2, 1701; PRO, T70/380. Sundry accounts dr. to stock capital of the RAC . . . and for debts due by sundry persons, dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 1, 1713. "Cryshaki" may have been the same "Crisiakee" who traded at Fort Frederiksborg in the 1660s and 1670s. RA, VGK. Dokumentor angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende Heer van Groenensteyn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674.

128. Phillips, "Journal of a Voyage," 6:223–25.

129. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for May 20, 25, and 26, 1660.

130. PRO, T70/1463. Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 3, 1703, to Jan. 2, 1704: entries for May 8 and Oct. 21, 1703.

131. Ibid., entry for May 8, 1703.

132. Letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Feb. 7, 1687, in "Correspondence." For Akani trade at Little Komenda see Barbot, *Description,* p. 154.

133. ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aende heere bewinthebberes der geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voor de voorige verhandelinge: entry for Aug. 9, 1645; ARA, OWIC 11. Dagregister van 2 April [1646] tot 1t May 1646: various entries; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 37, entry for Apr. 8, 1645; and p. 221, entry for Aug. 22, 1646.

134. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Feb. 17, 20, and 21, 1659.

135. Regnskab. Credit account of Captain Ankema: entries dd. Oct. 5, 1668, Apr. 27, 1668, and Sept. 30, 1670; Ankema, custom's notice: various entries; Aequoan, customs account: various entries.

136. Regnskab. Jan Clasen Cutterique, customs account: various entries; RA, VGK. Participanters Resolutions Protocol 1671–1690. Udj Mar. og Apr. 1680 enlangende den consenterede reise till Guinea, item St. Thomas. J. Juell et al., dd. [Copenhagen], May 8, 1680.

137. PRO, T70/369. RAC to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 22, 1684. Also letter from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Jan. 9, 1688, in "Correspondence."

138. Letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 4, 1682; and R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 1, 1687, in "Correspondence."

139. For customs duty payments see ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aande heeren bewinthebber van de geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voorde voorige verhandeling: entry for May 15, 1645; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 221, entry for Aug. 22, 1646.

140. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 7, 1654; Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. May 9, 1657; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 15, 1659.

141. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 3, entry for Jan. 3, 1645.

142. Ibid., p. 41, entry for Apr. 29, 1645; ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aande heeren bewinthebbers vande geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voor de Voorige verhandelinge: entries for Apr. 29 and Sept. 19, 1645.

143. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 152, entry for Dec. 12, 1645.

144. Ibid., p. 35, entries for Apr. 10 and 12, 1645; and p. 36, entries for Apr. 14 and 15, 1645; ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aande heeren bewinthebbers vande geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voorde voorige verhandelinge: entry for Apr. 26, 1645.

145. ARA, OWIC 11. Cassa debet aande heeren bewinthebbers vande geoctroyeerde Westjndische Comp. voor de voorige verhandelinge: entries for July 29 and Aug. 2 and 4, 1645.

146. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 84–85, entry for Oct. 31, 1645.

147. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. [Expense accounts for the years 1659–62]: entry dd. Nov. 25, 1659.

148. RA, VGK. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne och deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 259.

149. PRO, T70/369. RAC to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 19, 1683. Also PRO, T70/20. Letter from N. Bradley et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 28, 1678; PRO, T 70/369. RAC to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 1 and Dec. 6, 1683; PRO, T70/370. Sundry accounts to James Nightingale, factor for Anomabo and Egya, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 31, 1684; PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 22 and Sept. 16, 1696; PRO, T70/376. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Apr. 7, 1697, and Oct. 16, 1699.

150. Letter from R. Elwes, dd. Egya, Dec. 18, 1686, in "Correspondence." Also letter from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Jan. 9, 1688, in "Correspondence."

151. Letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 1, 1687, in "Correspondence."

152. Letter from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Feb. 7, 1687, in "Correspondence."

153. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Dec. 7, 1682, in "Correspondence."

154. Letter from J. Bloome, dd. Anashan, Apr. 26, 1688, in "Correspondence."

155. RA, VGK. Dokumenter ved diverse Københavnske Retsager, II 1720–1728. [Report by the Council], F. Boye et al., dd. Christiansborg, Apr. 13, 1714. The Dutch at Bereku paid the same fee. See letter from H. Hilling, dd. from on board the sloop riding in Bereku road, Sept. 14, 1686, in "Correspondence."

156. See "Correspondence," passim.

157. Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. May 8, 1663.

158. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for May 7 and 11, 1654. In June, 1653, the *brafo* of Fante gave members of the Kormantse captaincy three cows and "some worked gold" in order to pacify them on the occasion of the murder of several Akani merchant-brokers (entry for June 4, 1653).

159. Ibid., entries for Dec. 4 and 7, 1654. Also entry for Oct. 26, 1654.

160. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 37–38, entry for Oct. 31, 1645; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 435; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 147, 271. The houses that the Akani built were architecturally distinct from those in the coastal and subcoastal towns. Perhaps they were a prototype of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Asante urban dwellings. See Labelle Prussin, "Traditional Asante Architecture," *AA* 13, no. 2 (1980); Wilks *Asante,* pp. 375–83.

161. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 65, 68–69.

162. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Apr. 4, May 18, and July 25, 1653; letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Aug. 3, 1683; J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 26, 1686; R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 18, 1686; and J. Bloom, dd. Anashan, Dec. 22 and 28, 1687, in "Correspondence."

163. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for Mar. 9, Apr. 4, and July 25, 1653; letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Jan. 26, 1686, in "Correspondence."

164. Letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anashan, Oct. 22 and Dec. 7, 1682, in "Correspondence."

165. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 140, entry for Nov. 3, 1645; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Nov. 28, 1654; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: various entries for the years 1658–60; letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Sept. 20, 22, and 25 and Oct. 5, 1683; R. Elwes, dd. Egya, Dec. 19, 1686; and W. Cross, Egya, dd. Feb. 12, 1687, in "Correspondence."

166. Letter from D. March, dd. Komenda, Oct. 11, 1683, in "Correspondence"; Barbot, *Description,* p. 261; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 92. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 104. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 271, entry for Dec. 1, 1646; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 27, 48–50.

167. See, for example, Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 81; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 176, 225; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 5, 252.

168. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Apr. 12, 1683, in "Correspondence." Also "Petition of the Royal African Co. to the King, dd. July 3, 1668," in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1661–1668,* ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1880; reprint ed., London, 1964) p. 581.

169. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 58, entry for June 30, 1645; and p. 85, entry for Oct. 4, 1645; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 22, 23, and 20, 1659; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 no. 112. The director Wilner to the Assembly of XIX, dd. the castle St. George, Sept. 6, 1671.

170. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 218, entry for Aug. 18, 1646; pp. 219, 221, entry for Aug. 29, 1646; p. 227, entry for Sept. 12, 1646; and p. 241, entry for Oct. 5, 1646. The Assin-Twifo war of 1657–1659 led to the cessation of Akani trade for nearly a year. Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. Feb. 6, 1658; KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letters dd. Elmina, Mar. 4 and June 10, 1658; ARA, Collectie Rademacher 1902 XXV no. 112. The director Wilner to the Assembly of XIX, dd. the castle St. George, Sept. 6, 1671.

171. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 86, entry for Nov. 4, 1645.

172. Letters from R. Hassell, [Egya, Feb., 1681]; R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 12, 1683; and C. Towgood, dd. the *Ann* sloop in the Komenda road, Feb. 24, 1683, in "Correspondence."

173. Letters from J. Brown, dd. Egya, July 1, 1695; and J. Rootsey, dd. Anomabo, July 30, 1695, in "Correspondence."

174. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; "Correspondence," passim. Also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65b. Extract uyt messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, Jan. 1, 1657.

175. Letters from D. March, dd. [Komenda], Oct. 3, 1683; and J. Bloome, dd. Anashan, Dec. 19, 1687, in "Correspondence."

176. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 58, entry for June 30, 1645.

177. See, for example, ibid., p. 66, entry for Aug. 2, 1645; and p. 139, entry for Nov. 2, 1645.

178. Ibid., p. 139, entry for Nov. 2, 1645; and p. 244, entry for Oct. 13, 1646; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 3, 1659.

179. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 85, entry for Oct. 31, 1645, p. 167, entry for Apr. 27, 1646; and p. 170, entry for May 2, 1646; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregisters: entries for Jan. 2, 4, and 5, 1659, and May 20, 22, and 23, 1660. For interloper, English, and Swedish trade during the 1650s see KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh; dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 413–15.

180. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 64, entry for July 21, 1645; and p. 227, entry for Sept. 10, 1646.

181. Letter from R. Thelwall, dd Anomabo, Sept. 10, 1683, in "Correspondence." Also letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Dec. 18, 1686, in "Correspondence."

182. Letter from A. Richards, dd. Anashan, Feb. 22, 1681, in "Correspondence." If a factory or fort lacked desired goods, the Akani *batafo* went to one that had them. PRO, T70/20. Letter from N. Bradley et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Dec. 28, 1678.

183. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 58, entry for June 30, 1645. Also ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1645; letter from G. Gore, dd. Komenda, July 5, 1698, in "Correspondence."

184. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 83.

185. Ibid., pp. 82–83; Tilleman, *En liden,* p. 119.

186. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 261, entry for Nov. 16, 1646; and p. 279, entry for Dec. 15, 1646; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 82–83.

187. IOLR, E/3/25. Letter from [James Conget], dd. Kormantse Castle, Oct. 8, 1658; "Description of rivers, capes, places and towns in Africa [1675]," in Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers,* p. 239. For Swedru ("Soudre" or "Surdue") see ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of

St. George d'Elmina 1715–89. Entry for June 20, 1715: letter from G. Hendrix, dd. Apam, June 6, 1715.

188. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 321.

189. Letters from J. Perrin and R. Griffeth, dd. Accra, Feb. 23, 1682; and R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 9, 1683, in "Correspondence."

190. "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324–25. For Manso Nkwanta (or "Menason") in the early eighteenth century see ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI, 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Apr. 16, 1707. "Meranson"/"Menason" were transcriptions of Omanaso, an early Twi name for Manso Nkwanta. See Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital," p. 520.

191. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim.

192. Cf. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), pp. 186–87.

193. Regnskab, passim. For prices in the 1640s and 1650s see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim.

194. Barbot, *Description*, p. 258.

195. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5–6. By 1681 the Amanfro captaincy was no longer in existence. See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Letter to the Administrators of the Royal African Comp. from Hans Lücke, dd. Frederiksborg, May 12, 1681.

196. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 4; Hans Jacob Zureich, *Africanische Reissbeschreibung in die Landschaft Fetu auf der Guineischen Gold Cüst gelegen* (Zurich, 1677), pp. 114–15.

197. Cf. "20 muskets to the captain of the Arcanies and his people." PRO, T70/365. Charges of merchandise to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 30, 1680. During the 1660s and 1670s the following merchant-brokers were attached to the Amanfro captaincy: Akuma, "Equoan," Jan Lentse, "Tim" and his son, "Ensacon," and Jan Franse (who was perhaps a deputy captain at Kormantse in the 1650s). The following may have been members of this captaincy: "Ocquerrij," "Quim," "Jem," "Asiervij Aquado," "Aquea," and "Crisiakee."

198. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 128, 149, 158. References to "Mandinga" cloths and "Accaniste" basins appear in RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behoorende de salige Heer van Groenensteyn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; Regnskab, passim.

199. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 323; Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 64, 99–100.

200. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 51–52.

201. The Akani at Little Komenda had *asuman*. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Feb. 24, 1683, in "Correspondence."

202. Regnskab. Debit account of captain Ankema: entry dd. Nov. 27, 1668.

203. Ibid., entry dd. Apr. 9, 1669. For references to Akani slave sales see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 9, 1659, and May 20 and 23, 1660. These slaves were mainly Twifo war prisoners, captured during the Assin-Twifo war of 1657–1659.

204. Regnskab. Credit account of captain Ankema: entry dd. May 16, 1670.

205. Ibid., entries dd. May 18 and Aug. 29, 1670.

206. Ibid., entry dd. May 18, 1671. The captains resident in the bigger ports conducted a much larger trade with the Europeans than Akuma. "Ofo Ousio," a prominent merchant-broker of Afutu (the town) and later Mouri in the 1640s, sold on one occasion nearly 40,000 dambas' worth of gold to the Dutch at Elmina, and on another about 43,000 dambas' worth. Captain Yeboah of Anomabo purchased "at one time" over 30,000 dambas' worth of goods aboard an English ship. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 67, entry for Aug. 4, 1645; and p. 286, entry for Jan.1, 1647; IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661.

207. Regnskab. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entry dd. July 18, 1668; and Company's debit account with Thomas Pearson: entry dd. Sept. 15, 1670.

208. Regnskab. Credit account of Jan Clasen Cutta: entries dd. Jan. 13, 1670, and Apr. 19, 1671. Local interest rates appear to have been 25 percent per annum. See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

209. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 143, 147.

210. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 370–71. The sum of 522,240 dambas in gold was roughly equivalent to the combined annual earnings of 470 blacksmiths or 3,627 charcoal burners.

211. Ibid., pp. 216–17, 370.

212. IOLR, E/3/26. Afutu–East India Company Treaty, dd. [Cape Coast], Jan. 18, 1660.

213. Regnskab. Customs accounts of Ankema and Jan Clasen Cutterique: various entries; Regnskab. Participanters Resolutions Protocol 1671–1690. Udj Mar. og Apr. 1680 enlangende den consenterede reise till Guinea, item till St. Thomas, J. Juell et al., dd. [Copenhagen], May 8, 1680.

214. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongene og och deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.

215. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 259.

216. Regnskab. Debit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry dd. Jan. 20, 1669; and credit account of Claas Brand: entry dd. Oct. 4, 1670.

217. Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Clasen Cutterique: entry dd. Oct. 1670.

218. Ibid., entries dd. Sept. and Oct., 1670, and May 20, 1671.

219. Regnskab. Credit account of Claas Brand: entry dd. Dec. 14, 1669; debit account of Claas Brand: entry dd. Jan. 1, 1671; and credit account of Jan Clasen Cutterique: entry dd. Sept. 27, 1671.

220. Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Lentse: entry dd. Nov. 29, 1671.

221. Ibid., various entries; RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorende de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichsberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

222. Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Lentse: entry dd. Sept. 22, 1670.

223. Regnskab. Debit account of Jan Lentse: entries dd. June, Aug. 22, Sept. 29, and Nov. 29, 1671.

224. Regnskab. Credit account of Jan Clasen Cutterique: entry dd. Apr. 30, 1669.

225. RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handelen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Notitie der panden to behorenden de salige Heer van Groenensteijn, dd. Fredriksborg, Feb. 28, 1674; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681.

226. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:110.

227. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 84, 186.

228. ARA, Collectie Leupe no. 743. Caerte des Lantschaps vande Goutkust in Guinea, dd. Mouri, Dec. 25, 1629.

229. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 88–89.

230. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 420; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Barbot, *Description,* p. 168; H. P. J. Renaud, "La Première mention de la noix de kola dans le matière médicale des arabes," *Hesperis* 8 (1928): 51–52, 54–55. Also Th. Monod, "A propos d'un document concernant la conquête du Soudan par le Pacha Djouder (1591)," *BSARSO* 4 (1964): 775–76. For metalworking at Bighu see Merrick Posnansky, "Archaeology, Technology and Akan Civilization," *JAS* 2 (1975): 30–33.

231. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 56, entry for June 23, 1645.

232. ARA, Aawinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for May 18 and July 25, 1653, and Mar. 9, Apr. 4, May 7 and 11, and Oct. 25 and 26, 1654. For the Assin-Etsi war see ARA, OWIC 56. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Apr. 2, 1641; ARA, OWIC 58. Same to same, dd. Elmina, Nov. 15, 1642.

233. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* p. 86.

234. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entries for May 24 and June 6, 1654.

235. Ibid., entry for May 18, 1653.

236. Ibid., entry for Oct. 26, 1654.

237. KITLV; Leiden msc. H 65b. Extract uyt de messive van den Generael Jan Valckenburgh; letter dd. Elmina, June 10, 1658; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–16.

238. CF. KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 415–16, 420; ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 97, 149, 158, 273.

239. See ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov. 23, 1679. Also ARA, OWIC 58. Jacob Ruychaver to the Assembly of XIX, dd. Elmina, Nov. 15, 1642.

240. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: various entries for the years 1659 and 1660; "Correspondence," passim.

241. ARA, Collectie Rademacher no. 587. Report by Herman Abramszoon, dd. Amsterdam, Nov., 23, 1679.

242. PRO, T 70/11. Letter from R. Buckeridge et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 28, 1698; PRO, T 70/374. Profit and loss dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 22, 1698, and king and country of Arcanyes dr. to sundries, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 31, 1699; letters from C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, May 10 and June 4, 1698, in "Correspondence." Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 77; van Dantzig. "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 99.

243. PRO, T70/5. Letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 15, 20, and 21 and Nov. 23–25 and 27, 1705. By this time Akani caravan traffic to and from the coast had become infrequent and irregular. Asante and Fante traders came to dominate much of the trade earlier conducted by the Akani. In 1709, however, the Dutch of Elmina were still hoping that trade with Akani merchants would revive. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Nov. 27, 1709. Also PRO, C 113.36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709.

244. See PRO T70/5. Letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 6 and 12, 1710; PRO, C 113.34. Part 2. Letter from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 30, 1717; PRO, C 113.36. Part 1. Letter from James Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Jan. 12, 1720; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1722–31. Letter to the directors from Suhm et al., dd. Christiansborg, Mar. 5, 1727.

245. "Director-General Engelgraaff Roberts, Elmina, to the Assembly of Ten, August 15, 1712," in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 168. See also "W. de la Palma to the Assembly of Ten," Elmina, Sept. 5, 1705," in *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 112.

246. PRO, T 70/3. Letter from G. Gore et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 23, 1714. Also Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 25, 112.

CHAPTER 8

1. See, for example, A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973), pp. 57–58, 76–77; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "The Political Economy of the African Peasantry and Modes of Production," in *The Political Economy of Contemporary*

Africa, ed. Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein (Beverly Hills, 1976). That both have underestimated in various ways the scale of precapitalist trade and marketing in African social formations is indicated by several studies. See, inter alia, Emmanuel Terray, "Long-Distance Exchange and the Formation of the State: The Case of the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman," *ES* 3, no. 3 (1974); Allen M. Howard, "The Relevance of Spatial Analysis for African Economic History: The Sierra Leone-Guinea System," *JAH* 17, no. 3 (1976); Werner Peukert, "Quantitative Methoden in der africanischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichtsforschung," *Paideuma* 22 (1976); Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *JAH* 19, no. 2 (1978); Richard Roberts, "Long-Distance Trade and Production: Sinsani in the Nineteenth Century," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980); K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford, 1970); Claude Meillassoux, ed., *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (Oxford, 1971); Michal Tymowski, *Le Développement et la régression chez les peuples de la boucle du niger à l'époque précoloniale* (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 77–106; Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600–1836* (Oxford, 1977), chap. 10; David Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers* (Oxford, 1978). Also of relevance in this context are: J. M. Blaut, "Where was Capitalism Born?" *Antipode* 8, no. 2 (1976); Jean Chesneaux, *Pasts and Futures, or What is History For?* trans. Schofield Coryell (London, 1978), pp. 73–77.

2. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York, 1973), p. 96.

3. See L. F. Rømer, *Tilfordelig efterretning om kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1760), pp. 104–5.

4. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, 4th ed. (1705; reprint ed., New York, 1967), p. 135.

5. For whom see Sieur Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), pp. 250, 296.

6. Thus, following Kosambi, it can be said that "history is the presentation in chronological order of successive changes in the means and relations of production." D. D. Kosambi, *Ancient India: A History of Its Culture and Civilization* (New York and Cleveland, 1969), p. 10. Also Amilcar Cabral, *L'Arme de la théorie* (Paris, 1975), pp. 287–91, 320–21. However, these changes took place within the structural framework of combined and uneven historical development. See Chesneaux, *Pasts and Futures*, pp. 113–18. Also Karl Marx, *Wage Labor and Capital* (Moscow, n.d.), pp. 48–49.

For recent discussions on the forces and relations of production see Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production* (London and Boston, 1975); idem, *Mode of Production and Social Formation* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1977); Georges Ribeill, "Critique et prolongement de l'interpretation des mutations socio-historiques dans le matérialism historique," *CIS* 56 (1974); David Gartman, "Marx and the Labor Process: An Interpretation," *IS* 8, nos. 2 and 3 (1978): 97–102; Ramesh Mishra, "Technology and Social Structure in Marx's Theory: An Exploratory Analysis," *SS* 43, no. 2 (1979); Dominique Legros et al., "Economic Base, Mode of Production, and Social Formation: A Discussion of Marx's Terminology," *DA* 4, no. 3 (1979); Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff, "The Theory of Transitional Conjunctures and the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in Western Europe," *RRPE* 11, no. 3 (1979). Also Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *NLR*, no. 107 (1978); Erik af Edholm, Introduction, in Karl Marx, *Om Förkapitalistiska Produktionssätt* (Stockholm, 1970), pp. 7–27.

7. Emmanuel Terray, "Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman," in *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*, ed. Maurice Block (New York, 1975), pp. 86–88, 92–95. Also Nicos Poulantzas, "On Social Classes," *NLR* 78 (1973).

8. Letter from G. Gore, dd. Komenda, Aug. 15, 1698, in "Correspondence."

9. Also referred to as "Sherry" or "Assherry." See letters from T. Johnson, dd. Sekondi, Feb. 11, 1694; and T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 16 and 24, 1696, in "Correspondence";

PRO. T 70/377. Sundry persons dr. to RAC, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 2, 1701. For "Jumoo" province see KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, p. 428.

10. Cf. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 128–29.

11. PRO, T70/5. Letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 16 and Aug. 1, 1706.

12. Letter from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, May 21, 1695, in "Correspondence."

13. ARA, WIC 122. Origineel contract van vreede tusschen de witte en roode aarde volkeren, dd. Elmina, Sept. 15, 1715, and [contract] onder de naam van witte en roode aarde vokeren, dd. Butri, Sept. 18, 1717; RA, VGK. Dag-journaler, ført paa Christiansborg, 1698–1705: entry for Mar. 2, 1702. Also letters from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, Nov. 17, 1681; and J. Groome, dd. Alampo, Sept. 18, 1683, in "Correspondence"; Johannes Rask, *Ferd til og fra Guinea, 1708–1713* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 108–9.

14. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 132; W. J. Müller, *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg, 1676; reprint ed., Graz, Austria, 1968), pp. 2, 102, 147, 150, chap. 9; Johannes Rask, *En kort og sandferdig reise beskrivelse til og fra Guinea* (Trondheim, 1754), p. 138.

For the use of these terms in pre-nineteenth-century Western Europe see George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York, 1964), p. 196.

15. Cf. K. Ratelband, ed. *Vijf dagregisters van het Kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Gout Kust, 1645–1647* (The Hague, 1953), p. 24, entry for Mar. 9, 1645; ARA, OWIC 13. Attestatie van Louis van Cocgelenberg en Roelof Dyk, dd. July 1654; ARA, OWIC 13. Verklaaring van Adriaan Hogehouk en Adriaan van Steland, dd. Nov. 25, 1656; PRO, T 70/1184. Letter from Sir D. Thomas, dd. [Cape Coast Castle], Apr. 1, 1704; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den President Pieter Nuyts: entries for Feb. 11, 1707: letter from N. Dubois, dd. Bereku, Feb. 6, 1707; Feb. 17, 1707, and Apr. 9, 1707: letter from N. Dubois, dd. Bereku, Apr. 4, 1707; Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Africaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1676), pp. 112–13; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 2, 5, 102, 113, 150.

16. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 113. Cf. Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Guinea anders de Gout-Custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het Deel van Africa,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1912), p. 101, who noted that the *commun peuple* were a potential source of unrest and had to be properly placated by the political authorities.

For a reference to "dangerous quarrels" arising as a result of an injudicious act that two Akani merchants committed against some peasants in the Amanfro–Cape Coast district see Regnskab. Credit account of Joost Cramer: entry dd. July 18, 1669. For references to riots in early-eighteenth-century Elmina see "Minutes of Elmina Council: entries dd. April 29 and June 5, 1730 and September 23, 1739," and "Contracts with Natives [dd. September 2, 1739]," in *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague,* trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig (Accra, 1978), pp. 244, 246, 318–19, 345. For references to early-seventeenth-century urban riots fomented by militia units see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 179, and for a rebellion (*Rebellie*) in the vicinity of Axim in 1663 see Resolutie Boeck: entry dd. Aug. 24, 1663.

17. Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 17: *agesim, ein Auffrührer.*

18. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 55, entry for June 12, 1645, and n. 3; also p. 68, entry for Aug. 7, 1645; p. 256, entry for Nov. 30, 1646. See also ARA, OWIC 13 Ordre beraamd tusschen de Gen. Jasper van Neusen en de Caboceros van Chama waar na de Visschers van Chama, en die Tol van de Visch ontvangen sig sullen regulieren, dd. Nov. 13, 1660.

19. "1516–1619: Escravos e minas de Africa," in *Viagens explorações e conquistas dos Portugueses*, ed. Luciano Cordeiro, 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1881), 6:24. Also John Barbot, *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1746), p. 321.

20. Letters from H. Vincent, dd. Dixcove, Apr. 21 and May 4, 1697 in "Correspondence." Cf. also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 21, 1660; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 179.

21. Letters from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, Apr. 16 and 23 and May 1, 1695, in "Correspondence." A heavy fine was levied on anyone who was caught stealing crops from a farm. RA, VGK. Dag-journaler ført paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entries for Aug. 5 and 6, 1699; letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, July 19 and 25, 1687, in "Correspondence." Persons who stole livestock, firewood, or timber were also severely punished. See Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 121–22.

22. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 38; letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 24, 1696, in "Correspondence." On the assumption that *agyesem*, in whatever form, was structurally inseparable from the *oman* regimes, it can be suggested that relations between the upper and lower classes were governed less by the principles of a "moral economy" than by the structure of what has been termed the "contest-state," See James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven and London, 1979); idem, "Hegemony and the Peasant," *PS* 7, no. 3 (1977); Michael Adas, "'Moral Economy' or 'Contest State'?: Elite Demands and the Origins of Peasant Protest in Southeast Asia," *JSH* 13, no. 4 (1980).

Certainly references to overbearing and tyrannical rulers are not uncommon. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for July 4, 1706; PRO, T70/382. Cabisheers of Aguaffoe, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 25, 1715; Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 62, 92; "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679," ed. Gabriel Debien et al., *BIFAN* 40, no. 2 (1978): 324. Also Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basle, 1895), pp. 18–22.

23. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, pp. 158–59; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 253. For the notion "ritual of rebellion" see Max Gluckman, *Politics and Law in Tribal Society* (Oxford, 1967), p. 259.

24. At present nothing is known about the origins of this ceremony, however, it continued to exist until the twentieth century. For a brief description of the celebration of this ceremony in Cape Coast in 1844 see A. J. N. Tremearne, "Extracts from Diary of the Late Reverend John Martin, Wesleyan Missionary in West Africa, 1843–48," *Man* 12 (1912): 138–39. For twentieth-century descriptions see R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (1923; reprint ed., London, 1955), chap. 15; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London, 1951), pp. 149–64. This ceremony is called *Apo*.

25. Thus upper-class children received a thorough education in "ancient history" (*alte Geschichte*), and young sons of notables regularly attended "public assembly meetings and court sessions" (*offentliche Versamlung und Gerichtstag*). In addition, the children (and also *ofahene* women) were allowed to decapitate criminals on the execution grounds. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 32–33, 115, 124.

26. Cf. ibid., passim.

27. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 255; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 177, chap. 17. Cf. Rask, *Ferd til og fra*, pp. 35–36.

28. Barbot, *Description*, p. 236. See also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 34–35; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 35.

29. De Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 298.

30. Barbot, *Description*, p. 270; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 177, 182.

31. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 296, 297–98, 364–65, 369–70; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 182–83; Barbot, *Description*, p. 270; Brun, *Schiffarten*, pp. 76–77.

32. Bosman, *New and Accurate, Description,* p. 191; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," p. 267.

33. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 27; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 74–75.

34. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 183; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 87.

35. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 269, entry for Nov. 30, 1646; RA, VGK. Dagjournaler, fǿrt paa Christiansborg 1698–1705: entry for Oct. 13, 1703.

36. Letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 21, 1681; and E. Searle, dd. Accra, Feb. 13, 1694, and June 20, 1695, in "Correspondence."

37. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 296–97. Also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 287, entry for Jan. 3, 1647. Insubordinate slaves were occasionally imprisoned in the forts. See Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 190, entry for June 23, 1646; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister, 1688–1689: entry for July 26, 1688. According to Rask, rebellious slaves as well as elderly and sickly ones were executed at the funerals of important persons. Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 113. See also Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 163, entry for Apr. 20, 1646; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 172, 283; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 38; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 231–32. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, IV," *HA* 5 (1978): 238. Suicide among slaves may also have been a problem for slaveowners. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 78, entry for Sept. 30, 1645.

38. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 182; Michael Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien, 1639–1645,* ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber (Nuremberg, 1663; reprint ed., The Hague, 1930), p. 50. According to Barbot deceased slaves were not given proper burials but were simply cast into the bush "comme beste morte." Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 337. However, see Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 114, 125.

39. ARA, OWIC 13. Articulen en de conditien beraemt en beslooten tusschen Generael Jacob Ruyghaver en den Coning Aguaffo ofte Commendo in den Jaeren Ao. 1641; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 218, entry for Aug. 18, 1646.

40. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 75. Also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 7 and Feb. 25, 1659; letters from J. Nightingale, dd. Komenda, June 5, 1682; and R. Sheldon, dd. Anomabo, Nov. 9, 1697, in "Correspondence."

41. Barbot, *Description,* p. 270. The *afahene* often gave each other slaves as gifts. See, for example, letter from W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Mar. 18, 1695, in "Correspondence." Cf. also letter from A. Richards, dd. Anashan, Mar. 10, 1682, in "Correspondence."

42. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 218. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 34; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 35.

43. PRO, C 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from [Sir D. Thomas, 1709?]. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 176; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, III," pp. 260–61.

44. See letters from C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Apr. 21, 1698; and K. Hutson, dd. Anomabo, Apr. 28, 1698, in "Correspondence." Also letter from J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Feb. 23, 1688, in "Correspondence." See also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 101; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 60, 72–74, 114. For a discussion of the preindustrial "city mob" in Western Europe see E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels,* 3d ed. (Manchester, 1971), 7; Rudé, *Crowd in History,* passim.

45. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 82, on Elmina: "There many common people live but they do not have much authority" (*daer veel gemeyn volckx woont, maer en zijn niet groot van machten*). See also Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 114, on the commoners of the Afutu *oman* and their political subordinancy.

46. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* p. 47. Also Barbot, *Description,* p. 258; Godfrey Loyer, "Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny," in *L'Établissement d'Issiny, 1687–1702,* Paul Roussier (Paris, 1935), p. 174.

47. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 150–51, 154. An inexpensive woolen cloth measuring

about twenty yards by six yards cost 480 dambas in gold at the Danish company's trading establishments in the late 1660s and early 1670s. A cheap linen cloth of roughly the same measurements cost 153 dambas. Cf. also Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 192–193, on the "miserable Negres" of Assini.

48. See, for example, letter from Edward Barter, dd. Kwasikrom, June 18, 1695, in "Correspondence"; PRO, C 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from Sir. D. Thomas et al., dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709.

49. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 57. Laborers were also referred to as *de jenige.* See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Vercoop den goederen vaen Oligen Pauli 1688–1689: entry dd.. Dec., 1688. The labor of the wage-earning *adwumafo* was consumed as a use-value; it did not create exchange-value. "This is consumption of revenue, which, as such, always falls within simple circulation; it is not consumption of capital" Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 272. Also idem, *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York, 1977), p. 1041.

50. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 57–58. 65. Also RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Vercoop den goederen vaen Oligen Pauli 1688–1689: entry dd. Dec. 1688. These laborers, it should be noted, derived their livelihood directly from international and intraregional trade.

51. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 250; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 183. For references to workmen/*arbeytsluyden* in the ports see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Feb. 3, 1659; letters from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 24, 1683; W. Cooper, dd. Egya [Dec. 1692]; and E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Feb. 21, 1695, in "Correspondence"; ARA, WIC 122. [Contract and Accord between Axim and the West Indies Company], dd. Axim, Aug. 22, 1697.

52. ARA, OWIC 13. Protest van Arent de Groot voor d'Engelse, dd. Kormantse, Aug. 26, 1640. Also letter from R. Thelwell, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 21, 1681, in "Correspondence."

53. R. Hakluyt, ed., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,* 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904), 6:197; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 15, 27; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 32, 34–35; Antonio Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana,* 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1952–), 3:93.

54. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 83. Also "Copia da carta del capitan de la Mina traduzida em castelhano [1623?]," in *Documentação ultramarina Portuguesa,* 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67), 2:482.

55. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 63.

56. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 182; Barbot, *Description,* p. 268. For bark cloth-makers in the Afutu state see Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 277. Some of the terra cotta figures found at the seventeenth-century town site of Ahinsan are depicted wearing bark cloth. Oliver Davies, *West Africa before the Europeans* (London, 1967), p. 203. Bark cloth was called *obofo.* Müller, *Die africanische,* chap. 10: *Boffum, ein Kleid auss Bast von Baumen gemachet;* Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 95, 272. Also Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 203.

57. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 289, entry for Jan. 4, 1647; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 171.

58. For the Assini bark cloth industry see Barbot, *Description,* p. 268.

59. For the Kwakwa cloth trade see, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert uitgevaren met 't schip Prins Willem op den 3 April Anno 1652, passim. Also KITLV, Leiden msc. H 65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 393; E. Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig beretning om det landskab Guinea og dets beskaffenhed langs ved Sø-kanten* (Copenhagen, 1697), pp. 46–47. Between 1630 and 1670 the price of a kwakwa cloth fell from 36 dambas in gold to 12 dambas, where it remained through the early eighteenth century. See ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entry for Jan. 21, 1707.

60. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 220–21; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 33, 34; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 120; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 153–54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 72.

61. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 120. For Afutu hat- and cap-makers see Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 274, 277.

62. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 120; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *HA* 3 (1976): 114.

63. Barbot, *Description,* p. 261; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 151.

64. Barbot, *Description,* pp. 254, 261; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 147–48, chap. 14. Also John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies* (1735; reprint ed., London, 1970), p. 99.

65. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 27.

66. For these and other craftsmen see Barbot, *Description,* pp. 149–50, 152, 157, 181, 258, 262; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," pp. 304, 339–40, 345–46; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 274–77; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 128. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 117.

67. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 183, entries for June 7 and 8, 1646; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898 XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Feb. 7, 1653. Bosman stated that husbands and wives had a "particular propriety: so that the wives are generally in charge of providing Food and the Husbands Clothing for the Household." Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 202; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, IV," p. 228. For the duties of husbands and wives in the family households of fishermen see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 26–27; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 180.

68. Barbot, *Description,* p. 253; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 77–79; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 145–46; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 72–73. Also K. B. Dickson, *Historical Geography of Ghana* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 51–52.

The Shai town of Adwuku had both circular and rectangular single-room dwellings, the latter measuring twelve feet by nine feet. Paul C. Ozanne, "Adwuku: Fortified Hill-Top Village in Shai," *GNQ,* no. 7 (1965), pp. 4, 5.

Around the middle of the century a single-room, thatched-roof dwelling cost 120 to 144 dambas in gold to build; a house with three to four rooms cost 360 to 576 dambas. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 102–3. In 1687 a four- to six-room house in Little Komenda was sold for 144 dambas' worth of trade goods; a larger one for 384 dambas (or one ounce) in gold. Letters from W. Cross, dd. Komenda, Jan. 13 and Feb. 12, 1687, in "Correspondence."

69. For thatchers see Barbot, *Description,* p. 269. For the purchase of wood for construction see letters from A. Richards, dd. Anasham, Sept. 6 and 13, 1681, and Feb. 17, 1683; M. B. Whiting, dd. Accra, Nov. 27, 1686; and W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, June 7, 1695, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T70/374. Profit and loss dr. to account of sheets, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 16, 1697.

70. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 15, entry for Feb. 17, 1645; and p. 53, entry for June 4, 1645; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journael was sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Februarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij [1681] auff Friedrichsberg; Barbot, *Description,* p. 269; "Relation très curieux du voyage que M. le Chevalier Damon a fait aux Indes pour faire un établissement à Issigny," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 96.

71. For beeswax and tallow see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:103; Barbot, *Description,* p. 261; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 202–3. For the use of palm oil as lamp fuel and the use of locally made match see Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 128, 202; letters from E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Apr. 4, 1695; H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, July 18, 1695; J. Rootsey, dd. Jan. 28, 1696; and B. Hewlett, dd. Tantumkweri, Aug. 5, 1698, in "Correspondence." According to Müller, match was made from the bark of a tree called "Owundun"; another source says it was made from the leaves of a tree called "Metacoe." Müller,

Die africanische, p. 128; James Petiver, "A Catalogue of Some Guinea-Plants with Their Native Names and Virtues," *PT* 19 (1695–97): 684. For locally made lamps see ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 7, 1659; Paul C. Ozanne, "An Earthenware Oil-Lamp from Near Nsawam," *THSG* 5, p. 2 (1962): 75–76; J. O. Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History of the Akan of Ghana: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), pp. 92–93, 108–9, 133; Merrick Posnansky, "Ghana and the Origins of West African Trade," *AQ* 11, no. 2 (1971): 116; idem, "Archaeology, Technology and Akan Civilization," *JAS* 2 (1975): 31.

72. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 71.

73. "Extrait du journal du Sieur Tibierge principal commis de la Compagnie de Guinée sur le vaisseau 'le Pont d'Or' au voyage en l'année 1692," in Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issiny,* p. 64. Also Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 276.

74. For peasant marketing see de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 251–54, 255–56, 257–58, 384–85; Barbot, *Description,* p. 269; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 62, 63, 65–66, 118; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 199–200, 202, 203, 211, 216, 251–54; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 71; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 178, 180, 181, 185, 186, 199; Atkins, *Voyage,* pp. 76, 92, 100. Also "Relation du voyage fait sur les costes d'Afrique," in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique,* ed. H. Justel (Paris, 1674), p. 17.

75. See, for example, "Correspondence," passim.

76. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 260–61, 341–42; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 68. Also Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 184–85, 191–94. "Sabboth" was observed on Tuesday, that is, *oheneda* or *benada.*

77. IOLR, E/23/26. Letter from Roger Chappell, dd. Kormantse Castle, Mar. 26, 1661; Barbot, *Description,* p. 196; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 116–17; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 192–93; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 74.

78. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 124; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 115. Also Atkins, *Voyage,* p. 71. With respect to commoner salt consumption Bosman related that the "meaner sort are obliged to make use of a certain saltish Herb instead of Salt, which their Purses will not reach." Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 308.

79. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 162, 163–64.

80. Ibid., pp. 164, 240. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 41, 42.

81. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 41, 42; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 165, 242–43. Müller noted that there were many professional hunters in the Afutu *oman.* For professional hunters in the late-sixteenth-century states of the lower Ankobra valley see "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19.

Archaeological evidence indicates that game was an important item in the diets of the inhabitants of seventeenth-century inland towns. R. B. Nunoo, "Excavations at Asebu in the Gold Coast," *WASAJ* 3 (1957): 13–14, 37; Thursten Shaw, *Excavations at Dawu* (London, 1961), p. 81; Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History," pp. 83–84. For contemporary references to the game that hunters killed see de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 131–37; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 242–51; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 243; Loyer, "Relation du voyage," pp. 197, 198–99, 200; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 68–73.

82. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 381–82. According to one late-seventeenth-century letter townspeople ate yams when *millie* was not available. See letter from J. Gregory, dd. Anomabo, July 14, 1691, in "Correspondence." Also Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 208. However, around 1640 yam fufu was popular in the coastal towns. Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 43–44. See also Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 71; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 43. Cf. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 265, 267, 274, 276–77.

83. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 27. A calabash or pot of about two liters capacity cost from 2 to 8 dambas in gold in the coastal markets (p. 202).

84. For the consumption of beer (*pitow/ahai*), palm wine (*ensan-pa* : *nsapa*), and imported wine and spirits (*ensan* : *nsa*) see "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:19,

20, 23; dè Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 43, 57, 62, 64–65, 68, 81–82, 88, 119, 171–72; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 41–42; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 167–68, 170–73, 285; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 63–64, 66, 101, 128; Brun, *Schiffarten,* pp. 71, 72; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1624, 1659–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til kongerne och deris Ministris paa Guld kosten i Guinea, n.d.; "Correspondence," passim. Also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 265–67. Some urban residences may have specialized in the selling of beer and other alcoholic drinks, Cf. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 7, 1659.

85. Cf. Karl Marx, "Value, Price, and Profit," in *Marx, Engels, Lenin: The Essential Left* (London, 1961), p. 97. Religion was, of course, an important "subjective" and ideological element in people's daily lives. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 258–74 passim; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 43–100 passim. As far as I know a historical materialist analysis of religion and its role vis-á-vis particular modes of production has not been attempted for precapitalist African social formations. See Olabiyj Yai, "Theory and Practice in African Philosophy: The Poverty of Speculative Philosophy," *SO* 6, no. 2 (1977), especially pp. 15–16. Of relevance here are two highly interesting studies on India. Debiprasad Chattopadhyay, *Lokayata: A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism* (Bombay, 1970), especially intro. and pp. 667–78; Gail Omvedt, "Adivasis, Culture and Modes of Production in India," *BCAS* 12, no. 1 (1980).

86. Cf. Marx, "Value, Price, and Profit," p. 97; idem, *Capital,* 1:274–75.

87. For the term *pauvres misérables* see de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 296. It carried the same meaning as *Blut-Arm,* for which see Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 151. For the *pauvres misérables/Blut-Arm* of Dixcove (Infuma) see letter from F. Smith, dd. Dixcove, Feb. 2, 1693, in "Correspondence."

The poor and dispossessed were a structural feature of the regional socioeconomic order over a period of at least three or four centuries. For a discussion of the *ahiafo,* or indigent, of Kumase during the reign of Kwaku Dua (1834 to 1867) see Thomas C. McCaskie, "The Paramountcy of the Asantehene Kwaku Dua (1834–1867): A Study in Asante Political Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1974), pp. 181–86. For a general discussion of the *ahiafo* in nineteenth-century Asante see Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 443, 705–10. Cf. also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 95, 272.

88. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 182.

89. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 140–41; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 122.

90. Loyer, "Relation du voyage," p. 203. See also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 296.

91. *The Golden Coast, or a Description of Guinney* (London, 1665), p. 14.

92. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 128, who relates that on occasion fishermen would present a shark to "the commoners" (*de Ghemeynte*) of their town. This may have been a levy comparable to the peasants' poor relief tax.

93. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 114–15.

94. See letters from John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Feb. 26 and Apr. 17, 1698, in "Correspondence"; RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk. diverse Københavnske Retssager II, 1720–1728. To his Royal Majesty, King of Denmark and Norway, from F. Boye et al., dd. Christiansborg, Oct. 9, 1711. Also Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 115. Individuals who were to be ennobled customarily distributed livestock among the commoners in the towns. See de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 174–75.

95. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 35, entry for Apr. 11, 1645; and p. 191, entry for June 24, 1646.

96. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 11, 1659.

97. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 60, 72–74.

98. Ibid., p. 71.

99. Ibid., pp. 59–61.

100. Barbot, *Description*, p. 256. Also de Bellefond, *Relation*, p. 295; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 183.

101. Militiamen in the Afutu *oman* received regular pay from the state treasurer. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 340–41.

102. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 215, entry for Aug. 8, 1646; and p. 243, entry for Oct. 15, 1646.

103. "Instructions Book 1664–1702. Draft circular by W. de la Palma, n.d.," in van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 89.

104. See Regnskab. List of fines for the poor at Fredrichsborg in Guinea, passim.

105. Regnskab. Debit account of Henningo Albrecht: entry for Jan. 20, 1669.

106. These policies do not appear to have been in effect in the nineteenth century. The *ahiafo* of Kumase, for example, did not receive any public relief assistance from the authorities but were rather the victims of Draconian state legislation. See McCaskie, "Paramountcy of the Asantehene Kwaku Dua," pp. 181–86.

107. For a general discussion of the cycle of production and reproduction within the peasant family household see Claude Meillassoux, "From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology," *ES* 1, no. 1 (1972); idem, "The Social Organisation of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship," *JPS* 1, no. 1 (1973); idem, *Femmes, greniers and capitaux* (Paris, 1975), chaps. 1–3.

108. Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria*, 3:109.

109. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 112–13; letter from J. Brown, dd. Egya, Mar. 14, 1696, in "Correspondence."

110. Barbot, *Description*, p. 180; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, p. 83.

111. Thus the sources refer to *leeghgangers, de leegh, de løs og ledige, coquin, Tauge-Nichts* and "vagabonds." Cf. Marx, *Grundrisse*, pp. 604–8, on pauperism in precapitalist social formations.

112. Müller, *Die africanische*, chap. 17; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 342.

113. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 150–51, 154, 155.

114. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, p. 285.

115. Ibid., p. 199; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, IV," p. 226.

116. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 8, 1659.

117. In this context *arbeidslieden* can be described as persons owning no or little means of production (such as tools), and *ambagtslieden* as persons owning means of production or occupying supervisory positions (such as slave overseers). Both were distinct from the *handelslieden*, that is, landlord-brokers and merchants, and the *hoofdlieden* (*rijksgrooten* or *mederegenten*), that is, the *ahenfo*.

118. Bonded children employed in the Royal African Company's trading establishments were paid at these rates at the end of the century. See letters from H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, July 18, 1695; and C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Feb. 9, 1698, in "Correspondence."

The company slaves of the Dutch company were provided with free textiles, either Kwaka cloths or linens. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 289, entry for Jan. 4, 1647; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 10, 1660. Some slaves had gardens or small farms. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 163, entry for Apr. 20, 1646; p. 183, entry for June 8, 1646; and p. 191, entry for June 24, 1646.

119. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Jan. 8, 1659.

120. See, for example, Regnskab, passim.

121. A canoeman needed a great deal of money in order to buy a trading canoe. In 1645 a "great canoe" cost 1,824 dambas in gold, and around 1680 an eighteen- to twenty-hand canoe cost between 3,000 and 5,000 dambas (Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters*, p. 65, entry for July 26, 1645; Barbot, *Description*, p. 152). In the 1680s the price of an eleven-hand canoe ranged between 1,900 and 4,700 dambas in gold; a fifteen-hand canoe cost 4,608 dambas (Letters from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo. Jan. 13 and June 3, 1682; R. Shepherd, dd.

Anomabo, May 28, 1682; and T. Bucknell, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 30, 1687, in "Correspondence"). A two- to three-hand fishing canoe was much cheaper. In 1601 one bought at Takoradi cost 96 dambas' worth of gold and in 1729 one purchased at Winneba cost 456 dambas. See De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 123; RA, VGK. Omkostningsbøger fra Guinea 1727–1733: entry dd. Jan. 10, 1729.

Canoemen supplemented their incomes by fishing and transporting produce that they sold in the coastal market towns. See letters from J. Brown, dd. Egya, July 15, 1695; and T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Mar. 16, 1696, in "Correspondence." They also transported livestock and passengers along the coast. See, for example, letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, Mar. 14, 1683, in "Correspondence."

122. See, for example, RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Aug. 9, 1688; RA, VGK. Reckning der onkosten: entry dd. Nov., 1688, and passim; RA, VGK. Vercoop den Goederen van Oligen Paulie, 1688–1689: entry dd. Dec. 1688; letters from T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Sept. 21, 1693; E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Mar. 13, 1695; and H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, May 1 and Sept. 26, 1695, in "Correspondence."

123. Cf. de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 57, 82–83, 88, 188.

124. Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 57, 122. For gold washers and caravan porters, see Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 80–81, 92. Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 101, 104. Also Barbot, *Description,* p. 261.

125. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 101–2. The owner of the house supplied the raw materials (clay, wood, thatch, and so on).

126. Letter from D. Harper, dd. Komenda, Jan. 10, 1683, in "Correspondence."

127. RA, VGK. Omkostningsbøger fra Guinea 1711–21, 1723–26: entries dd. Mar. 31, Apr. 30, May 31, July 31, and Aug. 31, 1725; RA, VGK. Negotie-Journaler fra Guinea 1698–1721, 1723–54: entry dd. May 31, 1726.

128. Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* pp. 267–68.

129. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 289–90. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1902, XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for June 1 and July 14, 1706: letter from J. D. Ingilby, dd. Mouri, July 13, 1706. For other references to Dutch lemon juice purchases see Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 226, entries for Sept. 5, 6, and 7, 1646; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for Aug. 29, 1693.

130. For references to the general prosperity of major salt-producing communities and their trade see de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 386, de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 207–8; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 5, 251–53; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 308–9. Also Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* p. 271; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria,* 3:92. (The references are to free, not servile, salt makers.) That lemon-juice producers were also relatively well-off is suggested by the fact that lemon (and orange) juice production required monetary investments in manually operated wooden presses that were built with materials obtained from blacksmiths and carpenters. For a description of these presses see Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 216. For the local trade in lemon juice see Barbot, *Description,* p. 204; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 216. Salt producers could make a profit of 100 percent or more on the sale of salt; conceivably juice producers could realize comparable profits from the sale of juice. For a reference to profits from the trade in salt see "letter from Messrs. Braithwaite and Cruickshank, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 30, 1729," in *Extracts from the Records of the African Companies,* ed. Ruth A. Fisher (Washington, D.C., 1930 (?)), p. 42. Also PRO, C 113. 34. Part 2. J. Phipps to J. Stevenson, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 16, 1716; PRO, C 113. 36. Part 1. Letter from J. Phipps, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Aug. 31, 1722.

131. Letter from J. Bloome, dd. Accra, Oct. 22, 1694, in "Correspondence."

132. See, for example, letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Mar. 10, 1681, in "Correspondence." ARA, Aanwinsten 1902, XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for Jan. 22 and Feb. 14, 1707. Regnskab, passim.

133. See Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 285–86. Cf. also Müller, *Die africanische* pp. 170–71, 202.

134. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 13. Conditien op ordre van de Heer Ruighaver gemaekt met den Konig van Jaby, dd. Aug. 30, 1641; KITLV, Leiden msc. H69. Accort tusschen den Generael Jacob Rughaver en de Cabeceros van Axem, dd. Feb. 17, 1642; Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 55, entry for June 11, 1645, and n. 3; ARA, OWIC 13. Order beraamd tusschen de Gen. Jasper van Heusen en de Caboseros van Chama waar na de visschers van Chama, en die Tol van dè Visch ontvangen sig sullen regulieren, dd. Nov. 13, 1660; *Golden Coast,* p. 71; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 329–30; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 104–5; ARA, WIC 122. Nader Accord gemaakt door den Edele Heer Directeur Generaal Pieter Nuyts . . . en de respective Hoofdluyden, Caboceros en Ingezetene van. Mouree, dd. Fort Nassau, Dec. 10, 1707; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 58; S. van Brakel, "Eene memorie over den Handel der West-Indische Compagnie omstreeks 1670," *BMHG* 35 (1914): 95.

135. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 389; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 195. For a reference to the payment of a tax (?) in salt to the Asebuhene see ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for June 14, 1652.

136. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 186–87. Cf. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 153 entry for Dec. 14, 1645; letters from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Mar. 3 and 28, 1688; and J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Mar. 27, 1688, in "Correspondence."

137. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 105. See also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 27, 1653; letter from R. Hassell, dd. Anomabo, Sept. 26, 1681, in "Correspondence."

138. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 274; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 217–18; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* p. 150.

139. Cf. letters from W. Cross, dd. Egya, Mar. 3, 1688; and J. Nightingale, dd. Anomabo, Mar. 3, 1688, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 141.

140. Cf. ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for Jan. 27, 1716: letter from W. Butler, dd. Axim, Jan. 24, 1716. For references to urban revenue payments see ARA, OWIC 13. Opdragt van Cabo Cors aan de Sweedse Comp., dd. May 28, 1650; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Dec. 1, 1653; ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys der Saacken van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, p. 426; ARA, WIC 122. Nader Accord gemaakt door den Edele Heer Directeur Generaal Pieter Nuyts . . . en de respective Hoofdluyden, Caboceros en Ingezetene van Mouree, dd. Fort Nassau, Dec. 10, 1707; de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 371; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge,* pp. 65, 76.

141. See, for example, IOLR, E/3/26. Letter from James Conget, dd. Kormantse Castle, June 20, 1659; PRO, C 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas, [1709 (?)]; "Correspondence," passim; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 364–67, 369–70; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* pp. 105–9.

142. Improverished persons and families may have been exempt from tax payments in money or kind, though not from corvée labor.

143. Cf. de Bellefond; *Relation,* p. 396.

144. See Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 279–80. Elsewhere he writes: "Here are Halve Koorden, Corcoados, Giltheads, and other large Fish, as black and white Carabins, which are cheap and good Food for the meaner sort of People" (p. 278); van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, IV," p. 248. In 1695 local soldiers employed at the Royal African Company's Little Komenda fort demanded a yearly subsistence allowance of 532 dambas in gold; slaves employed at the fort received 288 dambas. See letters from E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Mar. 13, 1695; and H. Freeman, dd. Komenda, May 1, July 18, and Sept. 26, 1695, in "Correspondence." Rømer noted that the price of a meal of fish,

palm oil, and kenkey could at times rise from ½ damba to 12 dambas within four weeks (Rømer, *Tilforladelig efterretning,* p. 264).

145. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 82, 297, 298. On average an adult consumed fifteen or twenty *millie* stalks a day. See letter from R. Hassell, dd. Accra, June 25, 1682, in "Correspondence"; ARA, WIC 124. Extract uyt het Register der Resolution gehouden by den Heer Directeur-Generaal en Raaden: entry dd. July 22, 1687. The prices of *millie* sold by the chest (equal to 1,000 stalks) ranged from 6 dambas to 384 dambas, the latter being a famine price. *Millie* was sold by the calabash at the rate of about 2 dambas per calabash of 30 to 35 stalks (see letter from R. Thelwell, dd. Anomabo, Jan. 13, 1682, in "Correspondence"). It was also sold by the stalk: 6 stalks per damba and 3 to 4 stalks per damba. See RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk. diverse Københavnske Retssager II, 1720–1728. F. Boye et al. to his Royal Majesty, king of Denmark and Norway, dd. Christiansborg, Oct. 9, 1711.

146. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 150–51, 154. During the course of the seventeenth century prices of imported goods declined, sometimes by more than 50 percent. During the second half of the century food staple prices remained roughly the same while livestock prices (goat prices excepted) rose.

147. In 1667, for example, the Akani captain Jan Clasen Cutterique paid from his own "pocket" a fine of 522,240 dambas in gold to Aduafo, the Afutuhene. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 370–71. This sum was equivalent to the combined subsistence allowances of nearly 3,740 *arbeidslieden* each of whom received 144 dambas a year or the combined allowances of around 450 blacksmiths who received 1,152 dambas a year each. Cutterique's wealth was derived mainly from brokerage fees and trading profits.

148. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; "Correspondence," passim. A prominent woman of Little Komenda had twenty to thirty slaves who performed various necessary tasks for her, such as farming and fetching water and firewood. ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 31, 1660. Referring to the "petites Seigneuries" of the lower Tano basin, Loyer relates that a captain, or ruler, of a "Seigneurie" could have 4,000 people under his jurisdiction. Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 189.

149. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Jan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept., 1659, pp. 393–94, 407, 415–16, 420, 421, 426; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 216–17, 320–21; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 166–67, 168; Debien et al., "Journal d'un Voyage de Traite en Guinée," pp. 324–25.

150. For a discussion of the productive capacity/potential of a feudal ruling class see Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *NLR,* no. 104 (1977), pp. 46–47.

151. PRO, C, 113. 36. Part 2. Letter from Sir D. Thomas et al,, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Nov. 26, 1709.

152. See, for example, Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister, passim; "Correspondence," passim; ARA, Aanwinsten 1902 XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts, passim.

153. See references in n. 152 to this chapter. Additionally, Resolutie Boeck, passim; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Journaal wass sich zu getragen in Guinea von 2 Februarij 1681 biss den 13 Maij 1681 auff Friedrichsberg; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 106–7, 109, 141.

154. Victor Granlund, *En Svensk Koloni i Afrika eller Svenska Afrikanska Kompaniets Historia* (Stockholm, 1879), p. 132. See also ARA, OWIC 13. Opdragt van Cabo Cors aan de Sweedse Comp., dd. May 28, 1650.

155. Regnskab. Debit account of the chartered Danish African Company's current account: entries dd. Dec. 31, 1669, Dec. 31, 1670, Dec. 31, 1671, and Sept. 30, 1672; RA,

VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680, 1624, 1659–1680. [Expense Accounts for the years 1659–62], passim. For references to specific payments see RA, VGK. Dokumenter angaaende forterne og handen paa Guineakysten (1659) 1660–1738. Forteignelse paa de slags ware som udi Guinea blifver trocken, n.d. but after May 29, 1679; RA, VGK. Participanters Resolutions Protocol 1671–1690. Udj Mar, og Apr. 1680 enlangede den consenterede Reise till Guinea, item till St. Thomas, J. Juell et al. [Copenhagen], May 8, 1680; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1680. 1625–1680. Specificatie paa presenterne til Kongerne och deris Ministris paa Guldkosten i Guinea, n.d.

156. See, for example, de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 395, Barbot, *Description,* p. 292; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 106–7; "Correspondence," passim. For quarrels and conflicts arising from the distribution of these revenues among the leading families see, inter alia, letters from T. Whiting, dd. Sekondi, Aug. 12, 1683; W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, Aug. 24 and Nov. 19, 1695; and T. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, July 20, 1697, in "Correspondence"; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 113–14.

157. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 118. The wealth derived from peasant production was clearly important to the *ahenfo*. Cf. "1516–1619: Escravos e Minas de Africa," 6:24.

158. ARA, OWIC 12. Bewys der Saacken van Antony Coroquo, A. Hogenhouck et al., dd. Axim, Nov. 25, 1656. If this sum were paid four or five times annually, it would mean that the *brafo* of Fante could expect to receive 24,576 or 30,720 dambas in gold from Kormantse. (This levy would not have included revenues derived from tolls and customs duties, and taxes levied on fishermen, salt producers, and craftsmen.) In 1681 the Royal African Company factor at Anomabo noted that he was visited by revenue collectors "four or five times in a year" (Letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 29, 1681, in "Correspondence").

159. See ARA, ANBKG 82. Journal of St. George d'Elmina: entry for Jan. 27, 1716: letter from W. Butler, dd. Axim, Jan. 24, 1716. In September, 1646, an Abrem governor (*grootmeester*) demanded 274,560 dambas (300 great bendas) in gold from "Incam," the Afutuhene. Presumably this sum was to be realized through taxes (and, possibly loans from European factors and wealthy traders). In December a partial payment of 42,008 dambas' worth of gold was sent to the governor. (Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* pp. 228–29, entry for Sept. 15, 1646; and pp. 270–71, entry for Dec. 1, 1646). For a general discussion of taxation in West African polities see Robin Law, "Slaves, Trade and Taxes: The Material Basis of Political Power in Precolonial West Africa," *REA* 1 (1978).

160. Jantie Snees was one person from a presumed commoner background who did exceptionally well. Another was Ahen Domine (who died in 1716), who accumulated a fortune through trade and assumed the Afutu *day*ship in 1679. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Inventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681; PRO, T 70/365. Charges and accounts at Cape Coast Castle, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 1679; "Part of two letters from Mr. J. Hillier, date Cape Corse, Jan. 3, 1688 and Apr. 25, 1688," *PT* 19 (1695–97): 687, 688. A third person of probable commoner background was Kusa Adu of Abora. He was "originally a palm-wine carrier who became rich by his trade"; he then became "an influential captain" in the Abora army, and later he served as the ruler of Akron, or Gomoa Assin (from the 1710s until the 1730s). Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast,* pp. 64–65, 98–99. Both Domine and Adu are referred to in the trading-company records of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

161. De Marees, *Beschryvinghe,* p. 177; Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 74. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 352; PRO, T 70/386. Cape Coast Castle and trading charges dr. to sundry accounts, dd. Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 31, 1720. Cf. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 135–36; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 119–20.

162. Brun, *Schiffarten,* p. 74. Cf. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 135; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 119–20.

163. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 313–18.

164. Ibid., p. 318.

165. See "Correspondence," passim; de Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 341–44, 348–49, 395; Barbot, *Description,* pp. 292, 299–300; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 65–66, 68–70. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 135–36; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," pp. 119–20.

166. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 232–33.

167. Regnskab. Debit account of Jantie Snees: entries dd. Mar., 1670, and May 17, 1672.

168. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 71. The price of a goat was around 72 dambas in gold. The price of a large sheep fell between 288 and 576 dambas; a small one cost from about 74 dambas to 120 dambas. The price of a cow or bull ranged between 300 and 800 dambas. Regnskab, passim; Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 241.

169. De Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 394. Also ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Jan. 1, 1654; ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for May 31, 1660; Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 162–63; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 103, 111, 152–53, 156, 158, 159; Atkins, *Voyage,* pp. 79–80.

170. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 14, 15.

171. Jan Claessen Cutta served as *day* from about 1663 until about 1674; Kwaku Finam was *fetere* from perhaps the late 1660s until the early 1680s; Ahen Domine was the *day* from 1679 until his death in 1716. Jan Swager was related to the Afutu royal family; he was both an *ohene,* ruling, it would seem, over Amanfro and neighboring Nkyenefo in the late 1670s and early 1680s, and a priest (*obosomfo*). Jan Ahenekwa (who died in 1656) served as the Afutu *brafo* from perhaps the 1630s until about 1654, when he became the Afutuhene. Jan Acroissan, Ahenekwa's brother, served as *day* from the 1640s until his death on the sixth of August, 1662.

172. For a brief account of Barter's life at Cape Coast see Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* pp. 98–99. Barter died on July 15, 1703. See "W. de la Palma to Assembly of X, dd. October 10, 1703," in van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast,* p. 92.

173. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 51. Cf. "letter from Mr. Gabb, dd. Cape Coast Castle, September 15, 1700," in *The Political and Commercial Works of That Celebrated Writer Charles d'Avenant,* collected and revised by Charles Whitworth, 5 vols. (London, 1771), 5:123. For Barter's trading activities on behalf of the Royal African Company see "Correspondence," passim.

174. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters,* p. 204, entry for July 24, 1646. See also ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entries for Jan. 20, 1659, and June 6, 1660.

175. ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert: entry for Sept. 5, 1653.

176. Cf. KITLV, Leiden msc. H65b. Extract uyt messive van der Generael Jan Valkenburgh: letter dd. Elmina, July 13, 1657; KITLV, Leiden msc. H65a. Report by Johan Valkenburgh, dd. Elmina, Sept. 1659, pp. 420–421, 423–24. Also Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 5–6; Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts," *HA* 2 (1975): 193–94.

177. Letter from John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Feb. 26, 1698, in "Correspondence"; Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* pp. 120, 126. For an account of Kabes's career see D. Henige, "John Kabes of Komenda: An Early African Entrepreneur and State Builder," *JAH* 18, no. 1 (1977); Daaku, *Trade and Politics,* chap. 6.

178. For his wealth in gold and men see *A Detection of the Proceedings and Practices of the Directors of the Royal African Company of England from Ao. 1672 to Ao. 1748* (London, 1749), p. 3 n. 1. For his villages see letter from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 5, 1694, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T 70/1464. Komenda Fort Day-Book: entry for Nov. 4, 1714. For Kabes's purchase of land and villages see "letter from James Craik et al., dd. Komenda Fort, July 16, 1646," in Fisher, *Extracts from the Records,* p. 55. Among the upper classes the buying and selling of land and villages was not uncommon. See Wilks,

Asante in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 106–10; idem, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion" (Paper present at the African Studies Association meeting, Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 14–13, 17; T. C. McCaskie, "Office, Land and Subjects in the History of the Manwere *Fekuo* of Kumase: An Essay in the Political Economy of the Asante State," *JAH* 21, no. 2 (1980): 197, 198, 200–201, 202–3.

179. "Letter from Sir Dalby Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 13, 1705," in Whitworth, *Political and Commercial Works*, 5:193–94; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, p. 126.

180. "Mémoire ou relation du Sr. du Casse sur son voyage de Guynée avec 'La Tempeste' en 1687 et 1688," Roussier, in *L'Établissement d'Issiny*, p. 16.

181. Letters from T. Willson, dd. Komenda, Dec. 19, 1694; and E. Searle, dd. Komenda, Feb. 14, 1695, in "Correspondence."

182. Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, p. 118.

183. See "Copy of Gerrard Gore's letter to the chief merchants at Cape Coast Castle, dd. Komenda, February 8, 1700," in Whitworth, *Political and Commercial Works*, 5:205; PRO, T 70/1464. Komenda Fort Day-Book: entry for Jan. 10, 1716; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, pp. 119, 120, 121.

184. PRO, C 113. 34. Part 2. J. Phipps to J. Stevenson, dd. Cape Coast Castle, July 16, 1716.

185. PRO, C 113. 34. Part 2. Letter from E. Patrick, dd. Komenda, July 1, 1716; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, pp. 120, 121.

186. Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, pp. 103–4, 121 and n. 4. In 1688 Matthies, an Osu *mantse*, hired out one of his slaves to the Danish factors at Christiansborg at the rate of 48 dambas a month. See RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Dagregister 1688–1689: entry for Aug. 6, 1688. The sum of 48 dambas may have been the standard fee for contracted or hired-out free and slave labor in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See also RA, VGK. Dokumenter vedk. diverse Københavnske Retsager II, 1720–1728. F. Boye et al. to his Royal Majesty, king of Denmark and Norway, dd. Christiansborg, Oct. 9, 1711.

187. Thus, under Kabes's rule Komenda grew and developed to the point where the port was "like to be ye best on ye coast. . . ." See PRO, T 70/5. Abstract of letters from Sir D. Thomas, dd. Cape Coast Castle, June 16 and Aug. 1, 1706. Also letters from G. Gore, dd. Komenda, May 14 and 17 and July 1, 1698; and John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Apr. 17, 1698, in "Correspondence"; PRO, T 70/19. Letter from Tho. Bennett, dd. Cape Coast Castle, May 27, 1717.

188. During Kabes's lifetime (and earlier) there were apparently numerous *afahene* in the coastal *aman* who could each claim ownership of around 400 slaves and more than 300,000 dambas' worth of gold. By the 1630s few coastal *afahene* had this much wealth. See "Minutes Elmina Council: entry dd. October 25, 1734," in van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, p. 312.

189. De Bellefond, *Relation*, pp. 240–42; Barbot, *Description*, p. 253; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 79–80; Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 147; Brun, *Schiffarten*, p. 71; Debien et al., "Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée," p. 304.

190. Cf. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 5, 108–9, 271. Also de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 79–80.

191. "Relation du voyage fait sur les costes d'Afrique," p. 17; Barbot, *Description*, p. 253; de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, pp. 79, 92.

192. Müller, *Die africanische*, p. 148.

193. Ibid. For an account of these mats see Thomas Astley, ed., *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 4 vols. (1745; reprint ed., London, 1968), 2:315, 523, 524.

194. Müller, *Die africanische*, pp. 148, 246–47.

195. Ibid., p. 129. For arms imports see Barbot, *Description*, p. 384. Also David Northrup, *Trade without Rulers* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 40–41.

196. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 55. Less expensive *asuman* cost between 48 and 1,536 dambas in gold in the early eighteenth century. Atkins, *Voyage,* p. 104.

197. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 149.

198. Many of these items are referred to in various contemporary documents and accounts. For the archaeological evidence see Nunoo, "Excavations at Asebu in the Gold Coast"; Shaw, *Excavation at Dawu;* Paul C. Ozanne, "Ghana," in *The African Iron Age,* ed. P. L. Shinnie (Oxford, 1971), pp. 52–55, 58–63; Bellis, "Archaeology and the Culture History," passim; Merrick Posnansky, "The Early Development of Trade in West Africa: Some Archaeological Considerations," *GSSJ* 2, no. 2 (1972): 97–99; idem, "Archaeology, Technology and Akan Civilization," pp. 30–35, 37. Customarily, terra cotta figures were placed on the graves of prominent persons. Barbot, *Description,* p. 285; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 232. For one among several recent studies of these figures see Roy Sieber, "Kwahu Terra Cottas, Oral Traditions and Ghanaian History," in *African Art and Leadership,* ed. Douglas Fraser and Herbert M. Cole (Madison, 1972).

199. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 119; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 113.

200. Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 158, 246–47. For local Danish trade in leopard skins see Regnskab. Debit account of Claas Brand: entries dd. Jan. 1, 1669, Aug. 1, 1670, and Jan. 1, 1671; and credit account of Claas Brand: entry dd. June 23, 1670. See also letter from N. Buckeridge, dd. Winneba, Jan. 14, 1694, in "Correspondence."

201. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1898, XXII. Journaal gehouden by my Louys Dammaert, passim; Regnskab, passim; "Correspondence," passim; Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 128–29.

202. Letter from B. Cantrill, dd. Anashan, Sept. 22, 1682, in "Correspondence."

203. RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter indkomne og udgaaede 1681. 1672–1681. Iventarium von die pfande so sich befunden auss Frederrichberg, dd. Feb. 28, 1681; RA, VGK. Breve og dokumenter fra Guinea 1683, 1684, 1689, 1698–1705. Hans Lücke, to the Directors and Administrators of the Royal chartered Danish African Company, dd. Fredricksborg, Jan. 13, 1683.

204. Regnskab. Account of the sale of J. Snees's cloths, 30 pieces in one chest.

205. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 71.

206. Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 119; van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman, II," p. 113.

207. Loyer, "Relation du Voyage," p. 161; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* p. 119. Also Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 103, 153, 156–57, 158, 159; Rask, *Ferd til og fra,* pp. 84, 85, 137–38; Atkins, *Voyage,* pp. 79–80.

208. De Bellefond, *Relation,* pp. 247–48; Hemmersam, *Reise nach Guinea,* pp. 41–46; Müller, *Die africanische,* pp. 162–64, 167, 168–69, 240. Also Tilleman, *En liden,* pp. 111–12.

209. Müller, *Die africanische,* p. 212.

210. Ibid., pp. 65, 168, 198. Also de Bellefond, *Relation,* p. 296. For a reference to an Ardra slave in Anomabo–who was owned by a dignitary of the port–see letter from R. Thelwall, dd. Anomabo, Oct. 4, 1682, in "Correspondence."

211. See, for example, ARA, OWIC 81. Dagregister: entry for June 6, 1660; letters from T. Buckeridge, dd. Tantumkweri, Oct. 4, 1693; W. Cooper, dd. Winneba, June 21, 1695; C. Salmon, dd. Egya, Apr. 10, 1698; John Kabes, dd. Komenda, Feb. 26 and Apr. 17, 1698; and C. Salmon, dd. Anomabo, June 4, 1698, in "Correspondence." Expenses for a military campaign could range from 20,000 to around 240,000 dambas in gold. See, for example, ARA, Aanwinsten 1902, XXVI no. 115. Dagh Register gehouden by den oppercoopman President Pieter Nuyts: entries for Sept. 1, 1706, and Jan. 22, 1707; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description,* pp. 179–80. Albert van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, III," *HA* 4 (1977): 262.

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